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Historical Essays

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IN COMMEMORATION OF THE JUBILEE OF

THE OWENS COLLEGE, MANCHESTER

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MANCHESTER

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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PREFACE TO THE REISSUE

THIS Volume of Historical Essays by members of the Owens College was first published in 1902 by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. on the occasion of the Jubilee of that institution. During the last five years events have marched apace, and the prospects dimly hoped for in the concluding paragraphs of the original preface have been largely realized. The Owens College has ceased to exist as a separate institution and has been incorporated in the Victoria University of Manchester, which now represents the Victoria University, founded in 1880, but freed from the restrictions involved in its original federal constitution. Among the new developments that followed this revolution has been the institution of the series of Publications of the University of Manchester, and it has been thought desirable to incorporate the present volume in this series. This has been made possible by the kindness of Messrs. Longmans, the original publishers, and the result is the book now offered to the public. It is not a "new edition" in the stricter sense, as the sheets are reissued without alteration of any kind, and even the descriptions of the contributors have not been brought up-to-date. An index has, however, been added in conformity with the suggestion of several of the reviewers, who were good enough to notice the book favourably. Moreover, the external form of the reissue has been made uniform with that of the other publications of the University, and it will henceforth be issued by the University Publishers, Messrs. Sherratt & Hughes.

It is pleasant to be able to add that, through the liberality

of the Council of the University considerable progress has been made towards the expansion of the Historical Department in the directions indicated in the closing words of the preface of 1902. The staff has been considerably increased. There are now two professorships of history instead of the one that existed in 1902; though there is still pressing need for a third professorship devoted particularly to the most modern period of history. By the appointment of Mr. A. G. Little, formerly Professor of History at Cardiff, as Lecturer on Palæography, the most urgent of the needs then felt for promoting the training of mediæval historians has been met, and a course of lectures on mediæval palæography is now given in alternate years. This year there will also be a course of Welsh palæography, given by Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, a distinguished former student of Owens College. There are now two regular assistants devoting their whole time to the work of the department, besides two special lecturers, one in ecclesiastical and one in Roman history. Oriental history is now undertaken by Professor Hogg. Economic history has also become a separate charge, and the new faculty of commerce has stimulated its study, just as the faculty of theology has promoted the cultivation of ecclesiastical history. The time will soon arrive when early ecclesiastical history will require a teacher whose main interests are centred in that work. By the co-operation of allied departments of the college other needs of historical students are more fully met. Reference to the special Prospectus of Advanced Studies in the University will show the extent to which we aspire to provide for such requirements. The institution of research degrees and the University Publications are direct incentives to higher historical study and the supply of graduate scholarships and fellowships has been of late years barely adequate to the requirements of those students who wish to devote themselves to original investigation. The University Publications only began in 1904: this reissue makes the sixth volume of the Historical

Series alone. In other ways the younger graduates of the school have been shewing their literary activity, notably in the Victoria County Histories and in the English Historical Review. In short, the progress of the last five years has been so gratifying that we may well look with increasing confidence to the future.

T. F. TOUT.
JAMES TAIT.

THE UNIVERSITY,
MANCHESTER,
May, 1907.

PREFACE

On March 12, 1902, the Owens College completes its celebrations of the jubilee of its opening on March 12, 1851, and the present volume is of the nature of a *Festschrift*. The birth and majority of the College were both marked by the publication of collections of essays and addresses. But these were miscellaneous and occasional in character, and the writers were drawn exclusively from the professorial staff. It is, perhaps, some measure of the progress which the institution has made within the last quarter of a century that a single department should be able to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary by a volume which at least aims at being a substantial contribution to the knowledge of the subject with which it is concerned, and more than three-fourths of which is the work of past students not upon the teaching staff. Of the twenty essays contained in this volume, no less than sixteen have been written by former students, each of whom has spent three years or more in attendance on the College courses. Of these sixteen, three are also graduates of Oxford, and one of Cambridge, while at least four have pursued their studies further in French, German, or Italian Universities. The remaining four articles have been contributed by teachers not educated at the College, but who have devoted periods varying from twelve years to thirty to its service.

The studies which bulk largest in the newer Universities and Colleges of England are naturally those which are of a scientific, technical, or professional character. The Owens College is no exception to this rule, nor would it wish to be.

That the historical students of the College should have undertaken the special commemoration of its jubilee is more or less of an accident, and there are many other larger departments which might with even fuller appropriateness have taken a similar part in the celebration. But there is, perhaps, a special reason for the former students of history coming forward on an occasion which is to be marked by the opening of the last and greatest of the benefactions of the late Richard Copley Christie,[1] virtually the first Professor of History at Owens College. The central feature of the celebrations in March 1902 will be the opening of the Whitworth Hall by the Prince of Wales. This structure is due to the liberality of Mr. Christie, to whom the College is already deeply indebted, among other things, for the spacious Christie Library, and for not the least precious part of its contents.

History has occupied a prominent place in the studies of the Owens College almost from its inception. In no small measure this must be attributed to the good fortune which gave the College, as successive professors of the subject, men of the distinction of the late Mr. Christie and Dr. A. W. Ward, both of whom are worthily represented in the ensuing pages. Fifty years ago history was but one of the many subjects with which the Professor of Classics, the late Dr. Greenwood, was overburdened. A new era opened with its separation from classics in 1854, and the creation of a new Chair whose first occupant was Mr. Christie. But history was still combined with several other related subjects, and Mr. Christie was also engaged in an extensive practice at the local Chancery Bar. It needed the enthusiasm for learning of a disciple of Mark Pattison to be able under such conditions to hold up the ideal of historical research as well as of historical teaching, which his successors hope has never since been lost sight of.

On the appointment of Dr. Ward in 1866, Law and Political Economy passed into other hands, though the new

[1] Some account of Mr. Christie's work at Owens College is given in Dr. W. A. Shaw's memoir of him prefixed to the recently published *Selected Essays and Papers of Richard Copley Christie* (London, 1902).

Professor of History remained responsible for the English Language and Literature. In 1880, however, the teaching of the English Language devolved upon a separate Professor, and when Dr. Ward, on becoming Principal in 1889, gave up the great bulk of the instruction in history, the last traces of combination disappeared with the formation of a Lectureship (recently converted into a Professorship) of English Literature. The tendency to increased division of labour has since gone on within the subject itself, and in 1896 a distinct Lectureship in Ancient History came into existence. At the same time, however, it was found necessary to combine with the Professorship the Lectureship in Ecclesiastical History founded by the will of Mrs. Fraser in memory of her husband, the late Bishop of Manchester.

So long as the College was compelled to prepare its students for the degrees of the University of London, in which history was at that time very imperfectly recognised, the progress of historical teaching at Owens was greatly impeded. It was only when the institution of the Victoria University not merely gave history its due place in the curriculum for pass degrees, but was accompanied by the creation of an Honours degree in the subject, that a School of History became possible. The following pages show that, while even in the earlier time historical tastes were able to assert themselves despite all difficulties, the organised study of history in the College is the fruit of the last twenty years. Though it seems more than probable that the growth of the Colleges of the Victoria University will erelong result in a further development which will put an end to the limitations of freedom, and the separation of College and University, that mark the present system, yet it would be ungrateful and ungracious not to put on record our warm appreciation of the good work which the federal University of the North has done. Those who look forward most hopefully to the establishment of a University of Manchester, based upon more traditional academic lines, will not be the last to acknowledge their indebtedness to the Victoria University.

Of the twenty essays contained in the present volume, none have previously appeared in print. Some of them are expansions of papers read before the College Historical Society, established two years ago, and others have grown out of investigations made for lives contributed to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. All of them have, however, been specially written for the book, and had time permitted the number of contributors could have been largely increased.[2] The essays are all based upon a study of first-hand authorities, and in several cases unpublished materials have been utilised. Some may claim to throw new light upon old problems; others restate succinctly, and with reference to the latest results of research, matters which must be studied in a wide variety of sources not always very accessible.

In the opening essay it is shown that the worship of the Roman Emperors was no new-fangled device of a cosmopolitan autocracy aping the position of Oriental potentates, but had its roots in the republican past of Rome herself.

The 'Legend of St. Ursula,' and its far-reaching influence upon religion, art and education, receives here fuller treatment than has yet been given to it in the language of her own island, while the idealising power of mediæval tradition is again strikingly illustrated by the next essay, which narrates the strange fate that gave St. Augustine's letter to a community of nuns a place among the great monastic Rules of the Middle Age.

The fourth essay elucidates a much neglected aspect of the great constitutional struggle between Henry III. and his barons—the part played by Welsh nationality and Marcher interests in determining its varying changes of fortune, and in providing Llywelyn with an opportunity to build up that

[2] Among those former students who were unavoidably prevented from taking their share in the volume may be mentioned Dr. Norman Moore, Assistant Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital; the Rev. J. P. Whitney, M.A., Principal of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Quebec; the Rev. T. A. Walker, Litt. D., Fellow and Tutor of Peterhouse; and Miss A. M. Cooke, M.A., Assistant Lecturer in History at University College, Cardiff.

Principality of all Wales which Edward I. could only shatter after two costly campaigns. The financial expedients to which Edward and his son were driven in order to raise ready money for these and other wars are put in a clear light by a detailed examination of their dealings with the Frescobaldi and other Italian bankers, in a paper (Essay V.) which works up much new material, in part still inedited. A very different aspect of the same age, the curiously modern character of some of its social and political speculation, is illustrated in the sixth essay from the writings of the French legist, Pierre Dubois, who dedicated one of his works to Edward I.

The article which follows throws a new and somewhat startling light upon the fate of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, at Calais in 1397. Evidence is there put forward which seems to prove that Richard II. publicly announced his uncle's death some time before it occurred, and this is supported by documentary proof that he carefully concealed from the country the real date of the duke's confession. The approaching celebration of the Preston Gild Merchant, which takes place every twenty years, makes timely the inclusion of a study (Essay VIII.) of the municipal history of the borough. Full use has been made therein of the labours of Professor Maitland, Miss Bateson, and others on the growth of town institutions, and it is believed that the paper forms a more accurate and critical account of its subject than has hitherto been available.

In the article on 'Sumptuary Legislation in Venice' the quaint attempts of the Venetian Government in the later Middle Age to repress social extravagance are fully illustrated from the writer's researches in the State archives.

Some current misconceptions as to the causes of the failure of 'Henry VIII.'s Irish Policy' are dispelled in Essay X., which also sets forth the contrast between the milder methods of the first English King of Ireland and the policy of extirpation and plantation attempted by his daughters. The fragment on the early publications of Gryphius, the Lyonese printer, gives evidence of its lamented author's un-

equalled knowledge of the bibliography of the Lyons presses in the sixteenth century. The appreciation of Elisabeth, Princess Palatine, grand-daughter of James I., the friend of Descartes and the protector of the pietist Labadie, deals with a notable figure much less familiar to English readers than her sister, the Electress Sophia, or her brother, Prince Rupert.

Under the title of 'The Miltonic Ideal' the poetical and prose works of the great Puritan are carefully examined in Essay XIII. with the object of reconciling the poet's rather frequent change of standpoint in politics and religion with the 'unchanged mind' on which he prided himself.

In a volume emanating from a Manchester College it would have been unbecoming had local history been wholly unrepresented. One of the most striking incidents in the history of the town is its siege by the Royalists at the very outset of the Civil War, and to this a special study is here devoted.

Some of the springs of Charles II.'s unpatriotic foreign policy are disclosed by Essay XV. From an elaborate examination of the Exchequer records, the writer comes to the conclusion that Charles in 1660 resumed a bankrupt inheritance. He shows how the ordinary revenue of 1,200,000*l.* for life, voted to the restored monarch by the Convention Parliament, failed to produce much more than half the estimated sum. Hence followed the loans and other financial expedients from which, after many failures, was ultimately evolved the permanent National Debt which began in the next generation. In the following paper the Moravians are shown to have exerted a much more pervasive influence upon the Evangelical Movement of the eighteenth century than is usually represented.

Two articles on Napoleon close the purely historical part of the book. In the first of these some light is thrown upon the early military education of Napoleon by a fresh proof of the influence of Maillebois upon the Italian campaign of 1796 and its limits, and by pointing out conclusively how

Napoleon was prepared for the task which he carried out so successfully at Toulon in 1793, by his study just before of the closely similar conditions at Ajaccio. The second, it is thought, adds, from the writer's investigations in the British archives of this period, something in the way both of correction and supplement to Lord Rosebery's recent monograph on Napoleon's detention at St. Helena.

As the instruction of teachers forms no unimportant part of the work of the history department of the College, it has seemed not out of keeping to include in this volume two papers on history teaching in secondary and primary schools, by graduates who write from practical experience of such teaching. The latter essay deals specially with the historical instruction of pupil-teachers, in whose education our College and University have of late years taken a special part, both by reason of their Day Training Colleges, and under the scheme for special University Extension lectures to pupil-teachers when still in attendance at their 'centres.'

The historical department of the Owens College [3] is still only in the making. It is amply provided with the materials of study in the great libraries which are among the chief boasts of Manchester. To the venerable foundation of Humphrey Chetham, and the thoroughly well-equipped and useful Municipal Reference Library, must now be added the Christie Library at the Owens College and the magnificent monument which Mrs. John Rylands has erected to the memory of her husband in the John Rylands Library. The College Library includes the historical collections of Bishop Prince Lee and E. A. Freeman. Apart from the other unique features of the John Rylands Library, the historical worker will specially appreciate a series of current historical periodicals, such as can hardly be found elsewhere in this country outside London. Nor are there altogether wanting within the College encouragements to students of history in such endowments as the Bradford Scholarship, the

[3] A summary of the past work of the department can be found in Mr. P. J. Hartog's *The Owens College*, pp. 161–4 (Manchester, 1900).

Jones Entrance Scholarship, and the Shuttleworth Exhibition for History, or more substantial endowments for graduate study in such inducements to research as the Jones History Fellowship, the Langton Fellowship in Arts and the University Scholarships in History and Fellowships in Arts. The work now published of some who have enjoyed these endowments shows that they have not wholly failed to fulfil their purpose. But the increasing number of candidates in our Honours School makes the provision of undergraduate scholarships in history barely sufficient, and imposes burdens upon the limited teaching staff not very easy to reconcile with its taking as much share as it would desire in the work of historical investigation, especially as the ever increasing demands of academic business continue to make large claims upon its time. Moreover, the growth of the History School calls for further specialisation. There is pressing need of provision for the teaching of Palæography, Bibliography, and the other practical aids to history, which are as indispensable to those who wish to undertake original investigation in certain directions as are the laboratories of the chemist and physicist. Owing to the want of systematic provision for this need, promising graduates of the College are still in some cases compelled to pursue their further historical studies abroad. Unfortunately, the multiplicity of demands upon the College funds forbids very rapid progress on these lines. The claims of historical research are more recognised nowadays than was formerly the case, but in England the effective encouragement of such research is still almost entirely left to the individual, while in other countries the obligation to promote University education is accepted as the undoubted duty of the State.

T. F. TOUT.
JAMES TAIT.

MANCHESTER: *February* 1902.

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OWENS COLLEGE

HISTORICAL ESSAYS

I

THE BEGINNINGS OF CAESAR-WORSHIP

THE worship of the ruler of the State, which was widely diffused in antiquity, appears at a comparatively late date in Roman history. That it did not appear earlier was due to the peculiar nature of the Roman Republican constitution. One of the cardinal principles of that constitution was the limitation of the power of the magistrate. The restriction of the consulship to a period of one year, the appointment of a colleague with equal powers, the veto of the tribunes, the multiplication of new magistrates who took over duties formerly pertaining to the consuls, and the constant and strict supervision exercised by the Senate, all tended to restrain the ambitions of the chief magistrate. It is true that the gods, through the auspices, had duly signified their approval of his election. But this was so far from investing him with divine right that it furnished, at least in the later Republic, a convenient means of depriving an obnoxious consul of his office through a declaration that the auspices were irregular, and the election accordingly null and void.

In such a political system there was little room for the worship of a deified ruler, but as soon as the restraints of the constitution were relaxed such worship began to appear, and some citizen whose genius or fortune had distinguished him among his fellows was regarded by them as something more than human; and this is most conspicuous wherever and whenever the constitution is most weak, so

that we may almost take the prevalence of such cults as a standard to measure to what extent and in what parts in different places and at different periods the Republican constitution had decayed. The question, in fact, is one rather of politics than of religion. An additional god in the crowded Roman Pantheon did not in itself matter much. Nor is there ground for supposing that the Italians had any more repugnance than the Greeks to the apotheosis of a human being in itself. The ancestor-worship which formed the basis of Roman family religion would lead us to the opposite conclusion. On the other hand, it was of the utmost importance that no citizen, by successfully imposing a belief in his divinity on the multitude, should upset the balance of the constitution.

Under the Kings the state of matters may have been different. But our knowledge of that early period is too scanty to enable us to determine whether the legends of the divine origin of Romulus or of Servius Tullius [1] had any currency in the regal period. There is nothing in the word *rex* itself (the 'ruler' or 'director') to indicate that any godlike attributes were ascribed to the Kings. The religious signification of the word and its connection with Jupiter Optimus Maximus may have arisen only at a later period.[2]

At all events, under the early Republic claims to divinity were not likely to be tolerated, nor, so far as we know, were they ever advanced during that period except in a single instance, and this, by its very triviality, assuming the story to be true, indicates the rigour with which all such pretensions were met and suppressed. In the magnificent triumph which Camillus celebrated over the fall of Veii there was one feature which gave rise to loud complaint. The chariot of the general was drawn by four white horses. Here was a clear infringement, so men said, of the divine prerogatives, for only Jupiter and the Sun God had the right to this distinction, and by its use Camillus was making himself the

[1] Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 10.

[2] Cic. *Rep.* iii. 23: 'Sunt enim omnes qui in populum vitae necisque potestatem habent tyranni, sed se Jovis optimi nomine malunt reges vocari.'

So Caesar, when he refused the crown, declared, according to the version in Dio Cassius (xliv. 11), that Jupiter alone was King of the Romans.

equal of the immortal gods. The story stands by itself and has only doubtful evidence to support it.[3] It is significant, however, that nothing more is heard of white horses in a triumph till the time of the deified Julius Caesar.[4]

A century and a half after the time of Camillus, the Roman dominion began to spread beyond the boundaries of Italy. Through this extension the fabric of the Republican constitution was fatally strained and in the end wrecked. The system of checks on the magistrate which was feasible so long as his sphere of action lay within easy reach of Rome broke down when he was sent to a government across the sea. It was often impossible to limit his term of office to one year, he had no colleague with equal rights to check his official action, and the Senate was too far away to exercise any effective control. In fact, for the time being he was a king. Now in Sicily or Greece or Asia he was among subjects who for a long time had been accustomed to treat their kings as gods, and who were not in the least likely to refrain on account of constitutional scruples from paying a similar homage to the newcomers.

The city itself from which they came was divine. Rome, in the words of a Greek poetess, was the daughter of Ares, the dweller in a holy Olympus on earth, which would be unshaken for ever.[5] Temples were erected to her every-

[3] Livy, v. 23. The story is told half sceptically by Plutarch (*Vit. Cam.* 7) and by Diodorus (xiv. 117), who indicate that it was absent from some of their authorities.

[4] Dio Cass. xliii. 14. Propertius (v. 1, 32) represents Romulus triumphing with white horses, perhaps with an allusion to Julius Caesar as the second Romulus.

The whole story of Camillus's triumph is very curious. For the dress of the *triumphator* was notoriously copied from that of the image of Jupiter in the Capitol (Liv. x. 7), and there seems no reason why special exception should be taken to the colour of the horses which drew the triumphal car. Further, Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 112) quotes ancient authorities to show that the *triumphatores* smeared themselves over with *minium* or vermilion on the day of the triumph, just as the face of the Capitoline Jupiter was coloured on feast-days, and this seems a much closer imitation of the god than the use of white horses. Pliny adds from his authorities that it was in this way that Camillus triumphed. May we assume that Pliny or his authorities have, through some confusion, converted a single case into a general custom, and that we have here another particular of the attempt of Camillus to play the part of Jupiter? Pliny, at any rate, has made worse blunders than this, and there seems to be no evidence beyond this one passage to show that this extraordinary vermilion-smearing was a general custom.

[5] *Anthol. Lyr.* (ed. Bergk) p. 520.

where, at Smyrna even before the Roman armies had landed in Asia, at Alabanda a few years later.[6] By the end of the second century B.C., the new cult was widely spread over the Hellenic world.[7]

It was only a short step from the worship of Rome to the worship of individual Romans, and a respectable opportunity for such flattery soon offered itself. Titus Quinctius Flamininus, who in 198 B.C. had come to Greece to conduct the second Macedonian war, was thoroughly imbued with the fashionable passion for all that was Greek. He had the happiness to overthrow King Philip V. of Macedon at the battle of Cynoscephalae, and soon afterwards, by the directions of the Senate, to declare amidst the wildest enthusiasm at the Isthmian games that Greece was free. Such an act was to the Greeks the final proof of virtue. When it was repeated long after by the worthless Nero, it compensated in their eyes for his iniquities, and was even supposed to have secured in the next world a mitigation of his well-deserved torments.[8] For Flamininus no such allowances were needed, and his generous behaviour only confirmed the reputation which he won at Corinth. At Chalcis especially, a town which he had saved from the anger of an enemy, his divinity was formally recognised. Its gymnasium was dedicated to Flamininus and Heracles, its Delphinium to Flamininus and Apollo. A festival was instituted in honour of the Roman general, which was still kept up in Plutarch's time, nearly three centuries later. At this celebration a priest of Flamininus was chosen. Sacrifice and libation were offered and a hymn was sung in which the worshippers gave praise to 'great Zeus, and to Rome, and to Titus also, and to the Romans' Good Faith.'[9]

An exceedingly rare gold stater, on which the name and image of Titus Quinctius are stamped, seems to confirm the account given by Plutarch.[10] Up to that period only the

[6] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 56; Livy, xliii. 6.

[7] For the diffusion of the worship of Rome among the Greeks, ample evidence is afforded by Greek inscriptions, e.g. at Megara (*Inscr. Graec. Sept.* 48); at Melos (*Inscr. Gr. Insul. Mar. Aeg.* iii. 1097); at Mytilene (ibid. iii. 170); in the island of Rhodes (ibid. i. 730); at Athens, (*C.I.A.* ii. 953, 985).

[8] Plut. *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, 567 F, 568 A.

[9] Plut. *Tit.* 16.

[10] Head's *Historia Numorum*, p. 205.

heads of gods, Janus, Mercury, Roma, and some others, had appeared on Roman coins. Up to the time of Alexander the Great the same restriction held good in Greece. But when that king and his successors claimed divine rank, they took over this prerogative of the gods along with the others, and stamped their own heads on their coins. The appearance, therefore, of the head of Flamininus on the stater should probably be taken as another indication that the Roman general was placed in the same rank with the deified Alexander and the deified Demetrius. Such honours were plainly not offensive to their object. For when he dedicated a gold crown to Apollo he called himself on its inscription the divine Titus.[11]

In the last century and a half of the Republic, cults like that of Flamininus became common among the Greeks. In Sicily, after the conquest of the island, games (the *Marcellia*) were instituted in honour of the family of Marcellus, who were at once its conquerors and its benefactors. These games were still in existence when Verres came to Sicily, but that wicked governor, so Cicero tells us, did away with them and established *Verria* in his own honour in their place.[12]

In Asia the administration of the wise and just governor, Quintus Mucius Scaevola, was rewarded by the institution of *Mucia*, which, as a recently discovered inscription shows,[13] were still held half a century later. In the same province even the cantankerous and tyrannical Quintus Cicero was offered a temple by his subjects, to be shared, it seems, by his more illustrious brother.[14]

The establishment of *Sullia* [15] at Athens is easily understood. The combination of genius and good fortune in Sulla's career, who besides believed himself to be under the special care of the gods,[16] would readily elicit such honours, especially as the Athenians themselves had experienced the weight of his hand in the sack of their city.

[11] Plut. *Tit.* 12. [12] Cic. *Verr.* ii. 52, 114, 154, iv. 24.

[13] *Rhein. Mus.* (1901) p. 149. The inscription contains an allusion to a certain Herostratus who appears to have been the friend of Brutus, and this would fix the date at about 43 B.C.

[14] Cic. *Ad Quint. Frat.* i. 1. 26. [15] *C.I.A.* ii. 481. [16] Plut. *Sull.* 8.

It is evident from the cases given above that the attitude of the provincials in these matters was not determined by the goodness or badness of the administration under which they lived. It was the wishes of the governor rather than his merit that was the moving cause. By this time the Greek world had learned to worship any one who was in authority over it, and historically the gap between the worship of the deified successors of Alexander and the worship of the deified Roman Emperors was filled by the cult of the Roman governors.

This continuity of ruler-worship is curiously illustrated by the use of the term *Soter* or Saviour. The word bore a distinctly religious significance.[17] It was an epithet of many of the Greek gods, of Zeus, for example, of Aphrodite, of Apollo, of Pan. When the Athenians conferred divine rank on Antigonus and Demetrius, they worshipped them under the title of the Saviours. In inscriptions of the Imperial period the Roman emperors often receive this title. The worthless Nero is even designated, by a monstrous abuse of language, the saviour of the world (*σωτὴρ τῆς οἰκουμένης*).[18] It was therefore but natural that the same expression should be applied to the Roman proconsuls who came between the divine kings and the divine emperors. It was inscribed on a statue raised to Verres at Syracuse, and it seems to have been in honour of Verres Soter that the *Verria* were celebrated.[19] Sulla again is called in an inscription the saviour of Oropus,[20] where he had at any rate shown this proof of his saving power, that he had rescued the estates of the hero Amphiaraus from the clutches of the Roman *publicani*.[21] At the same place the same title was given to

[17] Cf. Beurlier, *De divinis honoribus quos acceperunt Alexander et successores ejus*, p. 88. The indices to the volumes of the new *Corpus of Greek Inscriptions* give ample illustration of the application of this word to the gods.

[18] *C.I.A.* iii. 462

[19] Cic. *Verr.* ii. 154. The gravity of the word is emphasised by Cicero: *Ita magnum ut Latine uno verbo exprimi non possit; is est nimirum soter qui salutem dat.*

[20] *Inscr. Graec. Sept.* 264.

[21] This incident is mentioned in the *De Natura Deorum* (iii. 49), and the legal documents have been preserved in a Greek inscription, (*Inscr. Graec. Sept.* 423). It is interesting as showing how practical, even from the financial point of view, the question of apotheosis might become. Sulla, it seems, had declared the estates of the gods at Oropus to be tax-free, but the tax-farmers,

a less important personage, Fufius Calenus, one of Caesar's lieutenants in Greece.[22] At Mytilene after the Pirate Wars a statue was erected to Pompeius with the grandiose inscription 'The People to their saviour and founder, Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, son of Gnaeus, thrice hailed as *imperator*, who put an end to the wars which infested the world by land and sea.'[23]

In comparing the honours paid to these Romans of the Republic with the later worship of the Emperors, one is struck with certain resemblances in detail. The association, for example, of the worship of Flamininus with the worship of Rome is an anticipation of the later combination of Rome and Augustus, and the delegates sent to the *Mucia* in Asia and the honours paid by the *Commune Siciliae*[24] to Verres remind one of the connection under the Empire of the Provincial *Concilia* with the Imperial cult. It is unnecessary to assume that the divine honours paid to the governors were the only or even the chief model which Augustus had before him when he laid down regulations for his worship, but it would be absurd to suppose that he ignored these convenient precedents altogether.

During the Republican period the Senate in Rome showed a strange toleration of these extravagant and demoralising compliments paid to their fellow-citizens, or even took up an attitude of positive encouragement. For though the provincial governors were legally prohibited from taking gifts, yet a special exception was made in the case of temples and monuments.[25] Nevertheless such cults were here, as elsewhere, incompatible with the true civic virtues either in the worshipper or the worshipped. Spurius, the Roman whom we find taking part in the worship of the divine Ptolemy,[26]

with the ingenuity of their kind, protested that Amphiaraus, as he had once been a mortal, could never justly claim the position of a god. It required a solemn discussion before the tribunal of Sulla in Greece, a commission, of which Cicero was a member, in Rome, and finally a decree of the Senate, to enable Amphiaraus to hold his property untaxed.

[22] *I.G.S.* 380.

[23] *Inscr. Gr. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 202. We may compare the story in Pliny of the desire of Pompeius to employ elephants in his triumph in imitation of Bacchus (*Hist. Nat.* viii. 4).

[24] Cic. *Verr.* ii. 114.

[25] Cic. *Ep. ad Quint. Frat.* i. 1. 26.

[26] *C.I.A.* ii. 953.

must have been a worse citizen on that account when he went back to Rome, and the lengths to which the governors themselves would go in this direction are shown by the story of Metellus, the conqueror of Sertorius. On his return to Spain his quaestor and some other friends, guessing his wishes, arranged to entertain him at a banquet of an extraordinary nature. The house was arranged to resemble a temple, and as Metellus sat at the feast a roar of stage thunder was heard, and a figure of Victory descended from the roof and crowned him with a wreath. Incense was offered to him as a god, and altars were erected in his name.[27]

Such gross pretensions to divinity were doubtless rare, but the Roman noble of the later Republic was a person of singular vanity, with a childlike thirst for petty distinctions. He loved, among other things, to trace his pedigree back to some Greek or Italian god or goddess, and, as genealogy was in Rome rather an exercise of the imagination than of the reason, this feat presented no difficulty. A chance resemblance of sound was held a sufficient proof that the family was descended from some deity. The Plautii Hypsaei derived from Leuconoe, daughter of Neptune and Themisto, for was not the father of Themisto called Hypsaeus?[28] The Fonteii traced their line from Fontus, son of Janus;[29] the Caecilii from Caeculus, son of Vulcan.[30] Hercules was claimed as an ancestor by the Fabii,[31] by the Antii through his son Antiades,[32] by the Antonii through his son Anton.[33] As was natural, such pedigrees were occasionally inconsistent. In one version, the Æmilii were descended from Mamercus Aemilius, son of Pythagoras; in a second from Aemylus, son of Ascanius; in a third apparently from an Aemilia who seems to have been identified with Rhea Silvia.[34] Occa-

[27] The story is rejected by Mommsen (*History of Rome*, bk. v. chap. i.), on the insufficient ground that it is no more true than most other anecdotes in history. But the authority for it is Sallust (*Hist.* ii. fr. 29), who may have been prejudiced against the optimate Metellus, but who is writing of times too near his own to have his evidence dismissed so summarily.

[28] Babelon, *Les Monnaies de la République Romaine*, ii. 322.

[29] Ibid. i. 499. [30] Festus, s. v. *Caeculus*. [31] Plut. *Fab.* 1.

[32] Babelon, i. 155. [33] Plut. *Ant.* 4, 36, 60.

[34] Plut. *Aem.* 2; *Num.* 8, 21; Festus, s. v. *Aemilia*; Plut. *Rom.* 2; Babelon, i. 129.

sionally some *gens* in search of a pedigree could find no god or nymph whose name could be twisted into a resemblance to their own, but in such cases the invention of the Roman genealogist found no difficulty in inserting a new name in the list of Roman deities. The nymph Vitellia seems to have come into existence to give the proper air of respectability to the Vitellii;[35] and four sons were ascribed to King Numa—Pompo, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus—to satisfy the aspirations of the Pomponii, the Pinarii, the Calpurnii, and the Mamerci.[36] At a later period the good sense of the Emperor Vespasian refused to sanction the circulation of such fables about his own family.[37]

It is difficult to say when these genealogies first became fashionable. A coin of one of the Mamilii, struck about the year 217 B.C., seems to show that they were already current in the third century B.C. This *gens* claimed descent from Mamilia, daughter of Telegon, son of Ulysses and Circe, and on the coin is the figure of Ulysses, apparently in allusion to the story.[38]

At all events, these pedigrees had become very common in the last century of the Republic, and their prevalence may help to explain why the Roman noble, even in the free State, was quite willing to be worshipped wherever he could find worshippers—among his subjects in the provinces or his fellow-citizens at home. So far as these fellow-citizens were of the same rank as himself, and therefore very probably with as lofty genealogical pretensions as his own, he could not expect such worship to be forthcoming. For it must be said for this oligarchy that in a narrow and perverted way they did adhere to an ideal of republican government and civic equality. It is true that their notion of equality was to keep the great mass of their fellow-citizens out of office as far as possible, and at the same time to make these offices go round their own narrow clique as impartially as might be. A law of this period enacted that no one should hold the consulship more than once during his whole career, and if the nobles would not concede a second consulship to one of their

[35] Suet. *Vit.* i.
[36] Plut. *Num.* 21; cf. Babelon, i. 303.
[37] Suet. *Vesp.* 12.
[38] Babelon, ii. 170–2; Dionys. Hal. iv. 45.

number, much less were they likely to recognise him as a divinity.

But, owing to the misrule of this oligarchy, there came into existence in the course of the second century B.C. the great democratic party of the later Republic, which was not so devoted to the oligarchic constitution from the administration of which it was almost entirely excluded. Whatever were the professed aims of this party, it could not help moving in the direction of autocracy. For with the Senate in the hands of its opponents, and the Comitia too cumbrous a body to work as an executive, it had no means of carrying out its policy effectively but by bestowing extraordinary powers on some magistrate whose action should be unhampered by the Senate, or in other words by bringing back the old regal authority. But among the polytheists of antiquity such authority seems almost invariably to have had a sanction in the belief that the sole ruler was also divine, and this tendency among the Roman democrats to make gods of their leaders was assisted by the ferment which was going on at this epoch in the religious thought of Rome amidst the decay of old faiths and the growth of new ideas and new cults.

But even before the definite formation of the later democratic party the first vague signs of this hero-worship appeared. No Roman statesman has been a greater puzzle to ancient and modern historians than Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. Polybius, who knew his family well, pronounces him the most illustrious man of any born. He takes his contempt of the multitude as a symptom of his nobility of soul, and on the principle afterwards laid down by Varro, that fraud in matters of religion is a public benefit, he considers his pretensions to divine powers to have been a justifiable and politic deception of the multitude.[39] Arnold is not far from attributing to him the 'anima naturaliter christiana.' To him he is the truly pious soul hampered and thwarted by the limitations of Paganism.[40] In Mommsen's view he had a strong dash of the charlatan in his nature

[39] Polybius, x. 2 ff.

[40] *Second Punic War*, pp. 297–99.

—half deceiver, half self-deceived—one of 'the strange mixtures of genuine gold and glittering tinsel.' [41]

It is impossible, at this distance of time and with the scanty evidence at our command, to understand the secret of such a nature. But so far as we can judge, his action both in politics and religion seems based on a compromise between two inconsistent ideals. On the one hand, there was the claim to be something more than his fellow-citizens in politics and something more than his fellow-men in religion. On the other hand, his sense of patriotic duty and civic equality was sufficiently strong to prevent his pushing his pretensions in either direction to their logical conclusion.

In politics his impatience of a common-place position soon became manifest. His election as ædile, when he was not yet twenty years of age, was quite illegal, and his appointment to the command in Spain six years later was contrary to the custom if not to the law of the constitution.[42] With advancing years this impatience of restraint grew still more marked. One charge he met with the arrogant and irrelevant answer that his accusers owed their power of accusation to him alone. On similarly worthless grounds he took money from the Treasury when the proper official hesitated to do so. When charged with malversation of public funds his reply was to send for his account-books and tear them up in the sight of the people.[43] Finally, disgusted with what he considered the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens, he withdrew to Liternum and spent the remaining years of his life in retirement.[44]

In religious matters his career was very similar. He had scarcely reached manhood before he had become the subject of wondering comment. Every morning he resorted to the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol and sat there for some time, usually without mortal companion. His actions, he stated, were directed by visions from the gods or by their inward premonitions. At the siege of New Carthage observation of the tides—at least such is the rationalising explanation of

[41] Mommsen, *Hist. Rome* (bk. iii. chaps. vi. and ix.).
[42] Polyb. x. 4; Livy, xxvi. 18. [43] Polyb. xxiii. 14.
[44] Livy, xxxviii. 52.

Polybius—enabled him with dramatic success to assure his soldiers that Neptune had promised to aid him in his attack on the town. His brilliant military exploits confirmed the belief in his supernatural character. The strange tales told about the birth of Alexander were now repeated about Scipio. As Alexander was the son of Zeus Ammon, so the later hero was the son of Jupiter Capitolinus. These stories Scipio refused either to deny or to confirm, and his refusal was doubtless taken as confirmation.[45]

After Scipio's death, when he had become politically harmless, a half recognition of his divinity was granted by the State. His statue was placed in the Capitoline Temple in the company of his father Jupiter, an honour unprecedented in Roman history.[46]

The position of Scipio was evidently the deified Cæsarism of the Empire in embryo. That it developed no further than it did was due partly to the nobler strain of his nature, which made him refuse to accept the crown which the Spaniards offered to him,[47] or to make explicit claims to divine honours, partly to the fact that the Republican constitution, though not in its prime, was still strong and vigorous.

After the death of Scipio no statesman appeared who stirred the enthusiasm of the masses till the time of the Gracchi. Here the same features appear as before, on their part a refusal to keep within the limits of the constitution, on the part of the people an acknowledgment that they were something more than human. After their death, Plutarch tells us, the people set up their statues in public and consecrated the places where they were murdered. They made offerings to them of the fruits of each season, and many sacrificed to them and worshipped them as in the temples of the gods.[48]

[45] Polyb. x. 11; Liv. xxvi. 19; Dio Cass. fr. 40.

[46] App. *Hisp.* 23. An allusion to this quasi-deification of Scipio is found on a coin struck by Cn. Cornelius Blasio about 100 B.C. (Babelon, i. 396). On the reverse is the Capitoline Temple with its three deities, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. On the obverse is the head of Scipio Africanus. As the head of no human being had up to this time appeared on a Roman coin, this may be taken as a mark of canonisation. According to Babelon his divinity is further emphasised by a star on the coin placed above Scipio's head—a common symbol of deity under the Empire. Bahrfeldt (*Nachträge und Berichtigungen*, p. 91), however, has shown that the star is not a star at all, but only the mark of the denarius.

[47] Polyb. x. 40.

[48] Plut. *Gracch.* ad fin.

A generation later the democratic party found a new leader in Marius. Rough and uncouth in manners and appearance, he had none of the personal charm of Scipio and the Gracchi, but in spite of these deficiencies he soon acquired, like them, a reputation for being something more than human. In his childhood the gods had foretold his greatness.[49] His eyes, men said, shone with an overawing glow (*imperatorius ardor oculorum*),[50] so that the slaves who came to slay him in the dungeon fled in terror from his presence.[51] Even the sacred grove, which no profane foot might tread, was open to him in his hour of danger.[52] When the news reached Rome that Marius had saved Italy by his crushing defeat of the German invaders on the Raudian Plain, at every supper-table that night libation and offering were made to him as one of the gods. Long after his death Catiline, his political successor, still cherished in his house, as something divine, the silver eagle which had been the standard of Marius in that glorious war.[53]

In the confused period of democratic rule which lasted from the death of Marius till the return of Sulla from the East, two other persons of the Marian family became conspicuous. One of these was the adopted son of the great Marius, the younger Gaius Marius, who was afterwards killed at Præneste. But nothing remarkable is recorded of him in this connection except that he received the epithet of 'son of Mars,' which, however, the people soon converted into 'son of Venus' in mockery of his debauchery.[54]

The other was Marius Gratidianus, who apparently had been adopted by the brother of the elder Marius. He is one of those persons whose prominence in the eyes of their contemporaries seems justified by nothing that is recorded of them. He was bitterly hated by his enemies. No one was treated with more vindictive cruelty in the proscription

[49] Plut. *Mar.* 36.

[50] Cic. *Balb.* 49.

[51] Plut. *Mar.* 39. We can compare with this the sarcastic account in Julian's *Caesars* (309 A) of the attempt of the Emperor Augustus to shoot glances like the rays of the sun from his eyes.

[52] Plut. *Mar.* l. c.

[53] Plut. *Mar.* 27. Cic. *Cat.* i. 24; Sall. *Cat.* 59. It is difficult not to identify the eagles mentioned in the two latter passages.

[54] Plut. *Mar.* 46.

of Sulla. On the other hand, during the democratic regime no one was more popular in Rome, and, as in the case of so many of the leaders of his party, this popularity took the form of apotheosis.

The story may be pieced together partly from a passage in Cicero and partly from numismatic evidence.[55] The government had freely adopted the sinister device of issuing plated coin, which consisted of an iron core with a thin coating of silver, and compelling its acceptance as legal tender. The consequent uncertainty must have had a disastrous effect on commercial transactions, and in the year 84 B.C. the tribunes insisted that the prætors, of whom Gratidianus was one, should institute a thorough reform. The prætors accordingly held a meeting, and it was resolved that that afternoon they should proceed in a body to the *Rostra* and issue a joint proclamation on the matter. Here Gratidianus saw his opportunity and unscrupulously resolved to steal a march on his colleagues. He hurried straight from the meeting and issued the proclamation as entirely his own. The scheme was successful. The action was received with enthusiasm. In every street statues were erected to him, and incense was offered and tapers burned before them.

Now the most difficult part of this story is not the fact of the apotheosis, for which we have seen precedents were not wanting, but its occasion. A monetary reform is not likely to excite such enthusiasm. It is complicated and difficult to understand, and its benefits, though great, are not always immediately obvious. But while this very fact seems to emphasise the increasing tendency of the democracy to pay such honours to their leaders, probably another cause was also at work. Allusion has already been made to the fabulous genealogies through which the Roman nobles strove to prove kinship with the gods. Logically, as Cicero had sarcastically pointed out in the *De Natura Deorum*,[56] divine parentage even on one side entitled a man to rank as

[55] Cic. *De Off.* iii. 80. Mommsen-Blacas, *Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine*, ii. pp. 82–3.

[56] iii. 44, 45.

a god; and, *vice versa*, if he were a god, then his brothers and sisters and parents must be gods also. This principle was carried by the emperors of the second century to a consistent conclusion, and the father, the adoptive father, the wife, the niece, the grand-niece, and the adopted son of the Emperor Trajan all found their way to Olympus. We ought not, therefore, entirely to disregard the fact that the Gracchi were the grandsons of Scipio or that the Marii, two if not three of whom were looked on as divine, were connected by ties of relationship with the Julian family.

This Julian family belonged originally to Alba Longa. The name, according to the philologists, indicates that they were priests of Jupiter.[57] But later, when the legends of the Trojan origin of Alba Longa and Rome grew up, they laid claim to a more distinguished origin. It is true that in the earlier versions of the legend no Trojan appears to have borne a name which could possibly be supposed to resemble Julius.[58] But it excites suspicion that some time in the second century Ascanius, son of Aeneas, and grandson of Venus, received the alternative name of Julus, and the Julii, whether instigators of the innovation or not, were provided with a divine pedigree.

The greatest of the Julii must soon have seen the aid which such a lineage afforded to his ambitious designs. While still a young man he had boasted at the funeral of his aunt of the descent of his line from Venus,[59] and though during the long period when his plans were maturing he seems to have kept silence on these claims, he had scarcely crossed the Rubicon before an officer in his camp jestingly alludes to him in a letter to Cicero as the '*Venere prognatus*,'[60] and a day or two later Cicero himself is telling Atticus that the cities of Italy are welcoming Caesar as a god.[61] The provinces of the East had of course no difficulty in recognising his godhead. Already in 48–7 B.C. his adherent, Vibius

[57] *Iovilus*, Oscan for *Iovi consecratus*; cf. Roscher, s. v. *Askanios*.

[58] The 'quod inter omnes antiquissimos constabat' of Velleius (ii. 41) need not be taken too literally in that courtly historian.

[59] Suet. *Caes.* 6.

[60] Caelius to Cicero (*Ep. Fam.* viii. 15), end of February, 49 B.C.

[61] *Ep. ad Att.* viii. 16, 4th March, 49 B.C.

Pansa, proconsul of Bithynia, was issuing coins stamped with the image of Caesar,[62] and about the same time the Council and Assembly of Ephesus proclaimed him 'the descendant of Ares and Aphrodite, a god manifest, and common saviour of human existence.' [63]

Rome was as obsequious as the provinces. Even the Senate, now largely composed of Caesar's tools who were drawn from classes which before had been rigorously excluded, followed in the same path. Caesar was decreed a demigod, in his honour the month Quinctilis was changed to July, his statue was placed in the Capitoline Temple, a temple was decreed to him, his head was stamped on Roman coins, and finally the new cult of Jupiter Julius was instituted and a Roman consul was found to act as its priest.[64]

The movement was now complete. The vague recognition of divinity in Scipio, the worship of the dead Gracchi, the worship of the living Gratidianus culminated in the state recognition of the religion of Jupiter Julius. It was part of the triumph, or at any rate of the logical outcome, of the democratic movement of the later Republic, and Cæsar's scheme of reducing Romans and provincials to one political level was to be secured by the establishment over both alike of an irresponsible theocracy.

There was nothing, therefore, sudden or surprising in the worship of the Emperors. In the provinces they naturally assumed the religious position of the Diadochi and of the Roman governors, and in Rome that of the democratic leaders. On this double basis Augustus was able to build up the fabric of his worship, which was skilfully adapted to the sentiments of the various classes of the Empire, and met with no serious opposition until it came into conflict with Judaism and Christianity.

EDWARD FIDDES.

[62] Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 443, who gives the date wrongly as 62 B.C.
[63] *C.I.G.* 2957.
[64] Dio Cass. xliii. 14, 21, 45, xliv. 4–6; Cic. *Phil.* ii. 110; Suet. *Jul.* 76.

II

THE LEGEND OF ST. URSULA AND THE ELEVEN THOUSAND VIRGINS

ONCE there dwelt in the land of Britain a pious king, a faithful servant of the Lord, whose name in after ages no man knew. Now the king had no child, and therefore his heart was sad, and he prayed God that He would grant him this most precious gift. And God heard him and answered his prayer, and sent him a daughter. Then the good king rejoiced and gave thanks unto the Lord, and said, 'I will call her name Ursula, the little bear, for when she is grown to woman's estate she shall slay the great bear, that is the Devil.' And day by day the child grew in goodness, in fairness of soul and face. Her fame waxed great in all the land, and at last it came even unto the ears of a certain heathen king who lived across the seas. Now this king did evil in the sight of the Lord. And when he heard of the beauty of Ursula, he cried out saying, 'This maiden shall the prince my son take to wife, and none shall say me nay. For if the king her father will not give her unto us, then will we waste his land with fire and sword.' Then the king sent envoys unto the British king with many rich gifts, bidding him send Ursula across the seas that she might wed his son. And the king was sore troubled, for that he dared not say him nay, inasmuch as he was the stronger. And Ursula looked on her father's countenance, and saw it full of grief for her sake. So she prayed unto the Lord in the watches of the night, and, having ended her prayer, fell asleep. And lo, a vision of all her life to come was vouchsafed unto her, and she knew that she should win the

glorious palm of martyrdom. Therefore, when the day broke whereon her father was to make answer to the envoys, she ran unto him with a glad countenance, saying, 'Be of good courage, O my father, and cast thy care upon the Lord. For last night I heard the voice of God, saying, "Fear not. Thou shalt preserve thy maiden honour, yet hold not from the prince all hope of marriage." And now, my father, would I ask one boon before I wed. Do thou and the prince, my suitor, choose me ten fair and noble maidens of a like age to myself. Then to each maiden number a thousand more. So shall I and my fellows lead forth a mighty host. Then for the eleven thousand grant us eleven ships. Last, give me three years' time. The three years past, let what God will, be. None can change the decree of the Divine Goodness which has marked out my lot.'

Thus she spake, knowing from her dream that the Lord had ordained that she should suffer death for His sake. But her father knew not all the meaning of her words, and rejoiced, and told them to the prince's messengers, and himself asked also that the young prince should be baptized and for three years be taught the faith of Christ. And the envoys came to their own land and told their message unto the prince and the king his father, and the words of Ursula seemed good to both. Then was the prince baptized, and fair maidens of noble birth were sought throughout Britain and brought to the palace. Then both kings called to themselves their craftsmen, some to fell trees in the forests, some to float wood down to the shore of the sea, some to build tall ships, and some to adorn them with gold and silver, with brass and with rich colours and carvings. And when all was ready, Pinnosa, a great lord's daughter, was set over the fleet, ruling over all save Ursula herself. Then the virgin host came to the queen, the mother of Ursula, and Ursula spake to them all, exhorting them to love and serve the Christ. Forthwith the maidens embarked on their ships, and for three years busied themselves in learning the seaman's craft, that they might make ready for the journey which Ursula was minded to take. But the three years went by, and behold, the appointed day was at hand. Then was Ursula

sore troubled, for the prince made ready as a bridegroom for his bride. She and her maidens besought God with tears to show a way of escape. Then the Lord brought a wind out of his treasuries. And it blew for a day and a night, and bore the maiden fleet to the port of Tiele. There they rested and gave thanks, and on the morrow rowed up stream to the far-famed city of Cologne, the mother-church of Germany.

Now when they had landed and supped, sleep fell on them, for they were weary with the day's toil. And to Ursula, as she slept, there came an angel, saying, 'Be not afraid, for behold, ye shall go to Rome, and thence, when ye all have paid your vows, ye shall return to Cologne in peace. Verily there is laid up for you a crown of righteousness.' And the meaning of the vision was plain to her, and when she had told the maidens thereof they went on their way to Basel, and thence, leaving the ships, set out on foot for Rome. And when they had abode in Rome some days and had paid their vows at the shrines of the Apostles, they returned to Basel. And there the ships awaited them, and they embarked and floated down the Rhine to Cologne.

But thither had come the wild Huns who had wasted many a land, and they were besieging the city. Now the maidens knew nought of these things, and remembering the kindly welcome which the men of Cologne had given them before, landed, and were not afraid. But on a sudden savage bands of Huns rushed out upon them, as wolves break into a sheepfold, and slew a great multitude of them. Yet, when they beheld the beauty of Ursula, they dared not harm so pure a maiden. Their prince cast himself at her feet, and entreated her to be his wife. But she knew that God had ordained that she should wed no man, and therefore she denied him. Then was the prince beside himself with amaze and fury, and he set an arrow on his bowstring and drew it, and it pierced her heart. Thus was that fair basket of flowers made perfect; for, lest it should be too white with the lilies of virginity, God laid within it the red roses of martyrdom.

When the fury of the heathen had spent itself and all

the maidens lay dead, as many angels appeared as there were martyred virgins. And the angels put the Huns to flight. Thereupon the men of Cologne opened their gates, and found without, on the bare ground, the unburied bodies of the virgin host. And they worshipped them, giving them honour as more than mortal. Then they buried them, where they lay, and so the remains of the saints found peace. Nor since that day has any man dared to bury his dead near their resting-place. And long afterwards there came unto that city a certain holy man from the far East, and his name was Clematius. Divine visions had bidden him come and build a church above the grave of the holy virgins. Thus it came to pass that Clematius builded a church to be a memorial of them for ever.

But a certain damsel, whose name was Cordula, hid herself in one of the ships on the night of the slaying and made prayer: 'O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.' Yet when the morning came she went and yielded herself unto death. And after many days the pious Helentrude beheld her in a dream, clad in raiment of wondrous beauty, with lilies and roses about her head. And she told the story of her passion. But when Helentrude asked her name, Cordula bade her look upon her brow. So Helentrude looked upon her brow, and there she saw writ large the name of Cordula. Thereafter Helentrude told the wonders she had seen, and the day after the feast-day of the holy virgins was set apart for the praises of Cordula. There is in Saxony unto this day a spot called Herse, where the holy Helentrude was born and where now she rests in peace. And at her grave the blind receive their sight, the deaf hear, and the lame walk. Wherefore we venerate her with hymns and fitting honour, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Such is the traditional legend, as told in the tenth and eleventh centuries, of the sufferings of St. Ursula and her eleven thousand and ten companions. Many other versions

there are, and nearly all have their special variations, but in substance the story is the same in all. Judged by modern standards, Ursula hardly merits such exaltation as the Church has bestowed upon her. She broke faith with her suitor; her sufferings were all borne for the sake of celibacy. But ethical standards have changed. In the age of unbridled license and self-indulgence during which her cultus took shape, celibacy was regarded as one of the greatest of virtues, perjury, if a means to that end, a venial sin. Moreover, we are to understand from the legend that Ursula's breach of faith was not as serious as appears on the surface. She hoped from the time of her first vision that when the three years' waiting was over, her suitor would no longer desire marriage, as he would then have become a Christian and would acquiesce in her theory of duty. Her story appealed with tremendous force to the conception of virtue and courage held by men of the Middle Ages. Her death for the love of Christ touched the imagination and quickened the piety of generation after generation of Christians. She was one of the most popular saints of mediæval times. Belief in St. Ursula and reverence for her were as much articles in the churchman's creed as faith in the Blessed Virgin. That belief helped to mould his conduct and life. Thousands of pilgrims paid homage at her famous shrine at Cologne. Churches throughout Christendom were dedicated to her. Special prayers and litanies were composed in her honour. Gilds and Societies were established under her patronage, schools and hospitals placed under her peculiar care. St. Ursula was alike the inspiration and the subject of some of the noblest work of some of the most gifted painters of Germany and of Italy. So real and so vitalising was her touch on the everyday life of many generations of Christians that it is well worth our while to examine the story of this virgin martyr and the eleven thousand maidens who suffered death with her. Upon what historical basis was the worship of Ursula and her company built?

The earliest full account of the passion of Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins is to be read in a remarkable *Relatio de historia sanctarum Agrippinensium virginum*,

usually called *Fuit tempore*, from its opening words, which was first published *in extenso* from a Brussels manuscript, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, III. 5–20, printed in 1884.[1] A prologue explains at length the motives which led the writer to compose the story. He had been of old a worshipper at Cologne in the Church of the Holy Virgins, whose martyrdom for their faith was already a cherished tradition of the Church of Cologne, and whose memory was kept green by a convent of nuns dwelling hard by the church. But our author had been somewhat incredulous as to the truth of the tale that eleven thousand maidens all laid down their lives for Christ at the same time. His want of faith was strengthened by the absence of any accredited legend extant in Cologne which told in detail of their sufferings. Luckily his faith was strengthened by coming across a certain Count 'Hoolfus,' who had been sent to England as the ambassador of the Emperor Otto the Great in order to demand in marriage the hand of the Lady Edith, of the royal race of the English kings. During his English mission the Count had visited the famous city of Canterbury, and had speech with Dunstan, its eminent archbishop. He had heard from Dunstan's own lips the story of the Virgin Martyrs, which in after years he told to the anonymous author of *Fuit tempore*, who, at the request of the nuns of the Virgin Martyrs, committed the story to writing, rejoicing that the full legend thus revealed relieved him from his earlier scepticism. This history he dedicated to Archbishop Gero, who ruled the Church of Cologne between 969 and 976. It was therefore certainly composed before the latter year. Another evidence of its date lies in the fact that Dunstan, who died in 988, is mentioned as still alive: moreover the holy Helentrude, though dead, had died but recently, since contemporaries of the writer had seen her in the flesh. But she was already an object of popular veneration, and many miracles had been wrought at her shrine.

Such are the credentials of the first detailed history of Ursula and her companions. Its publication by the

[1] *Historia SS. Ursulae et sociarum ejus, hactenus editis antiquior, ex cod. Bruxell.* 831–4.

Bollandists has thrown back the developed story by a good century, since up till then the earliest known account had been contained in the legend of the '*Passio sanctarum undecim millium Virginum*,' usually called, from its first words, *Regnante Domino*,[2] which cannot have been written much earlier than 1100. This date is generally regarded as proved by the summary of the *Passio* given in the Chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux,[3] who died in 1112. Sigebert calls Ursula's father Nothus, a fact which suggests that he had before him the *Regnante Domino*, where there first occurs the name Deonotus, obviously suggested by the statement of the earlier legend that his name was unknown to mortals. In other respects Sigebert's account is so short that it might be regarded as derived from either *Fuit tempore* or *Regnante Domino*. But while no date is assigned to the story in *Fuit tempore*, save that suggested by the part played by the Huns in the story, *Regnante Domino* gives the impossible date of 238, nearly two centuries before their appearance. From this, however, Sigebert varies in choosing the date 453, in order to make it fit in with the historical date of the Hunnish invasions of Germany and Gaul.

Fuit tempore presents difficulties of its own. To begin with, its chronology is impossible. If Count Hoolfus were really sent to demand the hand of Edith, Edward the Elder's daughter, for the future Otto the Great, he was commissioned, not by the bridegroom, who was then a mere boy, but by his father, Henry the Fowler. Nearly a generation was to pass away before Otto was made Emperor in 962, and yet the writer describes him as Emperor. The known date of the marriage of Otto and Edith is 929, while Dunstan, who only became archbishop of Canterbury in 959, was in that year a boy of four years old, having been born in the first year of the reign

[2] Printed in Crombach, *Vita et Martyrium Sanctae Ursulae et Sociarum*, generally known as *Ursula Vindicata*, pp. 1–18 (Cologne, 1647); in Surius, *De Prob. SS. Vitis*, 21 October; in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, October, ix. 157–163; by J. Klinkenberg from a Munich MS. in 'Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande,' Heft lxxxiii. pp. 154–163 (Bonn, 1892); and in Kessel's *Sankt Ursula und ihre Gesellschaft*, pp. 168–195.

[3] Sigeberti Gemblacensis *Chronographia*, in Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Hist., Scriptores*, vi. 309–10.

of Edith's brother Athelstan, 925. The attempt, then, to father the story on the great English archbishop, which has a special interest for English readers, is more than suspect, for the particularity with which the visit of the Count Hoolfus to Canterbury and the position of Dunstan there are emphasised makes it impossible to think that these circumstances are mere slips of the writer's memory. Anyhow, if Dunstan be the father of the legend, Hoolfus certainly did not come to England to woo Edith for Otto the Saxon. In fact, one cannot but feel, interesting though the story is, that the anxiety of the faithful of Cologne to have an accredited legend had a good deal to do with the timely appearance of the story and its being connected with so eminent a saint as Dunstan. Still, *Fuit tempore* does carry the legend farther back, while only less important is the precision with which the date of Helentrude is ascertained. Helentrude, whose vision of Cordula is, along with the narrative of Dunstan, here made the source of the legend, had her *floreat* hitherto fixed only by the two known facts that her dwelling-place, the monastery of Herse, was established in 868, and that a bishop of Paderborn who died in 1076 recorded in a martyrology that her day was the 31st May.[4] The vagueness of her revelations induced the seventeenth-century Jesuit Crombach to question the authority of the part of the legend relating to Cordula and Helentrude; but this view, already shown to be erroneous by De Buck, the author of the Bollandist life of St. Ursula, becomes still more impossible in the light of the *Fuit tempore*. The substance of this version was, it may here be added, known to De Buck, but the manuscript which he consulted lacked the very important prologue, which seems to indicate so conclusively its priority to *Regnante Domino*. De Buck's view that *Fuit tempore* was a mere exercise of style, based on *Regnante Domino*, thus becomes untenable. And it is not unthinkable that the omission in *Regnante Domino* of the story of Hoolfus and Dunstan was designedly made by those who knew enough history to appreciate the chronological difficulties it involved, and preferred there-

[4] *Acta Sanctorum*, loc. cit. pp. 80–81; cf. ib. May, vii. p. 441.

fore to base the legend on a simple faith in the authenticity of the inspired dreams of St. Helentrude.

However these things may be, it was the legend *Regnante Domino* which, scattered abroad in innumerable manuscripts,[5] gave the story of Ursula and her companions a wide currency throughout Europe before the middle of the twelfth century. The beginnings of the legend go back, however, to an earlier date than even that of the anonymous life dedicated to Archbishop Gero. From late Roman times there seems to have existed a church, just outside the walls of Cologne, dedicated to some unknown 'martyred virgins.' This church, according to an ancient inscription walled up in the present church of St. Ursula at Cologne, was restored from its foundations by an Eastern named Clematius on the spot where the holy virgins poured forth their blood for the name of Christ. The date of this inscription seems to be the fourth or fifth century.[6]

A local legend of Cologne tells that when St. Cunibert, bishop of Cologne, who died about 663, was saying Mass '*in the basilica of the holy virgins*,' he saw a 'most splendid dove,' which, after hovering over the bishop's head, disappeared near the tomb 'of a certain virgin.' This nameless virgin was afterwards identified with Ursula, and the white dove regarded as one of her symbols. A life of St. Cunibert,[7] sometimes described as contemporary, but probably not written before the tenth century, tells this story. If the

[5] Potthast, *Bibl. Historica Medii Aevi*, ii. 1615, 'Handschriften; unzählig.

DIVINIS FLAMMEIS VISIONIB. FREQVENTE
ADMONIT. ET VIRTVTIS MAGNAE MAI
IESTATIS MARTYRII CAELESTIVM VIRGIN
IMMINENTIVM EX PARTIB ORIENTIS
EXSIBITVS PRO VOTO CLEMATIVS V.C. DE
PROPRIO IN LOCO SVO HANC BASILICAM
VOTO QUOD DEBEBAT A FVNDAMENTIS
RESTITVIT. SI QVIS AVTEM SVPER TANTAM
MAIIESTATEM HVIIVS BASILICAE VBI SANC
TAE VIRGINES PRO NOMINE XPI. SAN
GVINEM SVM FVDERVNT CORPVS ALICVS
DEPOSVERIT EXCEPTIS VIRGINIB. SCIAT SE
SEMPITERNIS TARTARI IGNIB. PVNIENDVM

Quoted, with a German translation, in Kessel (pp. 151–152); a facsimile in Dutron, *Sainte-Ursule*, plate xxiii.

[7] Printed in Surius, *De Prob. SS. Vitis*, 12 Nov., pp. 274–275 [Cologne, 1618]. Cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, s. v. Kunibert.

latter date be accepted, it does not add much to the *Fuit tempore*. Yet, even if the evidence of the Clematian inscription did not speak for an earlier date, we have in this biography another faint indication that in Cunibert's days a church in honour of the holy maidens existed at Cologne.

Thus it would seem likely that there was a church of the sacred virgins at Cologne as early as the fourth or fifth century, and it is clear that by the ninth or tenth century that church was monastic.[8] Probably it was so at the foundation of the church. It remains to determine when the name of Ursula was first singled out from the vague 'many maidens,' how or when the startling number 'eleven thousand' first appeared, by whom the massacre was committed, and by what stages the legend grew from the bald fact of the martyrdom to the circumstantial forms of the *Fuit tempore* and *Regnante Domino*.

The earliest account of the Cologne martyrs appears in a remarkable '*Sermo in Natali SS. Virginum XI millium*,' commonly called '*Sermo in Natali*,'[9] though it is not what in modern times would be called a 'sermon,' either as regards form or context. It is assigned with good reason by the scholarly Bollandist De Buck to the period between 731 and 834.[10] Even sceptics like Schade do not dispute this date. The homilist tells us that there had hitherto been no written account of the martyrdom, though the memory of the saints has long been preserved by tradition and their festival regularly celebrated. He tells us that the maidens fled from Britain by reason of the persecution of Christians by Diocletian and Maximian. 'At their head was Vinnosa, by our people called Pinnosa, the daughter of the king of the Britons. Very few of their names are known, but we know that all were of long-tried virtue and piety. But they could not escape the persecution, and were all martyred at Cologne.' The sermon mentions the building of a church by Clematius

[8] See *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. p. 214. It already existed in 922 as a nunnery: O. Grote, *Lexicon Deutscher Stifter, Klöster und Ordenshäuser*, p. 88.

[9] This is printed in Crombach, *Ursula Vindicata*, p. 989 sq.; *Acta SS.* loc. cit. pp. 154–155; and in Kessel, pp. 156–167, including a German translation.

[10] *Acta SS.* loc. cit. pp. 78, 79.

on the spot where they were martyred, and quotes as far as 'restituit' the inscription above mentioned (see p. 25, note 6), which then as now was walled up in the church. It rejects a view which evidently some had held, that the maidens came from the East, following in the footsteps of St. Gereon and the martyrs of the Theban Legion, many of whom, according to another famous legend, suffered martyrdom at Cologne, also under Diocletian. The most notable points in this highly important eighth or early ninth century version are that Ursula's name does not appear, the princess-leader being called Pinnosa; that no date is mentioned; and that the homilist expressly states that 'few names are known.'

Still earlier, probably, than the *In Natali* reference is made to the virgins in an office of the Holy Virgins of Cologne.[11] It is difficult accurately to date this, but probability points to its being not later than the ninth century.

Almost contemporaneously with the *In Natali* allusions to the virgin martyrs became frequent. In the following list of the most important references[12] an attempt has been made to preserve the chronological order of their occurrence.

About 850, Wandelbert, a monk of Prüm in the Eifel, has under October 21 in his metrical Martyrology[13] the following passage:—

> Tunc numerosa simul Rheni per littora fulgent
> Christo virgineis erecta trophaea maniplis
> Agrippinæ urbi; quarum furor impius olim
> Millia mactavit ductricibus inclyta sanctis.

Thus Wandelbert testifies to the 'thousands' of virgins, though uncertain as to precise numbers and as to the name and race of the leader.

Individual names now begin to appear, at first very sparingly. In the earliest references to the martyrs' names,

[11] *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. pp. 282–287, 302.

[12] Oskar Schade, in *Die Sage von der heiligen Ursula*, p. 11 sq., laboriously collects these, distinguishing between various groups of evidence: first, the purely negative testimony of the early martyrologies; next, the general references to 'many martyred virgins;' then cases of the mention of some few individuals by name, and next allusions to vast numbers. The order is perplexing and entails repetition, but his catalogue of the references is exhaustive. Cp. also *Acta SS.* ib. pp. 144–151, 214–222.

[13] D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, ii. 39 et seq.

Ursula's, as in the *In Natali*, is not mentioned. Usuardus (*d.* 877) in his Martyrology commemorates under October 20 (the day before the later 'St. Ursula's Day') the passion at Cologne of the holy virgins 'Martha and Saula and many others.' In an Essen calendar, under October 21, is an entry 'Sancti Hilarionis sanctarumque virginum xi. millium.' This calendar must belong to the last quarter of the ninth century, as it contains a prayer for Bishop Sunderold of Mainz as still living, and he died in 891. In the first quarter of the tenth century, a document of Archbishop Hermann of Cologne, dated 922, mentions the eleven thousand virgins as well as their convent. The same occurs in two charters of the next archbishop, Wichfrid, in 927 and 941,[14] where the eleven thousand virgins, as well as their convent and church, are particularly mentioned. Names now become more plentiful. Another Essen calendar of the ninth or tenth century gives the commemoration under October 21, 'Sanctarum XI Virginum, Ursule, Sencie, Gregorie, Pinose, Marthe, Saule, Britule, Saturnine, Rabacie, Saturie, Palladie.' The position of Ursula, heading the list, and the number of named martyrs, eleven, are both important. A litany of the same century gives us exactly the same names, but in a different order, Ursula, standing eighth and Martha and Saula heading the list. It is curious, however, that contemporaneously with those litanies naming eleven virgins, are others naming, in the case of an inedited litany of the Darmstadt Library, eight names only, and not mentioning Ursula (Brittola, Martha, Saula, Sambatia, Saturnina, Gregoria, Pinnosa, Palladia), and in another Darmstadt manuscript of the eleventh century only five, Ursula being the last (Martha, Saula, Paula, Brittola, Ursula).

In the eleventh century references to the number 'eleven thousand' become frequent. In 1047 Bezeta, abbess of the convent of St. Ursula, signs herself 'ultima ancillarum Christi in Congregatione SS. XI. M. Virginum.' An archiepiscopal donation of the year 1080 mentions 'xi. millia

[14] These charters are printed both in the *Acta SS.* and in Lacomblet's *Urkundenbuch des Niederrheins.*

virgines.' On the boundary between the eleventh and twelfth centuries we find the number confidently asserted to be eleven thousand in an old German poem about St. Anno. The same number is found in the *Relatio de Origine Monasterii Windbergensis*, written in 1167, and in two calendars, one of the monastery of Lire and the other from Verdun. Both these give the saint's day as October 21. The *Martyrologium Augustanum* has 'Col. SS. undecim millium virginum.'

We can now distinguish the various stages in the growth of the legend. First, there are the numerous but indefinite 'virgin martyrs of Cologne;' next, their number is generally given as 'eleven thousand.' Parallel to this, the work of giving names to the martyrs proceeds. To begin with, few are named, and the *Sermo in Natali*, the earliest detailed account, declares 'few names are known.' In no case is Ursula one of these few. By the tenth century Ursula begins to be mentioned, but at first as one of several virgins, and only one list puts her at their head. Gradually Ursula comes into the foreground, though even in *Fuit tempore* and *Regnante Domino* a survival of the older legend makes Pinnosa admiral, though Ursula is leader. With the developments that followed upon the publication of *Fuit tempore* and *Regnante Domino*, the fame of the others is increasingly subordinated to that of Ursula.

The monastic and intellectual revival of the twelfth century embroidered the Ursula story into its richest and most fantastic shapes. This is the time when her fame first spread beyond Germany itself. Whatever germ of truth underlay the original story was now obscured by new details which were either fiction or hallucination. To the former type belongs the version given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose elaborate dovetailing of the legend into the general fabric of his fabulous history first gave Ursula universal fame. According to Geoffrey's 'Historia Brittonum'[15] (written about 1147), Maximian the Tyrant repeopled Armorica with British soldiers after devastating it. He set Conan Meriadoc to rule this second Britain. Conan wished

[15] Lib. v. cap. ix–xix., excerpted in *Acta SS.* loc. cit. pp. 207–209, and in Kessel, pp. 199–205.

his Britons to regard Armorica as their home, but was unwilling that they should wed the daughters of his Gallic foes. He therefore sent to Dinothus, king of Cornwall, asking him to send British maidens to Armorica. Dinothus had a fair daughter named Ursula, whose hand Conan sought. Dinothus sent Ursula with eleven thousand noble maidens and sixty thousand of lowly birth to Brittany, Many of these prayed for death rather than enforced marriage. Their prayer was granted, for contrary winds scattered the ships. Some were driven ashore on barbarous islands, where the maidens were slain or enslaved. The rest were massacred by the cruel armies of Guanius, king of the Huns, and Melga, king of the Picts.

Geoffrey's form of the story is so full of inconsistencies and anachronisms as to bear its condemnation on its face. His 'Maximian' is in reality Maximus, the commander in Britain who, with the entire garrison of the province, had, in 383, gone to Gaul, leaving Britain a prey to the Picts and Scots. The combination of the Huns and *Picts* as murderers of the maidens is obviously absurd.

In the twelfth century a recrudescence of scepticism about the story of Ursula seems to have arisen. It was apparently refuted by a wonderful series of discoveries of relics of the eleven thousand, and by further revelations by inspired prophets in which it is hard to distinguish pious hallucination from fraud. The discoveries began in 1106, when some workmen who were digging new foundations for the walls of Cologne, which were being rebuilt after the siege [16] which it suffered in the last struggle between Henry IV. and his rebellious son, came across a large number of bones near the church of St. Cunibert. These, doubtless belonging to an old burial-ground, were hailed as sacred relics. Guided by angelic visions, the workmen discovered the entire body of one of the martyrs miraculously preserved. This discovery gave rise to a lawsuit between the canons of St. Cunibert and the nuns of St. Ursula to decide which of

[16] 'Coloniensibus fidem imperatori servantibus et eorum archiepiscopo filium imperatoris contra patrem suum animante, Colonia obsessa oppugnatur, nec tamen expugnatur.'—Sigebert, *Chronographia*, s. a. 1106, p. 371.

the two societies had the better right to the relics, as they were found in the canons' ground but were the bones of one of the eleven thousand.

In 1121 [17] St. Norbert, a native of Xanten and a former canon of Cologne, who had founded in 1119 his famous congregation at Prémontré, went thence to Cologne expressly to look for relics. Commanding his people to fast, he saw after long prayer a vision of one of the martyrs who told him her name and place of burial. Next day she was solemnly exhumed and taken with other relics to Prémontré.[18] St. Norbert also, after praying a whole night in the church of St. Gereon at Cologne, had the good luck to find the body of St. Gereon, one of the famous Theban Legion. In the light of the parallelism of the legends of the Theban Legion and of the eleven thousand, it is noteworthy that Norbert found relics of both almost simultaneously.

The greatest discoveries came about the middle of the twelfth century. In the nine years after 1155, there was a general excavation of the 'Ursuline field,' as the place of the discoveries was already called. Hundreds of bodies were exhumed. These excavations were directed by Rainold of Dassel, who was then archbishop of Cologne, Barbarossa's chief minister, and a zealot for the glory of the Church and city. A few years later (1162) Rainold was presented by the Emperor after the sack of Milan with the relics of the Magi, and thereupon translated them from their old Milanese resting-place to the cathedral of Cologne, which he longed to make the home of sacred relics and thus the centre of German piety and the magnet of the pilgrimage of Christendom. The 'Ager Ursulinus' was a godsend to Rainold. His chief agent in conducting the excavations was Gerlach, Abbot of Deutz. Thanks to this enthusiasic relic-hunter, bones not only of women, but of men and children, were found, and a series of small stone tablets was dis-

[17] The date of Norbert's visit is fixed to the end of 1121 by his contemporary biographer, *Acta SS.* June, i. 832–3. This seems preferable to the date 1123, given by the Premonstratensian continuation of Sigebert of Gembloux (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores*, vi. 448–9), which Schade (p. 41) has accepted. (See *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 241.)

[18] *Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 48, 49.

covered, inscribed with the names and dignities of the martyrs.[19] Despite St. Cunibert's prior discovery, another body of Ursula was unearthed, neatly labelled 'Ursula Regina.' Stranger still were the inscriptions marking the tombs of Simplicius, archbishop of Ravenna, Pantalus, bishop of Basel, several cardinals, two bodies of Clematius, a pope Cyriacus, otherwise unknown to history, and Aetherius, Ursula's betrothed. So wholesale were the discoveries that even the faithful wondered, till all was made clear by revelation. In the convent of Schönau, in the diocese of Trier, not far from Oberwesel, lived a young nun named Elizabeth, who in 1152 began a series of ecstatic trances[20] in which she renewed more systematically the part of Helentrude of Herse. These visions she expounded, some in Latin, and some in German, to her brother Egbert, himself afterwards Abbot of Schönau. Egbert wrote them down[21] in Latin. Elizabeth, a pious but ignorant visionary, in good faith explained away all difficulties. The two bodies of St. Clematius, she said, belonged to two saints of the same name, one of whom had buried the martyrs, while another had built a church in their honour. The absence of Cyriacus from all lists of the popes was attributed to the nice sense of propriety of the cardinals, who obliterated all records of a pope capable of following the maidens from Rome to Cologne. Under Gerlach's superintendence, a hundred and ninety tombstones were discovered in eight years, and under his successor, the abbot Hartbern, another twenty-three in a year, and Elizabeth was ever ready to lend her help in explanation of inscriptions. But in 1165 she died, and the discoveries continued. A new seer was needed. Two books of fresh revelations, produced in 1183 and 1187, supplied the want. The authorship of these is attributed by some[22] to the Englishman Richard the Premonstratensian, but the more probable author, as De Buck shows, was the Blessed Her-

[19] For names on tombstones and their inscriptions, see *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. pp. 243–246.

[20] Her discoveries are printed in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxcv. 119–194.

[21] Those having especial bearing on Ursula are printed in *Acta SS.* loc. cit. pp. 163–173, and in Crombach, pp. 719 sq.

[22] See Schade.

mann, popularly called Hermann Joseph. These explanations[23] are even more extravagant than those of Elizabeth. The presence of children's bones among the relics was attributed to Ursula's fondness for children, which had led her to take some little girls with her on her pilgrimage. Satisfactory explanation was also offered for the presence of the bones of infants of two months old and less. But the special feature of Hermann's prophecies was his construction of a fantastic genealogy of Ursula, full of absurdities. Some of the later inscriptions were equally quaint, such as that of 'S. Quirillus, qui vixit sex dies post martyrium suum.' Father de Buck is righteously indignant at these inventions, though he tries to shield Abbot Gerlach from suspicion of participation in the fraud. But there is throughout too much method in the discoveries, and their apt interpretations, to make it easy to believe Gerlach ignorant. A list of names of the Ursuline martyrs, compiled from the revelations of Elizabeth and of Hermann, fills many of the folios of the *Acta Sanctorum*.[24]

As the cult of Ursula grew, so did scepticism. Geographical and historical discrepancies were numerous in the older story. The revelations of Elizabeth of Schönau and of Hermann Joseph, though inspired by the wish to solve problems, ended only in creating greater ones. They led to several attempts to re-write the *Regnante Domino* with the help of the 'revelations.'[25] How hard it was to combine the *Regnante Domino* version with the Schönau visions is seen in the arbitrary and ineffective attempts to combine them in a twelfth-century 'Prologus in Novam Editionem Passionis XI Millium Virginum.'[26] This calls Ursula's father Maurus, her mother Daria, her suitor Aetherius, his father Agrippa, her aunt Ceresina, wife of Quintian, King of Sicily; and gives a series of other relatives, constructed from Elizabeth's explanations, together with Pope Cyriacus, and a long list

[23] Revelations printed in *Acta SS.* loc. cit. pp. 173–202.

[24] Ib. pp. 202–207. Cf. ib. pp. 258–269. Crombach compiled a full list from the 'tituli sepulchrales,' indications in churches where relics were preserved, &c. More than a fifth of the days of the year were necessary to assign feast-days to the multitude of Ursuline martyrs; see 'Calendarium Ursulanum,' ib. pp. 274–282.

[25] *Acta SS.* ib. pp. 93, 94. [26] First printed in Kessel, pp. 206–219.

of bishops who suffered martyrdom with the maidens. The absurdities this 'Prologus' contained cast discredit on the whole story. Geoffrey of Monmouth's fictitious version of the Ursula legend was received by critics with almost as much scepticism as the romance which he passed off as the history of the early kings of Britain. In the latter part of the Middle Age, the sceptical tradition was maintained by the remarkable protest of J. de Montreuil (died 1418) against 'old wives' tales,' which followed his inspection of the Ursuline relics at Cologne.[27] After the Reformation, the Protestants, as was said above, rejected the tradition, and the Lutheran church history of the Magdeburg Centuriators[28] of the second half of the sixteenth century laboriously exposed the weakness of its foundations.

Reaction from the sceptical attitude led to the Counter-Reformation glorification of Ursula, the foundation of the Ursulines, the Jesuit spreading of her fame and translation of relics, and the growth in numbers, influence, and distinction of the Ursuline gilds. Elaborate vindications of the Ursuline tradition sprang from the same impulse. The first of these was that of H. Fleien, who, in 1594, devoted a volume of his *Res Gestae Martyrum* to the 'Historia SS. Ursulæ et Sociarum Virginum.' Yet more ponderous was the apology of the Jesuit Father Hermann Crombach, who published in 1647 at Cologne his vast folio, *Vita et Martyrium Sanctae Ursulae et Sociarum*,' more briefly styled *Ursula Vindicata*. To his zeal every form of the story was equally true, and he devoted immense labour to compiling a catalogue of the Ursuline saints and the places where their relics rest, mainly from the revelations of Elizabeth and Joseph, as they were preserved in the Deutz library.[29] Even to the most fervent believers Crombach's vindication of the huge and yet exact number 'eleven thousand' remained a stumbling-block.[30] So zealous a vindicator of mediæval legend as Baronius passed lightly over the story in his great work, and elsewhere spoke merely

[27] Martène and Durand, *Vet. Script. Collect. Ampliss.* ii. 1418.
[28] *Hist. Eccl.* Cent. v. p. 846 (Basel, 1624).
[29] *Acta SS.* loc. cit. pp. 258–269.
[30] Pagi, *Critica in Ann. Eccl. Baronii*, i. 561 (Antwerp, 1705).

of Ursula and 'many of her companions,' regarding 'eleven thousand' evidently as we regard the Greek *μυρίοι*, or the mediæval military 'sixty thousand,' as simply an indefinitely large number.[31] J. Sirmond (died 1561) went farther, suggesting that the 'eleven thousand' arose from the form 'Ursula et Undecimilla Virg. Mart.' being misread as 'Ursula et Undecim Millia Virg. Mart.,' taking Undecimilla as the name of a companion of Ursula. Leibnitz, working in the same vein, suggested that as Undecimilla is an impossible name, 'Ursula et Ximillia' was the original expression. The weak point, however, of all such explanations is that the evidence for 'eleven thousand' is much older than the evidence for 'Ursula.' The greatest triumph of the conservative rationalisers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in relation to the story, lay in the action of Max Francis of Austria, the last Elector of Cologne, who ordered the clergy of his diocese to erase the 'eleven thousand' from the local service-books in favour of the vague Roman formula 'with many of her companions.' The most plausible conjectural emendation of the 'eleven thousand' is that of F. W. Rettberg (d. 1849), who suggests that the abbreviated form of the martyrologies 'XI M. V.' (i.e. undecim martyres virgines) was misread 'XI millia virgines.'[32]

Modern investigation begins with Oskar Schade's original and learned pamphlet, *Die Sage von der heiligen Ursula und den elftausend Jungfrauen* (Hannover, 1854). Schade scorns the above-mentioned attempts to make the story more easy of belief. He contemptuously denounces the whole legend as mythical, and ascribes its vogue to the craft of the Cologne clergy of the twelfth century, who wished to provide an antidote for the Catharistic teaching then widely spread in the Rhineland. Schade maintains that the Ursula legend is derived from Scandinavian and old German mythology, thinly cloaked in Christian forms. He takes Ursula to be the Christianised equivalent of the Teutonic goddess Freyja or Nehalennia,

[31] Baronius, *Ann. Eccl.* iv. 483 (Antwerp, 1670). Cf. Pagi, u.s.

[32] Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte*, II. ii. 454–455, conveniently collects these and other passages in a short note. Cf. Herzog, *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. Ursula.

who in Thuringia, under the name of Hörsel, welcomes the souls of dead maidens. He regards this worship as a continuation of the reverence which, Tacitus says, a part of the Suevi paid to Isis, whose symbol both in Germany and in Rome was a ship. The custom of carrying a ship in procession on great days, which existed throughout Germany during the Middle Ages, was approved by the Church only when connected with the worship of Ursula. In other cases it was idolatrous, being connected with the worship of Nehalennia. Near Brussels, Leyden, and Deutz altars of Nehalennia were found. She appears sitting or standing, wearing a cap with wings and a long cloak, having a dog by her side, on her lap a basket of fruit, and her foot on the keel of a ship. In the Netherlands the same Nehalennia was worshipped as Gertrude or Maria, by ship-processions, accompanied by pagan rites, songs, and night-dances.

In short, Schade maintains that the cult of Ursula was an attempt to Christianise a pagan story. The symbolic ship was transferred directly from Isis to Ursula. The long cloak of Odin, the fairy wishing-cloak, worn by Nehalennia, becomes Ursula's long white cloak under which her maidens shelter. Schade attributes the absence of the name of 'Ursula' in the early stages of the legend to its pagan associations. He accuses Wandelbert of Prüm of suppressing Ursula's name in order to discourage heathen worship. In the twelfth century such precautions were no longer necessary. Hörsel had become Christianised into Ursula. He explains Martha and Saula as 'Marten and Seelen,' souls and spirits who, according to pagan tradition, bore Hörsel company everywhere. The name 'Vinnosa' (or Pinnosa) becomes significant, since the Scandinavian Freyja was also called 'Vana.' Ursula is identical with Nehalennia or Hörsel, whose story he resolves into a nature-myth. Ursula, Hörsel, is the moon-deity, sailing in her silver ship with her train of stars.

Another theory of Schade's is that the story of the martyrdom of the maidens may be a deliberately constructed pendant to the famous legend of St. Maurice and the Theban Legion. In the latter case, we find a multitude of

men-martyrs coming from the south, from Upper Egypt: in the former, women-martyrs from the north, Britain. Both bands defied heathen power: both willingly suffered death. Cologne plays a part in both legends. The parallelism is the more remarkable as the notices of the two are mutually exclusive in all the early martyrologies.

No one would now accept Schade's mythology or philology. No such goddess as Hörsel, or rather Holda from Hörselberg, can be thrown back to heathen Teutonic times. Nehalennia, the German goddess of navigation, is not identical with Freyja, the Scandinavian goddess of love. Freyja is not Vana, and Vana cannot have anything to do with Vinnosa. It is impossible to argue from Isis to Hörsel, from classical to Teutonic deities. Hörsel cannot be related philologically to Ursula. The most likely truth in Schade's theories lies in the connection of Ursula with Nehalennia, though even here positive proof of the identity of their ships is wanting. The whole doctrine that Ursula is a heathen goddess Christianised needs restating more in accordance with the demands of modern scholarship.

The weightiest modern apology for the legend was the scholarly and exhaustive study of all its problems written by the Bollandist De Buck and published in the *Acta Sanctorum* in 1858.[33] This elaborate treatise, though of course taking a Romanist standpoint, is conspicuous for its laborious research and its impartial statement of evidence. His conclusion is that a martyrdom of a great number of maidens by the Huns at Cologne is historical: he rejects the *Regnante Domino* date 238, which excludes the possibility of Huns being concerned in it, and places the massacre at the time of the return of the Huns from Gaul after the battle of the Catalaunian Fields (Châlons) in 451. He accepts the number of martyrs as 'eleven thousand,' but thinks that this number includes, besides maidens, some men and some married women who died for their faith with the virgins.[34] He considers the journey to Rome of the *Regnante Domino* story apocryphal, no less than the well-named *Imagines* of Elizabeth of Schönau and of Hermann Joseph.

[33] October, vol. ix. pp. 73–303. [34] Ib. p. 143.

He does not attempt to explain the prominence of the name Ursula in the later forms of the story. From the rich quarry of De Buck's research every subsequent worker on the Ursula legend has dug. Assuming his several premises, the only defect of his work is his neglect of *Fuit tempore*, which, as we have seen, he slighted by reason of not having before him a version containing the prologue. But the publication of *Fuit tempore* strengthens rather than weakens his general line of argument.

A polemic against Schade, entitled *St. Ursula und ihre Gesellschaft*, was written by a Cologne priest, G. H. Kessel, zealous for the honour of his local saints (Cologne, 1863). This attacks not unsuccessfully Schade's forced analogies. Brilliant, ingenious, and attractive as is Schade's theory, it is unconvincing. His assumptions are often arbitrary and make as great a demand on his reader's faith as more traditional explanations. No heathen myth embodies all the main features of the Ursulan legend. Moreover, the symbol of the 'ship,' so common an image for the Church, may attach itself to a Christian legend without warranting the conclusion that it is borrowed from heathen myth. Kessel makes a legitimate point by remarking that Schade is willing to appropriate these heathen goddesses into the legend on no documentary evidence at all, though his main indictment against the Ursulan story is that its documentary proof is not more elaborate. Kessel's own view is that there was in 451, after the battle of Châlons, a massacre of Christian maidens at Cologne. He thinks that fewer than eleven thousand came from Britain, and that these had sailors with them to help them in seamanship, who perished with them at Cologne. Christian maidens of Cologne itself joined the Ursulan host in their journey to Rome, and afterwards suffered with them. Thus the number of eleven thousand was attained. He condemns the twelfth-century revelations of Elizabeth and Hermann.

Only one other recent defence of the legend can be mentioned, namely that of A. G. Stein, the parish priest of St. Ursula's, Cologne, whose *St. Ursula und ihre Gesellschaft* (1879) seeks to prove two massacres, one in the days

of Diocletian, and one in the time of the Huns. This view has been followed by several recent advocates of an historical basis of the story.

Can any conclusion be drawn in the matter? An historical martyrdom of many maidens at Cologne is not impossible. The early date and authenticity of the Clematian inscription, the evidence of St. Cunibert's Life, of the *Sermo in Natali*, of *Fuit tempore* and *Regnante Domino*, which agree as to a martyrdom of thousands of maidens, though they differ in details, the existence of an office of the Blessed Virgins even before the *Sermo in Natali*, the evidence of early calendars, martyrologies, and charters, the finding of so many bodies of girls, point to the likelihood of the massacre before the end of the fifth century of many Christian maidens at Cologne. Beyond that one possibility it is dangerous to go. Perhaps, as *Fuit tempore* and *Regnante Domino* maintain, they suffered at the hands of the Huns. If so, the date 238, given in *Regnante Domino*, is wrong, and should be 451, when the Huns under Attila ravaged Europe. The part of Ursula in the story cannot be determined. The lapse of time between the first mention of the martyrdom and the occurrence of Ursula's name in connection with it is suspicious. That she ever existed cannot be proved. Obviously the number 'eleven thousand' is absurd: it simply means 'an uncountable number.' The story of the voyage from Britain to Cologne of a band of maidens unaccompanied by seamen is as incredible as that of the long rough journey from Cologne across the Alps to Rome and back. This careful detail was the slowly ripened fruit of centuries. It may have a kernel of historical fact, but on the nature of that kernel it is impossible to dogmatise. The far-fetched absurdities of Elizabeth of Schönau and of Hermann Joseph stand on a different plane from the legend itself. They deserve only exposure and oblivion.

Quite apart, however, from the historical truth of the legend of St. Ursula, we have the great fact of her worship. After the *Sermo in Natali* and *Fuit tempore* had appeared just in the nick of time to satisfy the early sceptics, men for

generations seldom doubted the story. If she had been the most authentic of beings, she could not have had a more real or profound influence than she actually exercised. In Cologne, where the very scenes of her sufferings lay before the eyes of happier Christians, for whom religion did not, as for her, mean death, piety and affection for their city's saint lifted high their conception of Christian devotion, tempered their ideal of daily duty, and sought expression in the building and enriching of a fair church, where the virgin martyrs should be worshipped from one generation to another. Religious sentiment, always the subtler and stronger when it is close woven with home-love for a particular spot, a definite locality familiar from childhood, knitted the pride of the citizens for Cologne with their veneration for her martyrs. All through the Middle Age, Cologne was staunch to her maiden saints. From the time of that early church Clematius built in their honour, one church succeeded another on the site of the eldest, each richer than the last. By the extension of the city walls, their church came to be included within the city boundaries. The community that served the church of the holy virgins underwent many vicissitudes. It is inferred that in early times it belonged to a convent of nuns, but by 852 they were superseded by secular canons. The church was reduced to ruin by the Danish invasion, and finally, being vacant, was handed over in 922 by Archbishop Hermann to the nuns of Gerresheim, near Düsseldorf, whose own home had been destroyed by the Magyars. These nuns and their successors soon degenerated into a community of canonesses, and not even the increased vogue which the twelfth century gave to the Ursuline cultus had much effect in strengthening their discipline. Yet many donations accrued to the community. It is from the grants of tenth-century archbishops like Wichfrid and St. Bruno, brother of Otto the Great, that we get the early references to the *ecclesia SS. virginum*. In these we find the word *monasterium* still used, *sanctimoniales* for its inhabitants, and *abbatissa* for its head. In 1048 Richeza, Queen of Poland, who was expelled from her own country in that year, sought refuge

in the convent of the virgins.[35] Among the abbesses was Gepa, a sister of Rainold of Dassel, at whose instance her brother procured in 1159 a bull of Adrian IV. confirming their possessions. The terms of the papal diploma suggest that Gepa and her sisters were living like nuns. Soon afterwards, however, this was altered. The rule grew laxer; after 1244 the rule is no longer a *religio*, and the church ceases to be spoken of as *monasterium*. Gradually the canonesses were frankly described as seculars and seemed to have lived the easy-going, luxurious lives of their class in Lower Germany described by Jacques de Vitry.[36] Moreover, secular canons, ultimately five in number, were now associated with the canonesses, to perform divine offices in the church. At the beginning of the twelfth century, the house had forty *moniales*, but in 1188 the poor ones were sent out to other houses, and only twenty-one canonesses, all rich and of noble family, were allowed to remain. It was now that the convent was fully secularised. The expelled poor ladies found a home in the neighbouring convent of St. Maximin, where they lived the more austere life of regular canonesses following the rule of St. Augustine. At the Reformation so many of the canonesses of the house of the Holy Virgins became Protestants that it was almost broken up. But the Counter-Reformation gave a new impetus to the cultus, the church was restored and some enthusiasm infused even into the selfish lives of the canonesses.

Portions of the Romanesque church which replaced the earlier churches remain in the broad and lofty nave, the two aisles, and the transepts. The Gothic chancel of the present church was consecrated in 1287. In the same century the nave, which had had a plain wooden roof, was vaulted. In the twelfth century the first two stories of the belfry were built, and it was completed probably in the fourteenth century. In the fourteenth century also an additional aisle was built on the south side of the church. Since the sixteenth century the church, till then called the church of the Holy Virgins, has been known as the church of St. Ursula. In 1644 the gorgeous 'golden chamber,' where the relics are

[35] *Acta SS.* ib. 214–216.

[36] *Historia occidentalis*, cap. 31.

preserved, was consecrated. In 1680, when the roofs of belfry and nave were burnt by lightning, the present elaborate cupola was built. At the time of the conquest of Cologne by the armies of the French Revolution, the convent was suppressed, its formal dissolution being in 1798.[37] Ultimately the church of St. Ursula[38] was erected into its present position of one of the parish churches of Cologne.

We will now take a rapid chronological survey of the worship of the maidens, expressing itself in dedication of churches[39] and institutions, relic-worship and translation, pilgrimages, the composition of special offices and hymns in their honour, the formation of religious confraternities owing them allegiance, the creation of a new religious order of nuns under Ursula's patronage, and the glorification of the maidens and their leader in art.

Considering how widely spread their worship was, the number of churches and buildings dedicated to them is comparatively small. The earliest of which we have record is the fourth or fifth century Clematian church outside the walls of Cologne. The piety of the city led also to the early erection near it of a hospital under their protection.[40] That by the eighth or ninth century they were regularly worshipped is seen from the Office of the Sacred Virgins above mentioned, and from the *Sermo in Natali*, which speaks of the virgins' festival being regularly celebrated. From the latter also we learn that some relics had already been translated to the low-lying country in the delta of the Rhine.[41] It is needless to recapitulate the references given above to ninth, tenth, and eleventh century calendars, martyrologies, and charters which show the worship of the virgins. Till the beginning of the twelfth century, however, it was mainly confined to Cologne. In that century there was a remarkable blossom-

[37] Grote, *Lexicon Deutscher Stifter, Klöster und Ordenshäuser*, p. 88.

[38] For points connected with the church see Vill, *Wegweiser zur Kirche der heiligen Ursula in Köln.*

[39] For the three or four dedications in England, see *Studies in Church Dedications, or England's Patron Saints*, by Frances Arnold-Forster, ii. 533–5, London, 1899.

[40] Gelenius, *De Coloniae Magnitudine*, p. 610. For dedications to St. Ursula and the eleven thousand, see *Acta SS.* loc. cit. pp. 281–292.

[41] See *Sermo in Natali*, printed in Kessel, p. 165.

ing forth of their cult no less than of the legend. The maidens became a subject of church-poetry in the twelfth century. Long prior to the excavations of Gerlach in 1157, there existed a 'rhythmus pervetustus de S. Ursula et Sodalibus ejus.'[42] By 1181 the Ursula legend was well known in England through Roger, a monk of the Cistercian abbey at Ford in Devonshire. He is said to have known Elizabeth of Schönau. He has even been supposed to be the compiler of her *Imagines*.[43] With the popularity of the early twelfth-century *Regnante Domino* legend and of Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'Historia,' the fame of Ursula and her maidens spread far and wide. In Westphalia, a church at Eidinghausen[44] was dedicated to her by Sigewand, bishop of Minden, who in 1140 chose it as his burial-place. Another Westphalian church, that at Wilbasen,[45] in the diocese of Paderborn, consecrated in 1148, was under her patronage.

The most notable feature of the growth of general veneration for the maidens was that with the knowledge of their passion, that 'pitiful care and awe for the perishing human clay,' which ever in the Middle Age found its voice in relic-worship, led to appeals coming from many parts of Christendom to Cologne.[46] In 1113 many relics were translated to Weissenburg.[47] In 1121[48] St. Norbert translated the relics he had found, some to Fleurus, near Namur, others to Prémontré. In 1129 some of the relics found in 1105 were translated to Waulsort, in the diocese of Namur. In 1142 some relics were translated to the Benedictine monastery of Breitenau, in 1143 some to Spanheim, and some to Disenberg,[49] all in the old diocese of Mainz. In the same year relics were taken to Zwiefalten, a Benedictine house in

[42] Quoted *in extenso* by Kessel, pp. 196–198.
[43] See Roth, *Die Visionen der h. Elisabeth*, &c. 1884, Vorwort, p. cxxiv.
[44] Crombach, p. 672. [45] Ib. pp. 692, 693.
[46] An exceedingly elaborate Calendarium Ursulanum (printed in *Acta SS.* loc. cit. pp. 274–282) gives not only the feast-days, but a detailed list of translations of relics. Only the more important translations are given above.
[47] Crombach, p. 1002; *Acta SS.* ib. 238–240.
[48] Ib. pp. 238–9.
[49] Kessel (pp. 244–248) gives an amazing catalogue of relics of the eleven thousand and their present resting-places. Cf. Crombach, summarised in *Acta SS.* loc. cit. pp. 241–243.

Swabia. In 1157 Gerald, Abbot of St. Sebastian of Vicogne,[50] near Valenciennes, a Premonstratensian abbey, obtained for it, at great expense of money and influence, the body of St. Karissa, one of the eleven thousand, which was welcomed with great pomp to its new shrine. Later, this abbey obtained more relics. Portions of the famous body of 'a certain virgin' discovered by the dove as St. Cunibert preached, afterwards identified with St. Ursula, which had been thereupon in the seventh century translated to the ancient abbey of Deutz, across the river from Cologne, were in 1170 moved to St. Martin's, Tournai. In 1178[51] the Benedictine abbey of St. Bertin, near Saint-Omer, obtained the relics of four of the martyrs. In 1181 seven martyrs were translated to Grammont in the Limousin. But the greatest translation was that of more than a thousand bodies to the Cistercian abbey of Aldenberg, in the diocese of Cologne, in 1182.[52] In the thirteenth century discoveries continued, but translations were less frequent. In 1222 two martyrs were unearthed; in 1256 another[53] was taken to the abbey of Sallesines, near Namur. Margaret, Countess of Flanders, became possessed of many relics, which she distributed in 1267 among several churches, including St. Martin's, Tournai and the Cistercian abbey of Besançon.[54] In 1287 the body of St. Ottilia, one of Ursula's companions, was solemnly translated to Huy, in the bishopric of Liège.[55] References to the 'eleven thousand' continued in martyrologies.[56] Before the middle of the thirteenth century Heligoland had come to be commonly called 'the island of St. Ursula,' the story growing that she had rested there on her way to the Rhine.[57] She was there worshipped with the peculiar reverence a local saint receives.

In the fourteenth century the mediæval worship of

[50] *Acta SS.* pp. 247–8. [51] Ib. p. 248. [52] Ib. p. 247.
[53] Ib. p. 249. [54] Ib. p. 250.
[55] Ib. p. 250. Cf. full details in the *Translatio S. Odiliæ*, published from a 15th-century MS. in *Analecta Bollandiana*, iii. 20–28, and in Banelt, *Petit discours de la translation du corps de Madame S. Odile, patronesse des Croisiers* [Liège, 1616].
[56] *Acta SS.* p. 272.
[57] Schade. Cf. Lappenberg, *Ueber den ehemaligen Umfang und die alte Geschichte Helgolands*, pp. 43 sqq.

Ursula touched its zenith. In 1305 the feast of the eleven thousand began to be celebrated with pomp and regularity throughout the diocese of Cologne. In 1310 or earlier a hospital for sick priests was dedicated to her at Osnabrück.[58] Relics of St. Victoria, one of the eleven thousand, were in 1320 solemnly translated to Burgos in Spain.[59] Church dedications to the maidens become more numerous. When, on October 21, 1347, the new chapel of the famous College of the Sorbonne in the University of Paris, which had replaced the earlier little oratory built by Robert de Sorbon, the founder, was consecrated, the fact of the day of consecration falling on the feast of St. Ursula led ultimately to her being made second patron of the church, the first being the Blessed Virgin.[60] Possibly the name of St. Ursula was not formally associated with the Sorbonne chapel till its rebuilding by Richelieu during the Counter-Reformation, when the heightened importance of Ursula-worship everywhere recalled the fact that the original day of consecration was October 21, the day of the now very popular saint, and caused her prominent association with the new chapel. Up to the time of Luther the worship of Ursula was practised with the utmost devotion by the Saxon ducal house. In 1353 Rudolf II., Duke of Saxony, built a church at Wittenberg to St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand.[61] From 1371 onwards Lüneburg had the holy virgins as its patrons, honouring them yearly with a great festival and special hymns in their praise.[62] In the diocese of Como, two houses of the Umiliati were dedicated to St. Ursula, one in a suburb of Como, previously called San Vitale, and the other at Sorego, on the shore of the lake. A

[58] *Acta SS.* loc. cit. p. 289. [59] Ib. p. 251.

[60] Heméré, *Sorbonæ Origines*, a seventeenth-century writer, MS. in Bibl. Nationale at Paris. Quoted in P. Feret's *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, Paris, 1896, vol. iii. p. 9. See also *Sainte Ursule triomphante des cœurs, de l'enfer, de l'empire, et patronne du célèbre collège de Sorbonne*, by Damien de Saint-Louis, Paris, 1666. Among the houses belonging to the Sorbonne in the Rues Saint-Jacques and des Poirées was 'La maison de l'image de Sainte Ursule.' Before Richelieu's rebuilding operations, this house had been vacant for several years. It was, with others, rebuilt by Richelieu on the site of the ancient structure. Gréard, *Nos adieux à la vieille Sorbonne*, Pièces justificatives, p. 294 (Paris, 1893).

[61] *Acta SS.* loc. cit. p. 289. [62] Ib. pp. 290, 291.

charter of 1378 refers to both.[63] A hospital of St. Ursula was founded at Leicester.[64] In 1381 Boniface IX., disliking the transference of relics of the eleven thousand from Cologne, forbade further translation.[65] An interesting instance of real faith in the eleven thousand influencing the dealings of daily life is seen in the dedication by Jacme Olivier, a Narbonne merchant of the fourteenth century, of his portly account-book to St. Paul of Narbonne and to 'las xj^{m} verges.'[66] St. Ursula and the eleven thousand inspired much church poetry of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[67]

Now also an important new manifestation of reverence for Ursula began. Religious Confraternities were established under her patronage. Their symbol was a ship, which was borne through the streets in procession on festal days. Thus these societies came to be called 'The Skiffs of St. Ursula.' The oldest of these was established during this century at Cracow. The most famous was naturally at Cologne. In the fifteenth century these gilds[68] became more frequent. Prominent among them was the Scuola di Santa Orsola at Venice, for which Carpaccio painted his glorious series of Ursula pictures. The candidate for admission to one of Ursula's gilds had to observe the following rites:—Thrice, kneeling before a crucifix, he said the Lord's Prayer and the angelic salutation; he pledged himself to repeat the Lord's Prayer every Friday and to regularly assist at a certain number of masses or say certain prayers or psalms. Piety, not wealth, secured admission. No gifts were exacted, so the gilds were as open to the poor as to the rich. The confraternities were in fact aids to regular worship, with especial celebration of St. Ursula and her company. Each prayer or mass said by any member was supposed to be added to the skiff's treasure of good

[63] *Acta SS.* p. 289. [64] See Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi. 765.

[65] *Acta SS.* loc. cit. pp. 247–251.

[66] See *Le Livre de comptes de Jacme Olivier*, publié par Alphonse Blanc (Paris, 1899), vol. ii. part 1, p. 1.

[67] Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, iii. 527; *Acta SS.* loc. cit. pp. 282–286, 298–301. In these poems, the 'ship' of St. Ursula is frequently mentioned.

[68] See the curious tract, *Ein fast grosse lobliche Bruderschaft genand Sandt Ursulas Schifflein* (Nuremberg ?), 1525, and also *The Confraternity of St. Lawrence, Jewry*, London, 1550.

works,[69] whose benefit could be shared by every gild-member. Crombach gives careful statistics of a famous skiff at Strassburg which in 1480 was laden with tens of thousands of paternosters, masses, corporal chastisements, prayers on the Passion, vigils for the departed, and 'Ave Marias' in St. Ursula's honour. Eleven thousand paternosters, one in memory of each of the maidens, made up the ship's sail, which was the veil of St. Ursula. Papal indulgences were granted to faithful members of the skiff. Fantastic as the idea of the skiffs and their lading seems to us nowadays, it appealed to the mediæval love of symbolism.

The version of the Ursulan story that was most popular during the later Middle Age was contained in that great collection of lives of the saints, the *Golden Legend*, by Jacobus de Voragine.[70] A translation of this was, in 1483, printed by Caxton at Westminster, and through it the legend attained wide circulation in England. Cyriacus is said in this version [folios cccxxxvi–cccxxxvii] to welcome the company because 'he was born in Britain, and had many cousins among them.' Princes and bishops accompany the maidens from Britain on the whole pilgrimage. Ætherius dies with Ursula. 'Julius,' the prince of the Huns, is told to massacre the maidens at Cologne by Maximian and Africanus. The legend closes: 'Thus endeth the passion of Saynt Ursula, with enleven thousand vyrgyns and fyften thousand men al martirs.' Caxton's translation is preceded by a woodcut of St. Ursula, her crowned head halo-circled, her long hair flowing loose, her wide cloak held open with both hands to shelter the maidens. In her left hand she holds a great arrow. The *Lyf of saynt Ursula after y^e^ cronycles of englōde*,[71] printed by Wynkyn de Worde at London between 1501 and 1535, has much the same account, but written in

[69] 'Ad incrementum naviculæ thesauri.'

[70] Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, first edition, Basel 1474, and often reprinted.

[71] A *facsimile* from the unique original example was issued in 1818 by the Roxburghe Club. It describes the death of Ursula at the hands of the Prince of the Huns thus:

> 'But grenned for woo with rancour he began to rage,
> He drewe an arowe his anger to asswage
> And perced the prudent prymerose thrughe y^e^ brayne,
> Commendynge her soule to Cryste with all courage:
> Thus were these sayntes dysperpled, spoyled and slayne.'

verse, preceded by a quaint woodcut of one of the virgins' ships at Cologne, the Huns slaughtering the maidens with arrows, spears, and swords, while Ursula, who has landed, is protected by the Pope as she prays for her companions.

Ursula, in the fifteenth century, exercised great influence on artists, especially in Lower Germany and Italy. In the Rhineland she was a very central figure in art. In the Ursula Church itself her story is told in a series of old, but greatly restored, pictures.[72] The vision of Ursula's mother concerning her birth, the baptism of Ursula, the journey to Cologne and to Rome, and the return to Cologne and final tragedy, are all represented. Ursula wears a long red cloak, and has her little white dog with her. On the last two paintings of the series are the names of the two painters, Gürgen van Scheiven and Jan van Scheiven, with the date 1456. In 1396 the Senate of Cologne wished to have in the Cathedral pictures of the great patrons of their city. Thus we find that the famous triptych was conceived, the 'Dombild' which Goethe calls 'the axis on which the history of Lower Rhenish art turns,' a winged picture having the Adoration of the Magi in the centre, St. Ursula on the right, with St. Gereon on the left, and the Annunciation on the outside. St. Ursula is shown holding in her hand the arrow that had pierced her. By her side stands Prince Aetherius, her betrothed, and the maiden host surround her. In the background are seen bishops and priests. The work is remarkable for its dignity, restraint, and harmony.[73] The date it bears is 1410, and it is probably the work of the master Stephan Lochner. This great painting hangs in the Chapel of St. Agnes, one of the choir-chapels of Cologne Cathedral. Cologne has many pictures of the city's saint. The Wallraf-Richartz Museum contains at least fourteen pictures by early German masters, mainly of the Cologne school, treating of the story of Ursula and her maidens.

[72] They have been beautifully reproduced in colours by Dutron-Kellerhoven, *La Légende de Sainte Ursule* [Paris, 1860]. Cf. A. G. Stein, *The Church of St. Ursula* (Cologne, 1896), pp. 19–20.

[73] For particulars see Keverberg, *Ursule, Princesse britannique, d'après la Légende et les Peintures d'Hemling*, pp. 186 sqq. Cp. *Acta SS.* loc. cit. p. 292, which cites other authorities.

Exquisite delicacy, combined with purity and breadth, marks the series of eight miniatures with which Memling,[74] in 1486, adorned the Gothic shrine in the Hospital of St. John at Bruges, which contains some of the Ursulan relics. They are among his finest works. Here again Ursula shelters her maidens under her long cloak. The childish figure, clad in its long close-fitting robe, the upper part white and very plain, is instinct with simplicity. Her serious eyes and high broad brow, from which the hair is brushed severely back, give a rare charm of thoughtfulness to the quiet face. There is real feeling in Memling's representation of the quivering anxiety of her little white dog as he watches his mistress's face at the supreme moment of martyrdom.

St. Ursula was even more frequently the subject of Italian than of Northern art. Preeminent among the commemorations south of the Alps is the series of nine large pictures in which her history is told by Vittore Carpaccio, the great Venetian artist. Painted about 1495 for the Scuola di Santa Orsola at Venice, they are now in the Academy there. Carpaccio follows the late elaborations of the legend, which make Aetherius, Ursula's betrothed, her companion in the final agony. These pictures mark conspicuously the transition in the art of Venice from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century. Original, imaginative, full of appreciation of the power of pure rich colour, closely true to nature, and yet touching it to higher dignity, Carpaccio found in Ursula the right subject for his brush. The grouping of the figures is free and dramatically effective. The incidents of the story live in his pictures, and what has hitherto seemed legend becomes fact. Ursula is no longer a vague abstraction of the dark ages; she is a living woman suffering before our eyes, daring greatly for the sake of her Lord. The wonderful dream-picture is perhaps the finest of all. Carpaccio shows her lying asleep in her simple room, with its table holding her open book and vase of flowers, and at the foot of the bed her little slippers. It is a veritable embodiment of

[74] Keverberg, op. cit. Cf. the coloured reproductions in *La Chasse de Sainte Ursule* (Brussels, 1845 ? fol.).

'ascesis,' of that severity and purity that make the most perfect beauty.

Carpaccio's contemporary and rival, Cima da Conegliano,[75] spent upon St. Ursula all the splendour of colour and vigour of execution of which he was so great a master. He represents her standing, dignified and queenly, wearing a long elaborate dress, and thrown over it, but partly opening to reveal it, her long ermine-lined cloak. In one hand she holds an arrow, in the other a book. Lorenzo di Credi,[76] one of Verocchio's great pupils, painted her with his accustomed care and finish, and perfection of clear colour, though the saint he imagines looks all too mild to have endured so much.

Palma Vecchio,[77] whose works are of great interest even apart from their intrinsic beauty, because they represent the mingled influence of three such different painters as Giorgione and Bellini and Titian upon a man of much originality, also painted St. Ursula and her company. Martino da Udine,[78] imitator as he was of the greater Venetians, took St. Ursula as his theme, rather, one feels, because it was the fashion to paint her than because he was inspired to do so, and his picture therefore fails to be more than pleasing. He represents her as the central figure of a group, several of the maidens on either hand, and he ingeniously conveys the idea of the host of maidens by showing them issuing from two porches, one on each side. This picture is in the Brera at Milan. Brusasorci,[79] the Veronese painter, who greatly influenced Paul Veronese, represents St. Ursula standing on the left of a group of which the Madonna[80] is the centre. The Cologne martyr is depicted crowned with flowers, holding a white dove in one hand. Tintoretto[81] has in the chapel of the Scuola di San Marco in Venice, at the first altar on the left, a picture of St.

[75] Died about 1517. See for all the above Kugler-Layard's *Italian Schools of Painting*.

[76] His full name was Lorenzo d'Andrea d'Oderigo Barducci (born 1459, died 1537).

[77] Born at Serinalta, near Bergamo, about 1480.

[78] Born between 1460 and 1470.

[79] Domenico del Riccio, born 1494, died 1567.

[80] In the Louvre.

[81] Born 1518, died 1594.

Ursula and her maiden host. This exhibits Tintoretto's feeling for free movement and vigorous expression.

Artists of other lands and times have equally commemorated St. Ursula. Among the earliest and best representations of her in French art are the famous and beautiful miniatures in the *Heures d'Anne de Bretagne*, which carry us on into the sixteenth century. Here St. Ursula is represented twice, once bearing the banner of Brittany before Queen Anne her patroness, and once kneeling, the arrow having just pierced her heart, her golden hair loosely flowing over her shoulders, her hands clasped in prayer. The maidens lie dead around her. In later French art we have Claude Lorrain's masterpiece, painted in 1646, and now in the National Gallery. Cranach (at Basel), Burgkmaier (at Dresden), Rubens (at Ghent) carry on the German tradition to a later age than that of the Cologne masters.

The history of Ursula is the subject of stained glass and of series of small sculptures in wood and stone throughout the fifteenth century and on into the sixteenth.

Throughout the first half of the sixteenth century Ursula-worship shrinks into the background. During the Reformation it was a point of honour with the Protestants to reject the whole tradition. Yet even in the early part of the century we find Mass Books and Breviaries printed pointing to the continuance of the worship of Ursula.[82] But in the second part of the century the Counter-Reformation exalted Ursula to a higher pinnacle than she had occupied before the rude buffets of the Reformation. The reaction was remarkable. One of the earliest of the new orders of the Counter-Reformation was that of the Ursulines.[83] This order arose in an uncloistered institute for the Christian education of young girls founded by Angela of Brescia in 1537. In that year, when St. Angela became their first

[82] See *Acta SS.* loc. cit. pp. 282 sq.

[83] See *Les Chroniques de l'Ordre des Ursulines*, 2 vols. Paris, 1676, and L'Abbé Tiron, *Histoire et Costumes des Ordres Religieux* (1845), vol. i. pp. 272–276. Also Hélyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques Religieux et Militaires* (Paris, published by Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1721), vol. iv. pp. 150–223. This has an interesting series of pictures of the dress of the various Ursuline congregations, which differed greatly in colour and cut according to the different houses. The account there given is literally transcribed,

superior, there were seventy-six sisters. Till after 156[illegible] their labours were confined to Brescia. In 1544 Paul III. formally confirmed the order, and Gregory XIII. in 157[illegible] urged on by San Carlo Borromeo, who keenly sympathised with its work, renewed his confirmation. In 1565 the first Ursuline house outside Brescia was founded at Cremona. Under Gregory XIII. and Clement VIII. their work extended over many Italian dioceses. Borromeo helped on the Ursulines to the utmost, and at his death there were more than six hundred Ursulines and twenty-eight of their houses in his diocese. In 1574 the first Ursuline community in France was founded at Avignon, uncloistered, without vows, but in 1596 these were formed into a formal community. From Avignon they spread to Aix, Marseilles, and in 1604 to Paris. There a young widow, Madeleine de Sainte-Beuve, introduced convent-life for the Ursulines of that city. In 1612 she succeeded in obtaining a bull from Paul V. by which they were bound to take, in addition to the three usual monastic vows, a fourth of consecration to the education of girls. This fourth vow has been the special feature of the Ursulines from that day to this. The order was under the rule of St. Augustine and the patronage of St. Ursula. So great was the success of this religious order that since 1612 more than 350 Ursuline monasteries have been founded. Within a short time the 'Congregation of the Ursulines of Paris' counted among its daughters more than eighty convents, including houses at Rouen, Rennes, St. Omer, Abbeville, and Amiens. Other congregations were started with Toulouse, Bordeaux, Lyons, Dijon, Tulle, Arles, Avignon, and Dôle as their respective centres. The Ursulines spread into the Low Countries, to Rome,[84]

in Migne's *Dictionnaire des Ordres Religieux*, Paris, 1850, vol. iii. pp. 756–815. See also ib. vol. iv. pp. 1527–1544, which contains additional details of the later history of the Ursulines. See also M. de St. Victor, *Tableau historique et pittoresque de Paris*, vol. iii. 1762.

[84] A congregation of the Presentation and of the County of Burgundy are treated of in Hélyot's *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, iv. 207–212 and 213–216. An uncloistered community of Ursulines was established in the church of Sta. Rufina at Rome, ib. 216–219. Ursulines are found at Parma and Foligno (ib. 219–223). At Foligno there was an oratory of Sta. Orsola. (Marcelli, *Vita della Madre Paola da Foligno, Fondatrice della Compagnia et Oratorio di S. Orsola di detta Città*).

Savoy,[85] to Quebec,[86] to Germany, to Vienna,[87] Freiburg,[88] and Prague.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Ursulines were among the foremost educators of Roman Catholic girls. The dress, black, white, or blue, and manner of life, cloistered or uncloistered, of Ursulines of various congregations differed so greatly that they seem almost to belong to different orders.

Returning to the sixteenth century, from which we continued the sketch of the Ursulines for the sake of completeness, we see that the great Jesuit Order, child of the Counter-Reformation, took Ursula as one of its favourite saints. Wherever Jesuit influence went, there Ursula was venerated.

In 1544 Peter Faber, the colleague of Ignatius Loyola, removed from Cologne the heads of six of the virgin-martyrs, the papal decree against translation either being forgotten, or special permission having been granted him. These relics he took to Portugal,[89] where after his arrival the cultus of St. Ursula speedily grew. In 1548 some relics were taken by the Jesuits to the Indies, and carried Ursula's fame thither. In 1551 Peter Canisius, the famous German Jesuit, took other relics of some of the virgin martyrs, from Cologne to Rome, and thence to Sicily,[90] where Ursula-worship was thus started. In the same year the Jesuits obtained special papal exemption from Boniface IX.'s decree against the translation of Ursuline relics.[91] From that time translations become too frequent to enumerate. But in 1588 took place the most brilliant and famous of all the Jesuit translations. Eleven virgin martyrs' heads were solemnly conveyed from Cologne to the church of St. Roch at Lisbon. The utmost pomp, special services and hymns, marked this triumphal ceremony. One cannot but conjecture that this was connected with the Spanish scheme of that year for subjugating England. Had the Armada triumphed, Ursuline relics might well have been, under the charge of Jesuit missionaries,

[85] In 1635, introduced by François de Sales.
[86] 1639. [87] About 1639. [88] 1660.
[89] *Acta SS.* loc. cit. p. 252. [90] Ib. [91] Ib. p. 253.

the means of restoring her cult in Britain. Another characteristic of the Jesuit reverence for St. Ursula was that they encouraged the confraternities or skiffs under her patronage. Never was the number of those who joined these gilds so great, or their adherents so distinguished, as in the sixteenth century.

A notable addition to the celebration of Ursula in art was the gift on February 5, 1575, by Henry III., king of France and Poland, through his proxy, Louis of Lorraine, Cardinal of Guise, and bishop of Metz, of a shrine[92] in the shape of a ship, presented to the cathedral of Reims, in the treasury of which it is still preserved. Henry had had it designed to contain certain relics of St. Ursula which he had brought back from Poland. The boat is elaborately wrought, with the figures of eleven virgins, five of silver and six of gold, standing on the deck. Ursula wears regal raiment, with crown and golden necklace, a palm in one hand and a standard in the other.

At the end of the sixteenth century, several churches and monasteries in the Netherlands[93] dedicated to Ursula were suppressed by the Protestants. Among them were those at Leyden, Delft, Utrecht, Schiedam, Warmond, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Enkhuizen, and Deventer.

The city of Cologne in the sixteenth century adopted the symbol of the virgin martyrs on the city arms. These were on a chief gules, three crowns or, in honour of the three kings, and for the main blazon, on a field argent, eleven flames or drops of blood sa. in honour of the leaders of the eleven thousand virgins. These were the Cologne arms in 1571 and have remained so till to-day. Sceptics have sometimes held that the eleven emblems of the virgins are simply the ordinary indications of ermine.

One result of the seventeenth-century Ursula-worship in Portugal, owing to Jesuit influence, was seen in the University

[92] *Acta SS.* loc. cit. pp. 292–3.

[93] Ib. p. 289. For full account of them see H. F. Van Heussen, *Historia Episcopatuum Foederati Belgii*, 1719, 2 pt.—there is a Dutch translation of this by H. Van Ryn; and *Batavia Sacra* or *Res gestae Apostolicorum Virorum qui Fidem Bataviae primi intulerunt*, 1715, also translated into Dutch by Van Ryn 1715; Isaac Le Long, *Historische Beschrijving van der Reformatie der Stad Amsterdam*, 1729.

of Coimbra, which was in their hands from the time of their establishment in Portugal till their expulsion by Pombal, and the subsequent drastic reorganisation of the University, in 1772. In the seventeenth century the University made Ursula the patroness of its studies. The largest gild of the town of Coimbra called itself by her name, and celebrated her day as one of the greatest of feasts.[94] In India[95] the Jesuits had so successfully taught veneration for St. Ursula that by 1645, in every Jesuit Church throughout Goa and Malabar, one of the principal altars was assigned to her; one of the four chief yearly Jesuit feasts was celebrated in her honour; there were confraternities under her patronage. The University of Vienna,[96] which in 1623 was given over by Ferdinand II. to the Jesuits, also held Ursula in high esteem. Of the four university 'nations,' Austrian, Rhenish, Saxon, and Hungarian, the Rhenish took St. Ursula as patron-saint, solemnly celebrating her feast-day. She was honoured there till 1783, when Joseph II. removed the University from Jesuit jurisdiction. Thus we see that, so far as university celebration of St. Ursula is concerned, Ursula was especially honoured only where Jesuit influence was strong, save in the doubtful case of the Sorbonne.

In the seventeenth century the influence of the Ursuline nuns extended greatly.[97] Costly additions were made to the basilica of St. Ursula at Cologne. Relics were still translated under the Jesuit ægis. Spanish, in this century, no less than German and Italian artists, took Ursula as their subject. The most striking Spanish representation of her is the picture by Zurbaran.[98] A greater contrast could not be imagined than between the simple saintly maiden of Memling or of Carpaccio and this sophisticated queen of Zurbaran, with her majestic pose, haughty face, curled and bejewelled hair, studied dress, with cloak so artfully disposed, crown on head and arrow in hand.

After the seventeenth century, the importance of the cult declines. Ursula's worship suffered a heavy blow from the fall of the Jesuits. The order of the Elector Max Francis[99]

[94] *Acta SS. loc. cit.* ib p. 290. [95] Ib. [96] Ib.
[97] See above. [98] Now in the Spanish gallery of the Louvre.

to the Cologne clergy shows the oncoming of criticism. Yet the educational work of the Ursuline nuns continued. The Ursulines sufficiently shared the Jansenist view to cause a number of their houses to refuse to accept the bull *Unigenitus*, and their convent at Orleans was on this account dissolved. At the Revolution the Ursulines of France suffered the fate of all religious orders, though many individual members continued their educational work. They had their reward when on April 9, 1806, Napoleon I. allowed the order provisional authorisation. Gradually a large number of Ursuline houses grew up afresh in France.[100]

It is needless to pursue further the history of the Ursulines. Their influence on education shows that, shadowy as St. Ursula was, she has had a real touch on life through her disciples. Few men or women of true history have exercised any hold on thought or conduct for a thousand years. This the elusive British martyr and her virgin host have in some measure done. Numerous and elaborate apologies for the Ursula story by priests[101] of Germany in the nineteenth century show that she and her maidens continue to exercise some power. In 1837 their jubilee[102] was celebrated with so great a glory by the faithful city which was the scene of their sufferings that it might well be evidence, in an age of criticism and scepticism, of the strength of an ancient belief.

MARY TOUT.

[99] Referred to above, p. 35.

[100] Migne, op. cit. pp. 813–815, gives a list of those in existence half a century ago. See also Prompsault-Migne, *Dictionnaire raisonné de Droit et de Jurisprudence civile ecclésiastique*, vol. iii.

[101] See above, pp. 38–9.

[102] See L. Reischert's *Lebensgeschichte und Martertod der h. Ursula, Prinzessin von Britannien, und ihrer Gesellschaft.* The year 1837 was chosen in accordance with Crombach's view that they suffered in 237.

III

THE RULE OF ST. AUGUSTINE

THE Rule of St. Augustine is writ large in the records of the Middle Age. According to the mediæval tradition, it would almost seem that the fifth-century saint and bishop had foreseen and provided for vast fields of activity utterly unknown to his own time. From the eleventh century onwards Augustine's 'Rule' became the standard of nearly every religious community which had a mission beyond the praise of God and the discipline of self. The canon regular and preaching friar preached and taught, the knight of the military orders fought for religion abroad, the hospital brother and sister laboured for the relief of sick, poor, and leprous at home, while all professedly conforming in life and spirit to the 'precepts of their holy father Augustine.' From the days of the Hildebrandine revival to the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation almost all ordered religious life which was not Benedictine was Augustinian in character, and the tradition was further emphasised in a great post-mediæval movement, the active monasticism of the Counter-Reformation. The Austin Rule came almost to mark off the active from the contemplative orders.

It is to be noted that the peculiar idea of activity attached to this *Regula* has no foundation in the actual character of its precept or in the circumstances of its origin, but is altogether a matter of tradition. The famous Rule is but a letter, or part of a letter, written by St. Augustine, when Bishop of Hippo, to a convent of nuns in his diocese, in which he rebukes them for insubordination to their prioress and furnishes them with advice as to the manner

and spirit in which they should conduct themselves 'as persons settled in a monastery.' This advice forms the text of the world-famous Rule.[1]

To appreciate its quality it is necessary to glance at the state of monastic institutions and legislation at the period of its first promulgation. The letter was probably written in 423 A.D. Already in the fourth century of the Christian era, Western asceticism had grown analytic and monasticism was in the making. From this period there appeared a succession of prescriptions or *Regulae* for the monastic life. All of these were attempted formularies of that accumulated spiritual experience which was the gift of East to West. They at last culminated in the realised masterpiece of St. Benedict of Nursia.

From the earliest days of Christianity the East had evinced its genius for the ascetic life. In spite of a tendency towards mysticism, and an exaggeration of the individualist impulse, inexorable law had evolved from the chaos of feeling and aspiration the formularised cœnobitic ideal. The recluse, abandoning the World and giving himself up to the terrific struggle with the Flesh and the Devil, had paved the way for the more human, though not less ascetic, ideal of the life of renunciation in the added bond of spiritual brotherhood. The new conditions produced their appropriate literature. Several rules for the ordering of such a life have been preserved, and have been ascribed to Eastern monks of the third century. However, the first really accredited monastic legislator is St. Pachomius, 'father of monks,' who, at the end of the third century, drew up regulations and precepts for the community of which he held spiritual and temporal control, amidst labour and prayer, by the sandy shores of Nile. Like all monastic lawgivers, Pachomius joined the enunciation of spiritual principles, the motive power of asceticism, with minutiæ of precept for its external

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxxiii. 958 (Epistle ccxi.). The traditional conception of the Rule appears in Chaucer's portrait (*Cant. Tales*, Prol. ll. 185–7) of the monk who declined

> Uppon a book in cloystre alway to poure,
> Or swynke with his handes, and laboure,
> As Austyn bit.

manifestation. It is a fashion to contrast Western passion for law with Eastern absorption in idea, and the fashion has affected criticism even here. Thus the Rule of Pachomius and that of the other famous lawgiver of the next generation, St. Basil the Great, Bishop of Cæsarea, have been contrasted with the perfect exposition of St. Benedict. Yet the contrast is not a very complete one. St. Benedict wrote in the sixth century, and his main work was to sum up the labours of his predecessors. There was but little novelty in his Rule beyond the manner of it.

The Rule of St. Pachomius [2] appears a masterly production for its age, calculated to furnish sufficient direction of the forces at work in the community or band of communities for which it was issued. All the essentials and many of the characteristic accidents of the monastic mode of life find expression in it. It has less of general reflection than of special precept. Perfect obedience, voluntary poverty, entire renunciation are of course enjoined with their appropriate discipline; silence, common prayer at fixed hours, refection in common, general chapters, public confession and correction of faults; all that could foster the chastening of the spirit.

More secular needs, the conditions of an ordered economy, are also provided for, as in later rules; regulations for the safe keeping of vessels used for food, or for the washing and storing of garments, appearing in somewhat whimsical juxtaposition with more general clauses. This *Regula* is interesting not only as the first of the monastic codes, but also for the manner of its expression. Its practical precept is quaintly intermingled with commands, whose stern asceticism shows forth that peculiar combination of appreciative estimate of the things of the flesh with full intention of foregoing them, the perfect consciousness of which is the supreme triumph of mediæval renunciation. A very climax of denial is reached in such clauses as that forbidding brethren even to hold each other's hands, and commanding each, in standing, walking, or sitting, to preserve a certain distance between himself and his neighbour: 'uno cubito distet ab altero.' The Scriptural

[2] Migne, op. cit. xxiii. 65 et seqq. Latin translation of the fifth century.

character of the religious literature of the Middle Age is als here. One chapter summing up the duties of the 'Præ positus' is interesting as an epitome of the religious life.

Let not the præpositus be inebriated. . . . Let him not mourn on the feast-day of the Lord. Let him subdue his flesh according to the measure of the Saints. . . . Let him not revolve in his heart his own thoughts, but the law of God. Let him not resist with swelling soul the higher powers. . . . Let him not ignore the evil of his soul. Let him not be overcome by the luxury of the flesh, nor walk with negligence, nor lightly speak an idle word. . . . Let him not fear death but God. . . . If he has neglected any of the foregoing, it shall be meted out to him according to his own measure, and he shall receive according to his own works because he has sinned, and according to the plausible things of the ear and the attraction of riches he has delivered justice. . . . And the sorrow of Eli and his sons shall come upon him; the curse of David upon Doeg; the sign which was set upon Cain; the sepulture of an ass of which Jeremiah speaks; the perdition by which an opening of the earth swallowed up the sinners; and the destruction of the Canaanites, the crushing of the pitcher at the fountain, the dwindling of sands on the shore and rocks which are beaten by the waves; the desolation of the glorious vineyard of Isai, so that he shall be as one blind groping for the wall.

This chapter anticipates in some measure the fourth chapter of St. Benedict, 'Quae sunt instrumenta bonorum operum.'

The other great Eastern rule, that of St. Basil, differs from this, in that it is more analytic, and written, too, in the form of question and answer.[3]

The first four questions go to the root of the matter, requiring a justification for the monastic life. The answers, circling round a few great Scripture texts, are of the character of sermons, and this character is maintained throughout the two hundred and three questions and answers which go to form the rule. Its practical precepts differ little, save in fulness, from those of St. Pachomius, but St. Basil always sets them forth with some ethical, mystical, or Scriptural justification.

It was when monasteries were already springing up, and some at least of the Eastern rules were already known to the West, that St. Augustine lived and wrote. Westerns, too,

[3] Migne, op. cit. ciii. 487 et seq. Latin translation by Rufinus in the fourth century.

ke St. Jerome, had written on the subject. Another famous Western author anticipated St. Augustine by a few years. About 417 or 418, Cassian wrote his *De Institutis Coenobiorum*, purporting to be a description of Egyptian monasticism.[4] The first four books of these *Institutes* are devoted to the actual description of the monastic life, while the remaining eight are occupied with a discussion, in the style of Basil, of the eight principal vices of that mode of life.

All these writings are descriptive merely, and it would seem that St. Augustine, writing probably in 423 A.D., was the first actual monastic lawgiver in the West. He had been drawn from a monastery to the see of Hippo, and had, therefore, experience of the religious life, to which he strove again to approximate, living in common with his clergy in his episcopal house at Hippo. The later mediæval tradition was that in connection with this he issued his rule, whose real origin was forgotten. It was therefore regarded as being especially applicable to canons: that is, to men in holy orders, as distinguished from monks, who were in the early period for the most part laymen. Hence, perhaps, the tradition of activity later attached to the Austin Rule. Its true character is best seen in comparing its somewhat slender precept with the earlier and contemporary writings of the kind. Such comparison shows that it is but a summary expression of ideas which were already part of the common consciousness in the religious life of the period, and their expression seems almost trite when directed to persons already 'in monasterio constituti.' Still the religious life was probably yet far from definite, and these precepts would come to contemporaries with a certain force of novelty and a weight derived from the fame and sanctity of their author.

The first exhortation is to unity, as in externals, so in spirit: 'Et sit vobis anima una et cor unum in Deo.' Private property is next condemned, and personal pride, which lead to dissension. 'Live, therefore, all of you of one mind and at peace with one another, and in each other give testimony to that God whose temples you have been made.' Next is enjoined diligence in prayer and discipline of the flesh by

[4] Migne, op. cit. xlix. 1053 et seq.

fasts and abstinence, but all in a general manner. 'Be instant at prayer at the hours and times appointed.' 'Overcome your flesh by fastings and abstinence from food, as far as your health permits.'

Each clause has its amplification, but in nowise its definition. The appropriate attitude to the weakly and infirm is next laid down; they are to be granted suitable indulgence, but with pity for their infirmity and no envy of their privilege. 'For it is better to need less than to have more.' An injunction concerning dress introduces the subject of vanity:

> Let not your dress be such as to attract attention; and do not try to give pleasure by dress, but by virtue. When you go abroad, walk together; when you have arrived at your destination, stop together; in your walking, in your stopping, in all your movements, let nothing be done that can offend any one, but rather that which becomes your holy life. Should your eyes glance at a man, let them not be fixed on any.

This last injunction does not occur in earlier or later rules, for other legislators seem to have trusted to the discipline of the cloister and the natural inference of the monastic spirit always condemning the concupiscence of the eyes. St. Augustine proceeds to enlarge on the magnitude of temptation through the eyes, and blames their waywardness, 'oculi petulantiam,' for the eye is the messenger of the heart. If one has observed offence of this sort in another, admonition should be given first privately, then in public, and if the offender persist she should be ejected from the community. The latter part of the Rule is less general in its precept. It enjoins the keeping of a common wardrobe, the washing of garments by the nuns themselves or by fullers, and this at the pleasure of the one in authority, lest too great desire for cleanliness of outward apparel should cause inward foulness of the spirit. Baths are not to be taken often except by order of a physician. Manuscripts are to be distributed at a fixed hour each day, and those entrusted with their superintendence or with similar charges should serve the others cheerfully and without grumbling. All dissensions should be avoided, and forgiveness for offence cheerfully extended. Obedience is to be given to those in

thority. 'Obey her who is set over you as a mother; uch more the presbyter who bears charge of you all.' he double character of this injunction, even after later rbal changes in the rule adapting it to men, points to s origin as a rule for women.

The concluding sentences remind us of St. Pachomius:

> Let her who is set above you not consider herself fortunate in power that governs, but in charity that obeys. In authority over you let her be preferred before you; in fear before God let her be set beneath your feet. Let her show herself to all as a pattern of good works; let her restrain the unruly, console the faint-hearted, support the weak, be patient with all.

There is a final exhortation to keep these precepts as lovers of spiritual beauty and in good conversation, fragrant with a sweet savour of Christ; not as servants under the law, but as children under grace. Moreover, that they may see themselves as in a mirror, this 'libellum' is to be read to them once each week.

The Rule gives the impression of an effort to emphasise essentials rather than of a serious attempt at complete legislation. It is difficult to ascribe to it any novelty of matter or special integrity of manner. Almost every clause is borrowed, in idea if not in expression, and though possessing a certain literary quality which the pen of Augustine could not fail to bestow, it is not to be compared n breadth and tenderness and completeness of treatment vith the Rule of Basil, nor does it exhibit the union of hese qualities with perfect literary exposition which makes hat of St. Benedict a monument of the religious spirit for all time.

In the Austin Rule whole phases of discipline of which Pachomius treats are ignored; for instance, the great monastic counsel of silence is not even mentioned. Still less does it enter into discussions like those of Basil, almost metaphysical in character, such as whether it is ever lawful to disobey because of the difficult nature of a command. Of course St. Basil answers this in the negative, and his answer apparently forms the basis of the chapter in the Benedictine

Rule on the reception of commands to do things hard impossible. Here again the orders have to be recei with all goodwill and obedience; and if, after patient a humble remonstrance, they are not withdrawn, complian is to be at least attempted. It may be remarked in passi that this is but one instance of the way in which S Benedict draws material from previous writers and with few deft touches adds to it form and strength. St. Basi more than any other he uses thus, his phrases often being borrowed without alteration.

The distinction, then, between the Benedictine and Augustinian rules is not one of kind but of completeness, all the difference between a casual summary and an elaborate code.[5]

This being the true quality of the Rule of St. Augustine, the mediæval attitude towards it presents a contrast irresistibly naïve. The tradition attached to the Austin Rule is essentially the union of the religious life with active mission, and this in spite of the fact that St. Augustine in his rule passes lightly over the subject of labour, though elsewhere he emphasises its necessity, as in his sermon *De Opere Monachorum*. Even so he does not lay more stress on the subject than does St. Benedict in his chapter *De Opere Manuum quotidiano*.

This attitude towards the Austin Rule was, however, a much later development. It was probably not adopted at al by men in the early Middle Age. After the sixth century earlier and lesser movements and their expression were fo the most part absorbed in the vast development of the Benedictine idea.

The Austin Rule is so bound up with the Regular Canonical movement of the later Middle Age that it is hard to realise that it plays no part in those earlier efforts towards the quasi-regular life among clerks generated by the Carolingian revival. The great Rule of Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, the abiding witness of the nature of this movement, and one

[5] In the *Concordia Regularum* drawn up in the ninth century by St. Benedict of Aniane—given in Migne, op. cit. ciii. 717 et seqq.—clauses from the Austin Rule are used to illustrate only ten out of the seventy-seven chapters of the Benedictine Rule.

which, it may be remarked in passing, exerted some influence in England,[6] has no reference to it, while it draws largely on the Benedictine stores.[7]

The name of Augustine was first associated with a definite movement in that second and greater revival which bears the name of Hildebrand, and which originated or developed so much that is regarded as characteristically mediæval.

The eleventh century took up the lost cause of the eighth, and in the general rekindling of religious thought and effort the ideal of Chrodegang, the union of the regular life with the priestly functions, ranged itself once more in the bounds of the possible. All previous legislation on the subject had been local, not œcumenical, but in 1059 Pope Nicholas II., in a council held at Rome, referred to provisions laid down by his predecessor for the ordering of the lives of clerks, and then went on to ordain that those priests who had diligently observed this sanctity of life should eat and sleep in common, as behoved religious clerks, and whatever came to them from the church they should have in common.[8]

This provision was repeated almost verbally by Nicholas's successor, Alexander II., in 1063,[9] and it was in connection with this movement at Rome itself that St. Peter Damiani, writing on the subject, cited the conduct of St. Augustine. He appealed to two sermons of the Saint under the title *De Moribus Clericorum*.[10]

As the eleventh century wore on it became evident that universal asceticism of life among the clergy was an impossible ideal. Still the idea had taken root, and a strong though narrower movement sprang from it. The attempt to impose the monastic life on the secular priesthood had issue

[6] Gisa, the Lotharingian bishop of Wells (1061–1088), signalised his episcopate by forcing the 'secular' canons of Wells to live together with common cloister and refectory after the fashion of the Rule of Chrodegang. See Freeman, *Church of Wells*, p. 33. Bishop Leofric (1046–1072), who had been brought up in Lorraine, introduced the same discipline at Exeter.

[7] Migne, op. cit. lxxxix. 1058, and D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, i. 565. This Rule does sometimes quote from other works of St. Augustine.

[8] Migne, op. cit. cxliii. 1316.

[9] Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. xvii. p. 245 [1063, xxxv].

[10] Migne, op. cit. 479–481: 'Contra clericos regulares proprietarios.' He equally cites St. Jerome.

in yet another type of monasticism. The Reformers ha looked naturally to cathedral churches and colleges whe numbers dwelt. But many of these clung to the old laxit and came to be marked off from their more amenabl brethren as 'Secular' Canons, rejecting the new regularity The members of houses adopting the reform were distinguished as 'Regular' Canons. Not only were old chapters ousted or purged, but enthusiasm set up new houses everywhere in imitation, communities which, springing often rather from the ardour of a founder than from any parochial or missionary need, approximated closely to purely monastic conditions. Members of these communities were necessarily in orders, and the idea attached to them was one of activity, the cure of souls, the mission of a priest.[11]

There is no lack of evidence as to the tradition of activity attached to the 'Canonici Regulares,' though in practice the amount of their missionary work varied with need and opportunity. The tradition finds frequent expression in mediæval apologies for the canonical as against the monastic state.[12]

[11] The name 'Canon' is indicative of the clerical character, and there is no lack of evidence that laymen were received as Canons only if 'habiles ad ordines.' See J. Willis Clark, *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of Barnwell, Cambridgeshire*: 'De noviciis suscipiendis,' p. 120. A layman could participate only as a 'conversus' or lay brother. Cf. Martène, *De Antiquis Ritibus Ecclesiae*, ed. nov. Venice, 1783, tom. iii. Appendix, Customs of Canons Regular, ex MS. Morbacense, § lxxvi., and Antiquae Consuetudines Can. Reg. S. Victoris Parisiensis, § xxvi.; Lucas Holstenius, *Codex Regularum Monasticarum et Canonicarum*, ed. Marianus Brockie, vol. v. p. 119, Constit. Can. Reg. Sancti Augustini Habitus S. Antonii Abbatis, chap. 4: 'Novitii ad nullum ordinem promoveantur, sed sola clericali tonsura poterunt initiari.'

[12] Migne, op. cit. cxciv. 1493 et seqq.—A document known as the 'Scutum Canonicorum,' by a Bavarian Canon Regular of the twelfth century. The Canons Regular seem to have been singularly open to work of any kind while adapting themselves equally readily to purely monastic conditions. This variation was from congregation to congregation and locality to locality. The great bulk of the English houses of Black Canons were purely conventual. Rev. J. Hodson, *Archæological Journal*, vols. xli. and xlii., shows that probably only thirty-seven out of the two hundred and fifty-four Austin churches in England were parochial, while on the other hand it is stated by Hélyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, ii. 90 (ed. 1714), that Canons Regular of the large church of St. Jean des Vignes served thirty-three churches in the diocese of Soissons. Again, although the Premonstratensian statutes make reserves concerning the missionary work of members of the order, their cloister at Magdeburg and its branch foundations 'became the most important points of support in East Saxony and East of the Elbe for the Christianising and Germanising of the Wend Country.'—Möller, *History of the Christian Church*, English translation, vol. ii. 'Middle Ages,' p. 319.

The regular canons incurred much ill-will from the exclusive champions both of the clerkly and of the monastic ideals. A good instance of this is shown in the hotly contested election to the see of Canterbury in 1123. The bishops wished that a secular clerk should be made archbishop, while the monks of Christ Church upheld the ancient tradition that only a Benedictine monk should be chosen. At last, by way of compromise, William of Corbeil, a regular canon, prior of St. Osyth's, Essex, was appointed. This was looked upon as a triumph for the bishops, since William was a clerk, and not a monk.[13] In reality it was a compromise between the two ideals, and in that compromise the monks won the balance of gain. For, despite all prejudice, the canonical movement had in it much of the character of a monastic propapanda.

Nowhere ist he force of personality more powerful than in the religious sphere. Founder, in the strict sense, the Regular Canons had none, and perhaps the spontaneous manner in which they spread is the more striking witness to the intense and universal character of the movement which produced them. Tradition, however, is strong, and the representatives of the new idea, searching through the ages, seized upon the personality of St. Augustine to supply their deficiency. Many congregations of Canons Regular began to profess to live according to a rule drawn from the writings of the Saint, and in the Lateran Council of 1139 Innocent II. refers to it in a manner which shows that it was already regarded as one of the great monastic rules, in one case taking for granted that it was the essential rule of 'Regulares Canonici.'[14]

[13] 'Ecce antiquus mos pro invidia quam clerici contra monachos utebantur depravatus fuit. . . . Nunc autem mores et leges mutatae sunt, et clerici, ut monachos confutent et conculcent, clericos extollunt.' Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 431, 432, ed. Le Prévost. A few years later the cathedral church of the new see of Carlisle was set up as a house of canons regular.

[14] Baronius, op. cit. xviii. 580: 'Prava autem consuetudo (prout accepimus) et detestabilis inolevit quod et monachi et regulares canonici post susceptum habitum et professionem factam, spreta beatorum magistrorum Benedicti et Augustini Regula, leges temporales et medicinam gratia lucri temporalis addiscunt.'

Again, another clause of the decrees of the same council runs thus: 'Ad haec perniciosam et detestabilem consuetudinem quarumdem mulierum,

The rule, as it was thus adopted, was no other than that which Augustine had subjoined to his letter to the nuns.[15]

This was now adapted to men, and became a thing to live by, with reverence to study, with subtlety to expound. A sudden emphasis of a faint tradition had given it a vogue.

Not only the Canons Regular, but other characteristic twelfth-century religious bodies adopted the Austin Rule and tradition.[16] Many of the knightly orders which owed their being to the crusading spirit of the revival were technically regarded as Canons Regular, and accepted the Austin Rule. The tradition is also bound up with an even more attractive contemporary movement. The Middle Age was not humanitarian; it had no shrieking philanthropies, for in its relentless logic the things of the flesh were of no moment; yet it developed a system of sick and poor relief which, in efficiency, has never been equalled, and which, in its union of ideal aim with practical ministry, puts to shame the modern palliatives of pauperism. The Middle Age was not solicitous, and all these things were added unto it.

The numerous hospital foundations of the twelfth century are generally described as having been administered by 'religious of the Order of St. Augustine,' and sometimes

quae licet neque secundum Regulam beati Benedicti, neque Basilii aut Augustini vivant, sanctimoniales tamen vulgo censeri desiderant, abolere decrevimus.' (Baronius, op. cit. xviii. 582.)

These two clauses show that the Rule of St. Augustine had acquired no uncertain standing in the first half of the twelfth century, but there appears no adequate foundation for the definite statement made by Hélyot that in the Lateran Council Innocent ordained that all Canons Regular should submit to the Austin Rule.

[15] The first sentence of the Rule as it occurs in all copies is not found in the original letter. It runs thus: 'Ante omnia, fratres karissimi, diligatur Deus, deinde proximus, quia ista precepta sunt principaliter nobis data.' Humbert da Romanis, the thirteenth-century Dominican commentator of the Rule, explains its absence from the original letter as a deliberate omission (he regarding the Rule as already drawn up for men and merely quoted by the Saint for women in this special case) in view of the tendency for spiritual love in women to run to carnality, 'Quod in muliere amor spiritualis de facili degenerat in carnalem,' and St. Augustine's being unwilling to foster this by enjoining the love of one's neighbour. This, of course, is entirely unhistorical.

[16] Two other rules have been occasionally ascribed to St. Augustine, as in the sixteenth-century work from which Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi (ed. 1846), reproduces them, but they have no connection with St. Augustine and probably owe the ascription to their inclusion in MSS. of particular Austin houses. See J. W. Clark, op. cit., Introduction, C.

they were definitely attached to houses of Austin Canons,[17] but for the most part they were independent houses, administered by religious adopting of their own accord the Austin Rule. In some cases new houses sprang from such foundations, and then a separate little hospital order or congregation was formed.

The Austin tradition was still in full force a century later, and forms a current in the thirteenth-century flood-tide of mediævalism. The new monasticism of the Friars was linked on, in idea at least, to that of the Canons Regular, and one of the two great Mendicant orders adopted the same rule. St. Dominic was a Canon Regular of the Chapter of Osma when he set out on his crusade against heresy, and when advised by Innocent III., after the Fourth Lateran Council, to attach himself and his followers to some monastic rule already recognised, he and his sixteen companions adopted the rule of St. Augustine,[18] under which the Friars Preachers have lived ever since.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the rise of many new religious congregations, devoted mainly to works of temporal charity, and a large number of these enlisted themselves under the banner of St. Augustine, as did also many of the new orders which took their rise in the Counter-Reformation, whose members were, in not a few cases, technically known as 'Clerici Regulares.' Such was the Congregation of Somasca, to which the even more famous Theatine Congregation, the creation of Cardinal Caraffa, was united, for a time at least.

At all these periods, from the twelfth century onwards, many congregations of women, to whom the name of Canonesses was in many cases applied, and approximating to the Canons in some measure by their dress, also lived by the Rule of St. Augustine.[19]

The very general character of the Austin Rule makes it a matter of question as to what was actually signified by its

[17] For examples see *Mon. Angl.* vi. 487: the Abbey of Creyk. Ib. vi. 291: the great hospital of St. Bartholomew's, London, attached to the priory of the same name. Instances could be multiplied indefinitely.

[18] Möller, op. cit. p. 408.

[19] Hélyot, op. cit., devotes three of his eight volumes to congregations of men and women following the Rule of St. Augustine.

adoption. In effect it meant but the taking of a name. In no case did it stand alone as the actual rule of life, but it was always supplemented, if not by formal statutes, at least by observances and customs. It was these, and not the Rule, which proved the determining conditions of life and work. Every shade of severity could be found among the Austin congregations, from the Premonstratensians or Somasques, as ascetic as the early Cistercians, to the Hospitalers of St. Joseph, obliged only to the fasts of the Church and to the daily recitation of the office of the Blessed Virgin, and on Sundays and feasts only Vespers.[20]

The Austin Canon of the general movement seems to have relied for instruction in the art of living regularly on observances based on the Rule of St. Benedict.[21]

Special congregations like the Premonstratensians, who were Austin Canons in name and a strict religious order in fact, relied on statutes drawn up by their founders and their immediate successors. These provisions, too, were mainly Benedictine, though with special clauses referring to particular features of the canonical life, and others expressing the appropriation of that new constitutional monarchism, which was neither Augustinian nor Benedictine, but the gift of the Cistercians to monasticism. The little English order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham, though always regarded as an Augustinian order, had its own rule drawn up by its founder with only one reference to St. Augustine, and this in his account of the foundation of the order. It is a valuable witness to the looseness of the Austin tradition. Gilbert's Order had its origin in the religious seclusion of women, and the original idea of the founder was to annex it to the Cistercians, and that monks of that order should give spiritual ministry to his nuns. This arrangement not having been approved, Gilbert gathered together some clerks for the purpose and caused them to live by the Austin rule.[22]

[20] Hélyot, op. cit. vi. pp. 405–410.

[21] Clark, op. cit. The observances are minute and only refer to the Rule occasionally as by way of etiquette. Martène, op. cit., gives numerous Consuetudines of houses and congregations of Canons Regular.

[22] 'Qua necessitate cogente associavi mihi clericos ad regimen et custodiam earum et eorum (lay brethren already associated) qui laboribus exterioribus se dederant et in vigiliis et jejuniis vitam secundum Regulam Sancti Augustini

The Templars, too, though they are described by Jacques de Vitry as fighting for their heavenly King after the manner of Canons Regular, in obedience and chastity and poverty,[23] possessed a rule often said to have been drawn up by St. Bernard, but probably written by another at his request.[24]

This, again, has no reference to the Austin precepts, but in text and arrangement is drawn mainly from the Rule of St. Benedict, while special clauses, such as that regulating the number of horses each knight should possess, were, of course, not drawn from any ulterior source. The only clause in any way reminiscent of St. Augustine is the last, which enjoins the Templars to 'shun the kisses of women.'

On the other hand, the hospitals where religious ministered to the poor, and the lazar-houses where brethren and sisters, healthy and leprous alike, led the regular life, were minutely regulated by statutes containing frequent references to the Austin Rule, and sometimes textual borrowings from it.[25]

The Dominican constitutions were drawn up independently of the Rule by which the order professedly lived, though, like the hospital statutes, containing occasional reference to it. Humbert of Romans, a great Dominican writer, and fifth general of his order, in the introduction to his 'Expositio Regulae Beati Augustini,'[26] avows that one of the chief motives for the adoption of this Rule by St. Dominic was its very generality, for it was necessary in

tenerent.' Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 947: 'Of the Sempringham or Gilbertine Canons.' Institutiones beati Gilberti et successorum ejus, etc. § ii. On this subject see Rose Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham* (1901).

[23] 'More canonicorum regularium in obedientia et castitate et sine proprio militaturi summo regi.' Jacobus de Vitriaco, *Historia Iherosol.* cap. lxv. in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, i. 1083 (Han. 1611).

[24] Migne, op. cit. clxvi. 853, 859.

[25] *Statuts d'Hôtels-Dieu et de Léproseries, Recueil de Textes du XII^e au XIV^e Siècle*, publié par Léon Le Grand, in Picard's *Collection de Textes pour l'Étude et l'Enseignement de l'Histoire.* It is shown here that the Statutes of the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem exercised an immense influence on the institutions of other hospital foundations, and the fourth article of thesei s copied word for word from the Rule of St. Augustine. (Introduction, page ix.) Cf. Article 2 of the Statutes of the Hôtel-Dieu of Montdidier (p. 36). The Statutes of the Hospitals of Aubrac and Angers seem to be founded almost wholly on the Rule and the customs in use among Canons Regular.

[26] La Bigne, *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, xxv. 567, Lugduni (1675).

instituting the new Order of Preachers to provide new institutions, as concerning study and poverty (corporate as well as individual), and a rule had to be chosen which would not conflict with these. He tenders as further motives that St. Dominic had already prospered under that Rule in all good, and also, that as the new order was to consist of 'litterati,' there was an appropriateness in that one passage ran thus: 'Codices certa hora singulis diebus petantur:' 'Manuscripts should be asked for at a fixed hour each day.' This last statement is merely an example of mediæval ingenuity in the interpretation of texts. The Austin Rule was not more favourable to learning than any other, and the sentence quoted is only a bit of economic legislation which finds a precedent as early as Pachomius. The true motive was the union of prestige and pliability which the Rule afforded.

In later periods, the adoption of the Austin Rule came to be more than ever matter of tradition, often accompanying the formal recognition by the Pope and the taking of solemn vows. Orders which had been in existence for some time without any reference to a rule beyond their own peculiar customs were thus subjected to it, as in the case of the Somasques, 1568. This application of the Austin Rule is not the only example of the later formalisation of what had been a living force to the men of the Middle Age. An almost grotesque instance is the foundation of the military order of St. Stephen in Tuscany, in the year 1561, technically under the rule of St. Benedict, though its members were allowed to marry twice.[27]

Still there is an appropriateness in the adoption of the Austin Rule by post-Reformation monastic bodies, for even in the case of congregations like the Jesuits who had no formal connection with it, the propagandist character of this new monasticism was a true development of the Austin idea.

The words of Humbert of Romans bring out another side of the mediæval attitude to the Rule. Not only was it frequently read aloud in chapter, but choice spirits among

[27] Hélyot, op. cit. vi. 249.

disciples of St. Augustine undertook to expound it, to ke its dark sayings clear, to comment upon it unto edifica-n. As says Humbert: 'The following exposition sets th its doubtful points and makes clear the reasons of ose things which are there propounded, showing how eful they are, so that those living under it, and especially ne Friars Preachers who have elected to live by it, may now to what they are bound, and when known they may both regard it with devotion and diligently observe its precepts.'

The Middle Age is full of commentary, often creative rather than critical, and it was inevitable that the words of a master should be subjected to it. A greater commentator than Humbert was the twelfth-century mystic theologian Hugh of St. Victor, and another of lesser repute was Adam 'the Anglo-Scot,' first prior of the Norbertine house of Whithorn in Wigtonshire.[28]

Each of these, men of European reputation, furnished his contribution to the exposition of the text of that Rule by which they lived. As was inevitable from its nature, the commentary resolved itself into a series of sermons, interesting less as glosses than as literary efforts marked by the special qualities of the author.

The treatment is the same in all, the Rule being broken up into sections and the idea expanded by ethical and philosophical justification or historical and Scriptural illustration. The interest lies rather in the expression than in the main thought, which is but an amplification of the original and runs on much the same lines in each case, the quotation of texts and the actual phrasing being often curiously coincident.

Hugh stands out from the others by reason of a certain theological flavour and superiority in expression. His Scriptural quotation is exquisitely apt, while his precision of terms gives a theological character to what is really very easy reading. The mediæval trick of antithesis is nowhere handled more ably, while his fondling of words and phrases tempts the reader to trace a literary link between the

[28] Migne, op. cit. clxxvi. 881–924. Ib. cxcviii. (Treatise by Adam *De Ordine, Habitu, et Professione Canonicorum Ordinis Premonstratensis.* Exposition of the Rule, pp. 514–580.)

famous theologian and the other great Victorine of the ne generation, Adam, not least among mediæval hymn-write and whose style has been well described as 'decorated.' is impossible to give an adequate impression by quotatio but the treatment may be illustrated. His exposition o St. Augustine's injunction to prayer begins thus: 'Ant tempus orare est providentia. In tempore constituto orar est obedientia. Tempus orandi præterire est negligentia Again, in commenting on the clause which forbids private property: 'They who deny themselves for Christ's sake conquer nature by the virtue of the soul, for the love of God, which is strong as death, extinguishes not only unlawful desires, but likewise corporal and natural instincts.' As usual he illustrates by a text: 'Nihil habentes, omnia possidentes' (2 Cor. vi.).

Adam's exposition differs mainly in degree, but it is individualised by certain traits. He does not define so much as Hugh, but he loves allegory and works it out to a degree naïve though not crude, and his thought is often whimsically elaborate.

In commenting on the injunction to prayer he does not indulge in general reflection, but, regardless of the fact that the Rule fixes no special hours, he enters into an elaborate justification of the Canonical hours as observed by the Church, showing that David adored the Lord three times in the day, that Peter and John went up to the Temple at the ninth hour, and Peter prayed at the sixth hour: 'Media nocte surgebam ad confitendum tibi' (Psalm cxviii.). So again Adam observes that the two great commandments of the law include a third, the love of self; for love of God and neighbour is true charity to oneself;—an instance of the whimsical element in his habit of thought.

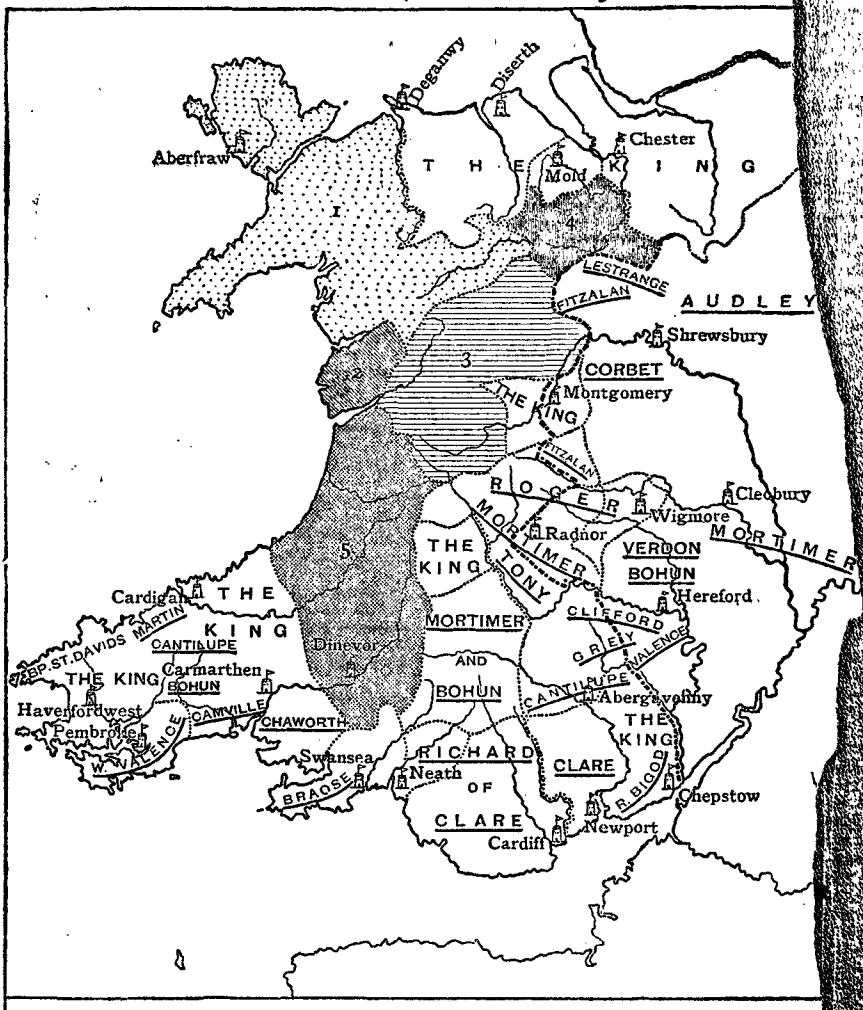
Humbert of Romans was probably acquainted with these earlier commentaries, at least that of Hugh, and he treats the Rule in much the same manner, though, when possible, emphasising a special application to his own order. He has the same copious illustration, with some of Hugh's tendency to define, and a shrewd appeal to common sense all his own. Thus, in commenting on community of goods, he

gues that this was the condition in the state of nature fore sin, in the state of grace in the early Church, and ould be again in the future state in heaven—then what tter, either as imitation or anticipation?

A review of these writings adds nothing to the history of monasticism, yet they are in keeping with the character of the much-idealised Rule. Professedly expositions of a piece of definite legislation, they might with equal aptness be entitled 'Sermons on Gospel Precepts.'

ELIZABETH SPEAKMAN.

WALES AND THE MARCH, after the Treaty of Woodstock



1 *Lands of Gruffydd and Owain, sons of Llywelyn.* i.e. Anglesey, Snowdon, Arddudwy, Penllyn, Edeirnion.

2 *Lands of Maredudd ap Llywelyn.* i.e. Merioneth.

3 *Lands of Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn.* i.e. Cyveiliog, Arwystli, Ystrad-Marchell, Powysland, Welshpool, Caereinion, Machnant, Mechain, Mawddwy, Deythur.

4 *Lands of Gruffydd ap Madog.* i.e. Bromfield, Yale, Maelor, and Chirk.

5 *Lands of the South Welsh princes,* Maredudd ap Owain, Maredudd ap Rhys, Rhys Vychan, & Maelgwn Vych

Western boundary of English Shires shown thus:-..... *Castles, shown thus:-*

Possessions of Baronial Houses underlined, as MORTIMER

The King's Lands in Wales and Cheshire, were granted in 1254 to Edward.

Walker & Cockerell sc.

IV

WALES AND THE MARCH DURING THE BARONS' WARS

THE history of the Barons' Wars of the reign of Henry III has often been written by historians of great ability and knowledge. It is unlikely that with the existing material any important new facts can be brought out which have escaped the researches of Pauli, Blaauw, Prothero, or Bémont, to name only recent writers. But the accident which has led the majority of recent scholars to cast their studies in the form of biographies of the dominating personality of Simon de Montfort has made it easy for the side issues of the contest to receive inadequate consideration. Thus for, example, one aspect at least of the war has not yet been studied with any particularity, and that is the part played by Wales and the March of Wales in bringing about and in determining the course of the struggle. If towards the close of the contest the prominence of the rival alliances of Montfort with Llywelyn and of the Marchers with Edward has forced itself upon the attention, the complicated local, personal, and racial considerations which preceded these alliances and made them possible have, so far as the present writer knows, never been worked out.[1] He must himself plead guilty to having more than once made hasty generalisations when dealing

[1] Eyton's *Shropshire*, despite its wonderful learning, generally assumes that those who were Royalists in 1263 or 1264 were always Royalists. Thus it praises Mortimer, Fitzalan, Audley, and others for a 'consistency' which does not belong to them. Professor Oman's interesting but not always precise account of the Western Campaign of 1265, in his *History of the Art of War*, is thrown somewhat out of focus by ignoring the importance of the Welsh element in Montfort's party. The short chapter devoted to the subject in Mr. J. E. Morris's scholarly and original *Welsh Wars of Edward I.* tends towards the opposite error of regarding the policy of Marcher lords like Gloucester as mainly depending on their local Welsh interests.

with the lives of some of the worthies of the time in t
Dictionary of National Biography, and in particular
having antedated the league of Llywelyn with Mor
fort and the alliance of the Marchers with the Lo
Edward. The present paper attempts to recast the fact
that can be gathered from printed sources in a somewha
different mould from those into which they have hitherto
been poured. It aims at showing, by a narrative of nearly
ten years of struggle, how both the relations of the Welsh and
English peoples and the alliances and hostilities of the
Marcher nobles with each other and their Welsh neighbours
reacted on English politics, and how in the end they largely
strengthened the martial and feudal element in the English
State, and permitted the establishment of that strong Welsh
power, which subsequently cost Edward I. so many efforts to
dominate.

During the first half of the thirteenth century both Wales and the March were exerting a steadily increasing influence on English politics. The successful career of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, called by his contemporary, Matthew Paris, Llywelyn the Great,[2] established a Celtic power strong enough to check the Marcher inroads and exert a considerable influence, as for example in the struggle for Magna Carta, on the wider destinies of England. Not to speak of the great part played by the Palatine Earls of Chester, the history of the house of Marshall showed how one Marcher chieftain could restore prosperity and law to England after the anarchy of the French invasion, while in the next generation his sons stood forth as the heads of the opposition to the foolish policy of a weak but well-meaning king. Nor did the importance of the West decline when Llywelyn's son David found himself unable to bend the bow of his mighty father, and when the ancient line of the Earls of Chester came to an end and the Marshall inheritance was split up into fragments, to be scrambled for among numerous coheirs. The place left vacant by Llywelyn the Great was

[2] 'David . . . junior . . . trium filiorum *magni Leolini* principis Norwalliae, cujus triumphi innumerabiles tractatus exigerent speciales.'—*Hist. Major*, v. 78.

n taken up by his grandson Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, ile the greatness of the house of Clare in Glamorgan l Gwent, the rapidly rising fortunes of the Mortimers the Middle March, and above all the establishment of e Lord Edward in the seat of Hugh Lupus ensured e continuity of Welsh and Marcher influence on English olitical life.

It is a commonplace to look upon the native lords of Gwynedd as necessarily opposed to the Norman Barons of he March of Wales. But as time went on the same approximation between the two was being brought about which in due course made the Normans of Ireland more Irish than the Irish themselves. Yet the necessarily close connection of Welsh and English politics made it impossible for the struggle of Celtic chieftain and feudal baron in Wales to be fought out in the same isolation from wider movements as was essentially the case in Ireland. The English king was too near and his power too great for either the Welsh prince or the Marcher lord to forget that they often had common interests to uphold against him. In particular it was the duty of both alike to maintain unimpaired their practical freedom from control within their own territories, and to see that the nominal subjection which both alike acknowledged was in no wise converted into a real one. Even the fact that the chief lordships Marcher were held by great English houses never allowed this to be forgotten. Nor was the social antagonism of Welsh and English so great as it would seem at first sight. National animosity was a much less settled thing in the thirteenth than it is in the nineteenth century. Llywelyn ab Iorwerth had but worked out more systematically the policy of the early Marchers in negotiating intermarriages between his own kin and the chief Marcher houses. He himself was the husband of King John's bastard daughter, and his own daughters found their husbands in the families of Chester, Braose, Mortimer, Clifford, and Lacy. The smaller Welsh chieftains had equally intimate relations with their Anglo-Norman neighbours, and on the other hand the 'Welshery' on the Marcher estates were the great majority of the population,

and without their general acquiescence in their lords' rul would hardly have endured as it did. Welsh sentim was clannish and local rather than national, and a natio champion from a distant tribe or district appealed to th less than the traditional local lord. It was only in Gwyne that any distinctively Welsh national feeling existed, a this sentiment as much as the natural fortress of Snowdo made Gwynedd ever unconquerable. With all his successe Llywelyn ap Iorwerth was never more than 'prince of Nort Wales.' After his death even North Wales ceased to be for the time a political unity. Davydd the half-blood was disliked by his subjects, who would gladly have been ruled by his brother Gruffydd, whom Henry III. kept in prison in the Tower. On Davydd's death in 1246, the power of Gwynedd still further declined through the quarrels of the sons of Gruffydd, who now ruled in his stead, and who strove to partition his lands after the ancient Welsh fashion. Their quarrels were the opportunity of the English king, and on April 30, 1247, Henry III. divided Wales as he would by the Treaty of Woodstock.[3]

By this the king took possession of all the lands between the Conway and the Cheshire boundary. The most important of these districts were the Four Cantreds of Perveddwlad, the central country, Rhos, Rhuvoniog, Duffryn Clwyd, an Tygeingl or Englefield. These regions included the weste and northern parts of the modern shires of Denbigh an Flint, with a small part of Carnarvonshire. The land Mold, the south-western part of Flintshire, was also give up. The effect of the treaty in North Wales was t extend the English boundary from the Dee to the Conwa Moreover, by omitting all reference to them, the treat ignored any authority that the sons of Gruffydd might hav claimed over those parts of South Wales, now included in Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, that were still ruled by Welsh chieftains. Thus the sons of Gruffydd were strictly limited to Gwynedd in its narrower sense. Even here Merioneth was in the hands of a practically independent

[3] *Foedera*, i. 267; cf. *Worcester Annals*, p. 438: 'Duo fratres filii Griffini pacificati sunt cum rege, tota Wallia citra Abercunwey cedente in usum regis, Snaudonia et Angleseia in usus eorum.' See map, p. 76.

rince. Anglesey (Môn) and 'Snowdon' were the only regions here their authority was really recognised. Here Llywelyn nd Owain, the elder sons, had to divide the land. And s time went on their younger brothers, Davydd and Rhodri, lso enforced their claim to a share in the Principality.

Llywelyn was the strongest of the sons of Gruffydd. For the next few years he busied himself in getting the better of his brothers and his other Gwyneddian rivals. In 1254 he made two great steps forward by the deposition and imprisonment of Owain, and the flight of Davydd to England, while the same year witnessed his annexation of Merioneth on the death of its local chieftain. But Llywelyn had still to reckon with two other powers, the rival Welsh princes of the east and south, and the Marcher lords. On Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's death the local dynasts of Powys and Deheubarth had come back to power. Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, a Corbet on his mother's side, ruled in Arwystli, which of old had been part of Gwynedd, as well as in Ystrad Marchell, Pool, Mechain, Mawddwy, Deythur, Cyveiliog, Caereinion, and Mochnant, which constituted Upper Powys.[4] Gruffydd ap Madog, who had married an Audley, was now once more lord of Lower Powys, including Bromfield and Yale (eastern Denbighshire) and Maelor Saesneg (the south-eastern detached portion of the modern Flintshire). The rivalries of Maelgwn Vychan, Maredudd ap Rhys, and Maredudd ap Owain divided the district between Dyvi and Towy, where lone Welsh princes still bore sway in the south.

Great changes were progressing in the March, that is in he part of Wales ruled by Norman barons. The Bollers, ords of Montgomery, died out under King John. In 1230 the execution or murder of William de Braose by Llywelyn the Great opened up his lordships of Brecon and Radnor to a scramble between greedy coheirs. In 1237 died John the Scot, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's son-in-law, the last of the

[4] The limits of Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn's territories can be precisely studied in a deed distributing them among his sons, executed by Gruffydd in 1281. It is printed in the *Rotuli Walliae* of Edward I., privately printed by Sir T. Phillips, and in *Montgomeryshire Collections*, i. 124–8. Ranging from the Dyvi to the Dee and including the whole upper Severn valley, Gruffydd's territories were almost as extensive as those left to Llywelyn.

old line of Earls of Chester. In 1245 the death of Ansel Marshall ended the male stock of the Marshall Ear of Pembroke. The contest for the succession in Brecon Chester, and Pembroke might well have resulted in struggle similar to that which convulsed first South Wales, and the all England, when, after the death of the last Clare Ear of Gloucester at Bannockburn, his brothers-in-law wrangled so fiercely for his estates that their local quarrels soon grew into the great faction fight that hurled Edward II. from his throne. Yet on this occasion nothing of the kind occurred. The barons who inherited claims on the Marshall and Braose estates quietly contented themselves with their legal rights,[5] and the chief results of the change seemed to be the further aggrandisement of the house of Mortimer, which now had the lion's share of the Braose inheritance, and some part in that of the Marshalls, and the introduction of the houses of Bohun, Earls of Hereford, and of Bigod, Earls of Norfolk, and now holders of the office of Marshal, into the circle of the great Marcher families, as Lords of Brecon and Chepstow respectively. This is all the more strange since the real profit of the changes went to the Crown. Not only did the King gain by the splitting up of great estates among many claimants. His Poitevin half-brother, William of Valence, obtained through his wife the seisin of Pembroke and strove, though for many years with little success, to revive the Marshall power. The King also acquired several escheats for himself. Builth and other Braose castles were successfully claimed by him. The honour of Montgomery remained permanently with the Crown.[6] Moreover, Haverfordwest, which in the division of the Marshall lands should have gone to the widow of Davydd ap Llywelyn, was detained for a time by the King.[7] And the earldom of Chester remained for many years a lapsed fief under the direct rule of the Crown.

It was against the interest both of the lord of Snowdon and of the Marchers that Henry III. should thus absorb

[5] *Annales Cambriae*, p. 85. 'Conquieverunt haeredes Willelmi Marescalli in pace' (s. a. 1245).

[6] Eyton's *Hist. of Shropshire*, xi. 57. The honour was split up, but the castellany remained in royal hands.

[7] Stapleton, preface to *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, p. xix.

Welsh lands for himself. As the discontent with the King's rule grew, it was but natural that the condition of things under King John should be revived, and that both Llywelyn and the Marchers should make common cause with the headless opposition that was striving with no great measure of success to make Henry III. observe the Charters. This was the trend of events, when in 1254 a fresh crisis was precipitated by Henry's provision for the separate establishment of his eldest son Edward, which included the earldom of Chester and all the King's lands in Wales. By this grant the young Edward became easily the first of the Marcher princes. Besides the great Cheshire palatinate, he now ruled over the Four Cantreds; over scattered royal estates, such as the honour of Montgomery and the land of Builth; over a compact territory in Upper Gwent, which included Abergavenny,[8] Monmouth,[9] and the three castles of Skenfrith, Grosmont, and White Castle:[10] that is, the whole district between the Usk, Wye, and Monnow; and over the castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan, along with an indefinite portion of Ceredigion and Ystrad Towy now included in Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire, where the royal bailiff at Carmarthen disputed for power with the descendants of the house of Dinevor. If the young Edward could really establish his power in these wide districts, he would be a most formidable opponent both to Llywelyn and the Marchers. The danger was the greater since he was closely associated with William of Valence, his uncle. Working together, Edward of Chester and William of Pembroke might well make themselves masters of all Wales.

Edward was still a boy of fifteen, and soon after the grant was made he went to Gascony, whence he returned with his bride at the end of 1255. Then, or soon after, his advisers formed a scheme for extending the English system

[8] As lord of the young George de Cantilupe, Edward was guardian of Abergavenny and Cilgerran.

[9] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1272–1281, p. 441, shows that Edward held Monmouth before 1266. It is, however, not specified as among the grants to him.

[10] The printed texts of the records play havoc with the Welsh names, but the 'alium castellum' of *Foedera*, i. 297, and *Rôles Gascons*, i. 331, is clearly a misreading of the 'album castellum' of the MS. Cf. *Rôles Gascons*, i. 312, and Bémont's correction in ib. ii. xlvi.

of law and administration over his Welsh estates. It was a blow directed against Welsh and Marchers alike, for the latter, though having no love for the traditions of Howel Dda, laid as great stress on the 'law and custom of the March' as the Welsh on the laws of their ancestors. It seemed part of a scheme for destroying the feudal liberty of the March as well as the tribal liberty of the Welsh. Yet the first attack was on the Welsh, if only for the reason that the great mass of Edward's possessions was outside the March, and on pure Welsh ground. Montgomery, Builth, and the Three Castles might wait, while Edward's advisers forced the Four Cantreds to do suit and service to the Palatine County Court of Chester, and set up a new shire system in the south, which was the beginning of Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire. A great outcry arose from these districts that they were being robbed of their ancient laws, and the cry was the more real since Edward's agents were greedy, corrupt, and unscrupulous. It was natural that the men of the Four Cantreds should turn for help to Llywelyn. The strange thing is that the men of Ceredigion and Ystrad Towy looked equally for help to the alien lord of Gwynedd. Thus the beginning of the union of North and South Wales into a single nationality was brought about by the rash conduct of Edward's councillors.

Llywelyn was not backward in playing dexterously the cards which his adversary had put into his hand. He made himself champion of all the 'Welshery,' styled himself Prince of all Wales, and did his best to give effect to his title. It is impossible here to follow in detail the struggle that Llywelyn carried on against Edward during the years 1256 and 1257. Suffice it to say that the Welsh prince carried everything before him both in North and South Wales. He conquered all Perveddwlad, save the two sorely beleaguered castles of Deganwy and Diserth. He marched through South Wales from end to end. He satisfied the two Maredudds who disputed the principality of the South by giving each an ample estate to be held of himself at the expense of Edward's counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen. His magnanimity in keeping nothing in Deheubarth for himself won him the

thusiastic support of the South Welsh. 'In those days,' ys Matthew Paris, 'the Welsh saw that their very lives ere at stake, so that those of the North joined together in n indissoluble confederacy with those of the South. Such union had previously never been seen, since North and South had always been opposed to each other.' [11] It was in vain that Henry III. himself led an expedition into Gwynedd in 1257. The King got no further than Deganwy, and therefore never really invaded Llywelyn's territory at all. After a few weeks of wretchedness he was glad to hurry back to London and conclude with Llywelyn a truce which left the Four Cantreds in possession of the enemy, stipulating only for the right of sending limited stores of provisions to the garrisons of Deganwy and Diserth.

The opposition of the Welsh to Henry and Edward was natural enough. More formidable because less to be expected was the large measure of sympathy shown for Llywelyn in England and the March. Matthew Paris takes up the Welsh side with something like enthusiasm, and cries shame on the English who suffer themselves to be overrun with foreigners instead of following the example of the Welshmen and driving all aliens out of the land.[12] Less coloured histories than those of Matthew are almost equally explicit on the subject of the glaring wrong done to the Welsh by Edward's brutal bailiffs and in sympathising with their resistance to oppression.[13]

More dangerous than the theoretical sympathy of distant chroniclers was the practical sympathy of some of the Marchers. There can be little doubt but that the mass of the Marchers almost deliberately stood aside, hoping that Llywelyn and Edward would both alike be weakened in their

[11] *Hist. Major*, v. 645; cf. *Dunstable Annals*, p. 200: 'Leolinus . . . qui omnes Walenses habuit quasi sibi agglutinatos.'

[12] *Hist. Major*, 'Causa autem eorum etiam hostibus justa videbatur,' v. 639 cf. 592, 597–8, 613, 640.

[13] For example, the Norfolk Chronicler, Oxenedes (pp. 208–9, 213), who follows, with some alterations, Matthew's account, and the Canon of Dunstable (pp. 200–1), who writes more independently, but quite as sympathetically. Even the Tewkesbury Chronicler, who thinks Welshmen are devils ('et sic ad dæmones redierunt,' p. 167), is quite emphatic on the wrongs that led to their rising (p. 158).

conflict. Some of the Marchers secretly favoured Llywelyn and furnished him with *counsel*.[14]

Richard of Clare, Earl of Gloucester and lord of Glamorgan and Netherwent, who had been made general of the King's army in South Wales in 1257, suddenly left his command and hurried away to Tutbury, attended only by a single squire, on the pretext of visiting the Queen.[15] It was noted that the Welsh avoided attacking Gloucester's estates.[16] The Marcher barons laughed at the failures of Edward, though they had done little to prevent them.[17] In the Hokeday Parliament of 1258, William of Valence indignantly declared that the disasters in Wales were all due to English traitors. Gloucester and Leicester himself bitterly resented a challenge which they had some reason for regarding as personal.[18]

One of the chief reasons for the summoning of the Mad Parliament itself was the need of prosecuting vigorously the Welsh war. It was a feature of the baronial triumph that the magnates turned away from fighting the Welsh to the still more pressing work of constitution-making. For the moment Henry was reduced to impotence, and the government of England with which Llywelyn had now to deal was not that of the King or the Lord Edward, but that of the permanent council of the Fifteen.

Under these changed conditions, the natural policy of Llywelyn was to temporise. He could hardly ally himself with his recent enemies, the King and his son. The policy of a baronial alliance, such as that effected in 1215 between Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and the opposition to King John, was a more obvious one for him. But grave difficulties stood in the way of giving effect to this. The chief of these lay in the fact that the forces which Llywelyn had let loose had

[14] 'Et quia pater ejus, dominus rex, ut sparsim dicebatur, Anglos nitebatur obruere, aliqui de Marchisiis occulte Walensibus favorem et consilium praestiterunt.' *Hist. Major*, v. 597–8.

[15] *Dunstable Annals*, p. 203.

[16] Wykes, p. 111; *Osney Annals*, p. 114; cf., however, p. 117.

[17] *Hist. Major*, v. 633: 'Barones contermini . . . cachinnantes verba derisionis praesentabant.' Matthew generally calls the Marchers 'contermini,' as a more classic-seeming expression.

[18] *Hist. Major*, v. 676–7.

already got beyond his control. The fiery outburst of Welsh patriotism that had bridged over the deep gulf between the North and the South, and had even led Llywelyn to expel the bailiffs of the Lord Edward both from the Four Cantreds and from Cardigan, now turned its enthusiasm against the foreigner wherever he was found. The Anglo-Norman Marcher lord became as much an alien to the average Welshman as were the agents of Edward himself. If a Geoffrey of Langley had been easily expelled from Edward's patrimony, why should not the Mortimers be driven from Gwrthrennion or Brecon, or the upstart Valence from Pembroke? Forgetting the habits of generations, the Welshery on the Marcher estates called upon Llywelyn to save them from the foreigner, just as the men of the Four Cantreds had invoked his aid a year or so previously. Under such circumstances Llywelyn could not but respond to their appeal. All thought of politic alliance with the lords Marcher, such ties of blood as bound the Welsh prince to Roger Mortimer and so many of his rivals, any expectation of getting something for himself out of the distress of Henry and Edward, even such an obvious advantage as the revocation of the grant of Wales to the King's eldest son—all considerations such as these could no longer have any influence on Llywelyn. The war soon became a war of the Welsh against the Saxons. The few individuals who from personal interest or jealousy of Llywelyn were unmoved by the general rising of their countrymen were easily pushed aside. The English power could no longer protect the lesser Welsh chiefs. In 1257 Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn was driven from his lands, and forced to take refuge in England. Llywelyn thus became lord of the modern Montgomeryshire and the immediate neighbour of the Mortimers. Gruffydd of Bromfield[19] had been previously expelled in 1256; he now made his peace with Llywelyn and went back to his lands as the vassal of the lord of Snowdon. In 1258 the leading Welsh princes bound themselves by oath to support Llywelyn. Among them was Maredudd ap Rhys, the lord of Dinevor and the representative of the old line of princes of the South. Thus

[19] *Hist. Major*, v. 596.

Llywelyn became the leader of all Welshmen and every Marcher felt the weight of his arm.

The breach between Llywelyn and the Marchers was made the more complete since the Constitution of 1258 had given the Marcher lords a very preponderating share in the government of England. Looking back on the Barons' Wars in the light of Lewes and Evesham, we are apt to forget that from 1258 up to 1263, or thereabouts, the Marcher lords were as strongly on the side of the barons as subsequently they were on the side of the King. With the two significant exceptions of Edward of Chester and William of Pembroke, all the leading Marchers were prominent members of the opposition which triumphed in 1258. And during these years neither Edward nor William counted for very much. Edward was still little more than a boy, personally unpopular from his disorderly behaviour and his close association with his foreign kinsmen. His recent failure in Wales had discredited him, and he was also supposed to be entirely under his father's influence.[20] Moreover, Edward showed in his first efforts to take up an independent line of his own a dangerous sympathy both with Montfort himself and with Montfort's ideas. And William of Valence, the would-be Earl of Pembroke, was discredited as a foreigner, and one of the first to suffer from the sentence of exile pronounced by the Barons at Oxford. Every other leading Marcher was a baronial partisan. Chief among them was Richard of Clare, Earl of Gloucester and lord of the great Marcher lordship of Glamorgan which had so often withstood the Gwyneddian inroads into the south. As one of the Marshall coheirs, he held Newport, Usk, and other castles and lands in Netherwent. Hardly less conspicuous was Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of the border shire

[20] M. Bémont shows clearly, *Rôles Gascons*, I. II. cxviii., how 'le roi ait donné la Gascogne à son fils, surtout "ad se sustentandum," sans pouvoirs définis et sans autorité indépendante. Ce dernier point est assez conforme au caractère de Henri III, qui fut toujours impatient de la moindre entrave mise à sa liberté d'action, et nous interdit d'attribuer ici trop d'importance à la personnalité, bien autrement intéressante cependant, du futur Edouard Ier.' This statement is as true of Edward in Wales as it is of Edward in Gascony. It was only gradually that he learnt by experience to throw off his father's guidance.

Hereford, whose limits were then often taken as including roughly a wide extent of Marcher lands. Moreover, the Bohuns' position in Wales had lately been much strengthened by the marriage of Humphrey de Bohun, the Earl's eldest son, with Eleanor de Braose, one of the three coheirs of the main stock of that house of Braose that had long ruled over Brecon and Radnor, and who, through her mother, was one of the many Marshall coheirs with hopes of holding Haverfordwest, the neighbour of that Pembroke Palatinate from which William de Valence had just been driven. Humphrey the younger, already called Humphrey de Bohun of Brecon, was in actual possession of a considerable part of the lordship of Brecon, and was one of the hottest of the young partisans of Montfort and his cause. An even mightier man in the Marches was Bohun's brother-in-law, Sir Roger Mortimer of Wigmore and Cleobury, who, as the husband of Maud de Braose, had obtained the whole of the lordship of Radnor and a share of Brecon, and was one of the many participators in the Marshall estates.[21] Mortimer was also lord of Gwrthrennion, the western part of the modern Radnorshire, between the upper Wye and the Ithon, and of Maelenydd, the central part of the same modern shire, with its four castles of Knucklas, Bleddva, Cevnllys, and Maud's Castle. His compact territories in Central Wales were already connected with his own English lands of Wigmore and Cleobury And he was not only the first of the Marchers in power, but the fiercest, ablest, most aggressive of them all in personality.[22] Though Llywelyn's first cousin, and like him a grandson of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, the son of Gwladys Ddu was the natural leader of the opposition to the aggressions of the Lord of Snowdon, and the first to suffer from his pretensions to rally all Welshmen under his banner.[23] Already in 1256 Llywelyn had driven Roger out

[21] See, for details of the Mortimer history, the articles on the family by the present writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[22] *Flores Hist.* ii. 476, 'De Magnificentia Rogeri de Mortuo Mari.'

[23] Mortimer and Llywelyn's personal relations were curiously complicated. As the son of Gwladys, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's daughter, Mortimer was Llywelyn's first cousin. But Llywelyn ap Iorwerth had hanged William de Braose, Mortimer's wife's father, on a charge of adultery with his wife, Gwladys's mother.

of Gwrthrennion, a conquest that probably made Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn's position untenable. In the early years of the war, Mortimer was conspicuous on the baronial side. Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, as a Marshall coheir, held not only the office of Earl Marshal, but the castle of Chepstow. Earl Simon himself had an interest in the March, through his wife Eleanor's dower as widow of William Marshall, and as lord of Lugwardine[25] and other border estates. With these Earls ends the list of Marcher lords of the first rank.

The lesser Marchers were equally favourable to the barons. Among them was James of Audley,[26] head of an important house in Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire, who already held Red Castle on the high ground between the Tern and the Roden, and Kinnerley Manor and Castle, near Knockin in the Shropshire March, and who, by marrying his sister to Gruffydd of Bromfield,[27] aimed at building up for himself a strong power in that region. Audley's brother-in-law, Peter de Montfort, no kinsman of Earl Simon, and with his main interests centred round his Warwickshire home of Beaudesert, was constantly employed in Wales and the March,[28] and was among the most faithful adherents of the baronial cause. Other baronial partisans were Roger of Mold,[29] whose castle at Hawarden had fallen into Llywelyn's hands; John de Grey, the ancestor of the Greys of Wilton and Ruthin, who was already establishing himself in Herefordshire; his brother, Richard de Grey of Codnor; John de Verdon, the husband of one of the Lacy coheiresses, through whom

[24] Hemingburgh's statement (i. 320), 'qui parti regis semper absque mutatione adhaeserat,' is as curiously wrong as Mr. Eyton's quaint idealisation of the ferocious chieftain as a mirror of royal chivalry, e.g. for his 'patient consistency' (*Shropshire*, iv. 221).

[25] *Hundred Rolls*, i. 185.

[26] Audley's adhesion to the baronial cause is not quite certain. I base it on his membership of the Fifteen, his joining the league of 1258 against the Poitevins (Dunstable, p. 210), his connection with Peter de Montfort, and his constant employment in the years after 1258. There is no evidence that he was 'always a loyalist,' as Eyton, *Shropshire*, vii. 184, says.

[27] *Foedera*, i. 420.

[28] For his Welsh appointments see Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. 408. He had been made by Edward castellan of Abergavenny, and his correspondence, printed in Shirley's *Royal Letters*, ii. 219 and 231, gives a vivid idea of the difficulties of his position.

[29] The evidence for this is chiefly his appointment by the barons in 1258 as one of the four councillors of Edward. *Ann. Burton*, p. 445.

was lord of Weobley, Ewyas Lacy, and Stokesay; d John Fitzalan, lord of Oswestry and Clun, and with ertain aspirations to the Albini earldom of Arundel, whose n was already married to Mortimer's daughter.

Among the chief ecclesiastical adherents of the barons were Walter of Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, and his nephew Thomas of Cantilupe, then a prominent Oxford doctor. These belonged to a Marcher house, whose head was a minor, George de Cantilupe, who had inherited from his mother, Eva de Braose, the lordships of Abergavenny and Cilgerran, now held for him by the Lord Edward. His father, William de Cantilupe, was the Bishop of Worcester's nephew, so that, as great-uncle of the lord of Abergavenny no less than as bishop of a border diocese, Walter's interests were almost entirely in the March region. The intimate relations of both Walter and Thomas with Montfort are well known. In the exceptional case where a lesser Marcher lord, John Lestrange of Knockin, was at all times faithful to the King, his sons, John the elder, and still more conspicuously Hamo the younger, were strenuous members of the opposition.[30] To these may be added also Roger de Clifford, a Herefordshire baron, who took his name from the Marcher castle of Clifford on the Wye, and whose marriage with a lady of Ewyas, the widow of a Tregoz, still further strengthened his Marcher connections. Clifford's brother-in-law, Roger de Leybourne, a Kentish lord, had been much employed in Wales, and acted constantly with him.[31] Besides Lestrange, almost the only royal partisan among the Marchers at this stage was the royal official Robert Walerand, lord of Kilpeck.

[30] Eyton's *Shropshire*, x. 272–3.

[31] The importance of the Marcher element in the opposition may be seen by an examination of the *personnel* of the various councils set up by the Provisions of Oxford. Of the twelve 'electi ex parte comitum et baronum,' four—Gloucester, Hereford, the Bishop of Worcester, and Roger Mortimer—had preponderating, and four others—Roger Bigod (Earl Marshal), Sir Peter de Montfort, Sir Richard de Grey, and Earl Simon himself—some influence in the March (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 388). Of the standing council of Fifteen, eight—the Bishop of Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, the Earl Marshal, Mortimer, James of Audley, Peter de Montfort, and Richard de Grey—had strong Marcher connections, Roger de Somery of Dudley had some Marcher interests, and Hugh le Despenser extensive Cheshire estates. To these may be added, from 'les duze ke sunt eslu par les baruns a treter a treis

Thus the war between Llywelyn and Edward involved war between Llywelyn and the Marchers, and the prominent influence of the Marchers in the revolutionary committees made war with the Marchers war with England. The history of the years 1258 to 1263 shows how vigorously and ably Llywelyn took advantage of his opportunities. Even before 1258 he had been fighting with some of the Marchers. After 1258, Marchers and rival Welsh chieftains alike suffered from his persistent aggressions. Llywelyn's triumphs are slurred over, or slightly alluded to, in most of the English chroniclers, though we learn from Matthew Paris that as early as 1258 the Marches were being reduced to a wilderness. But up to this date Llywelyn showed some anxiety for peace. His agent, the Bishop of Bangor, stayed a considerable time at St. Albans and quite convinced Matthew Paris of the reasonableness of the terms offered by the prince. But all that was obtained was a truce till August 1, 1259, signed at Oxford on June 17, just after the meeting of the Mad Parliament.[32] All parties were to continue to hold what they actually possessed, and none were to make aggressions. Diserth and Deganwy were still to be allowed to be provisioned.

During the truce Llwelyn further strengthened his position. But Maredudd ap Rhys, lord of Dinevor, only joined in the oath of 1258 to revolt in 1259. He was, however, quickly shut up in prison at Criccieth, and not released until he left his son as a hostage and put Dinevor itself in Llywelyn's hands. Henceforth Llywelyn ruled with hardly a rival from Anglesey to Carmarthen Bay, from Lleyn to the gates of Chester, from the coast of Cardigan to the upper waters of the Wye and Dee. Moreover, he had the certainty of the support of every Welsh tenant of a Marcher lord. He set to work to conquer and annex to his dominions all the Marcher states. Though still relying mainly on the

parlemenz per an' (*ib.* p. 390), Roger de Mold, John de Grey (*Rot. Hundred.* ii. 76) and John de Verdon, and perhaps Giles of Erdington (*Rot. Hundred.* ii. 56). Of the 24 'mis per le commun a treter de aide le rei,' seven at least were Marchers. We shall see later how preponderating was the Marcher element in the secessions of 1263.

[32] *Foedera*, i. 372; cf. *Annales Cambriae*, p. 99.

warm of mobile light-armed infantry and archers who were the strength of a Welsh army, he showed that he was able to adopt the heavier tactics of the English so far as his resources allowed. Bands of heavy-armoured horsemen, riding on mail-clad chargers, became, perhaps for the first time in history, a characteristic element in Welsh armies.[33] Llywelyn also had a formidable siege train.[34] Though he still as a rule pursued his former policy of destroying the castles that he conquered, he was now beginning to build castles of his own, undistinguishable in architecture from those of his enemies.[35] In his campaign of 1257 against Henry and Edward, he actually employed a Welsh fleet to cut off Royalist reinforcements and provisions from Ireland.[36]

The truce of Oxford was hardly signed when complaints arose as to its violation. The treachery and deceit of the Marchers gave Llywelyn plenty of excuses, and the Marchers found it quite as easy to bring forward analogous acts of violence on the part of the Welsh.[37] The state of the borders was so bad that neighbouring Marchers, associated in a common political cause in England, made no scruple of invading each other's lands and plundering and murdering each other's vassals. By September there was open war in the south. Patrick de Chaworth, Edward's seneschal at Carmarthen, and himself lord of Kidwelly, was slain on September 7, by treachery according to the English, for breaking the truce according to the Welsh accounts.[38] The day before a Welsh force made an attempt to take Neath Castle.[39] There was no longer any effort to spare the

[33] *Tewkesbury Annals*, p. 167: 'Octoginta Walenses bene ferro cooperti una cum equitibus et vii. millia peditum.' *Hist. Major*, v. 614: 'ex quibus fuerun equites eleganter armati quingenti, utrobique equis ferro coopertis.' *Foedera* i. 423: 'Lewelinus . . . terram R. de Mortuo Mari intravit (1263) cum trecentis equitaturis armatis et triginta millibus peditum.'

[34] *Annales Cambriae*, p. 100. Knucklas surrendered in 1262, 'prae timore machinarum.'

[35] The earlier portions of Bere Castle, 'of the early English period of architecture and unusually ornate in its details,' may well have been his work Clark, *Med. Milit. Architecture*, i. 105, regards its existence so far west as a 'mystery.'

[36] *Hist. Major*, v. 633.

[37] Compare p. 85 above.

[38] *Hist. Major*, v. 717. *Tewkesbury Annals*, p. 168. *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 346.

[39] *Tewkesbury Annals*, p. 167.

Gloucester lands. In January 1260 Llywelyn overran Builth and ravaged South Wales as far as Tenby. Builth Castle held out for a time, but was captured by a night assault on July 17, without a stroke of fighting.[40] The neighbouring Welsh chieftains made their peace with Llywelyn, knowing that he and not Roger Mortimer was now their most effective protector. Mortimer, who had charge of the castle on behalf of Edward, its lord, was acquitted of all blame in the matter, being engaged at the moment in a parliament at London.[41] The attack was the more irritating since the Bishop of Bangor was at the moment in London, negotiating for the renewal of the truce. But now the truce had expired, the feudal levies were summoned to meet at Chester and Shrewsbury to wage war against Llywelyn, while the Archbishop of Canterbury threatened the Welsh prince and his 'accomplices' with excommunication.[42] But before the end of August Mortimer and Audley had met Llywelyn's agents at Montgomery ford, where they consented to a renewal of the truce to last until June 24, 1262.[43] During all these proceedings it was a simple question of English against Welsh. The sufferers from Llywelyn's attacks were in some cases, like Mortimer and Gloucester, opponents of the Crown, and in others, like William of Valence, its supporters. It is even more significant that Simon de Montfort himself was chosen as the leader of the army which the truce prevented being actually sent against the Welsh.[44] There is clearly no sign at this period of any complicity between Llywelyn and either of the English factions. The next two years were fairly quiet. The truce was decently respected, and Welsh and English annals are alike silent as to Llywelyn's movements until the summer of 1262. Just before the expiration of the truce, Llywelyn complained to the King that Roger Mortimer and John Lestrange had been making aggressions on the lands of his new vassal, Gruffydd of Bromfield, and a conference, in which the Earl of Hereford and James of Audley represented England, was

[40] *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 347.
[41] *Foedera*, i. 398.
[42] *Foedera*, i. 399.
[43] *Foedera*, i. 400, 404.
[44] *Flores Historiarum*, ii. 454, 'tanquam prudentior bellator Angliae et validior.'

pointed to be held on July 24 at Montgomery ford.[45] It probable that arrangements were actually made to prolong e truce.[46] But the events of the autumn soon made the ntinuance of peace impossible.

Before July 22 a rumour had reached Henry at Amiens hat Llywelyn was dead. Without even taking the trouble to verify the report, Henry wrote on that date to the chief Marchers and the minor Welsh dynasts such as Gruffydd and Maredudd, explaining that, since Llywelyn had never been the true heir of Wales, his brother Davydd had no right to the succession, especially as Owain, his elder brother, was still alive. Accordingly an army was summoned to meet on September 7 at Shrewsbury to enable Henry to regulate the Welsh succession as he would.[47] The rumour was soon found to be untrue, and the government complacently went back to its former policy by sending Hereford and Audley to Montgomery ford on September 30 to deal with infractions of the truce.[48] But before this the March was in an uproar. On September 25 a 'parliament' had been arranged between the justice of Chester and the men of Gruffydd of Bromfield, but on the very same day the justice, along with the Lestranges, led a plundering expedition into Gruffydd of Bromfield's lands.[49] Nor were the English alone the aggressors. Almost simultaneously Llywelyn's seneschal, 'with all the pride of Wales,' made a successful raid on Edward's castles in Gwent. Peter de Montfort, stout follower of Leicester though he was, was at the moment warden of Abergavenny. From September 28 to 30 he vigorously defended Abergavenny from the Welsh and for the moment drove them to take refuge on the Blorenge. But Montfort complained bitterly to the Council that he and the neighbouring Marchers could not long bear the burden of constant attack. Unless he had money to pay his soldiers, he would

[45] *Foedera*, i. 420.

[46] The terms of *Royal Letters*, ii. 214, dated August 24 (cf. also ib. ii. 232), and *Foedera*, i. 421, dated August 25, and therefore both written after the expiration of the truce, suggest that a prolongation had actually been effected. There would have been no point in blaming Llywelyn for breaking a truce that had expired. But I can find no record of a new truce.

[47] *Foedera*, i. 420.

[48] *Foedera*, i. 421.

[49] *Royal Letters*, ii. 218–19.

have to 'let his castle furnished and begone, leaving the la to make terms with the Welsh or perish.' 'If they are n stopped,' he wrote, 'they will destroy all the lands of o lord the King as far as the Severn and Wye, and they as for nothing less than the whole of Gwent.'[50] Later in th year things had become even worse. All the Welsh-speakin tenants of Humphrey de Bohun, Reginald FitzPeter and their neighbours—in a word, all the Welshery as far as Abergavenny—went over to Llywelyn, whose lands now extended to within a league and a half of Abergavenny Castle. 'I cannot defend the March alone,' wrote Montfort; 'yet, save Sir Gilbert Talbot, the warden of the Three Castles, none of the magnates are now in these parts. If not protected, the men of Abergavenny must submit to Llywelyn.'[51] This movement was the more formidable since the Welsh engaged were the men of the South. But though they had their own princes[52] with them, they acted under the steward of the lord of Gwynedd, in whose name the whole movement was carried on, and to whom the Welsh of Gwent, no less than the men of the Four Cantreds, looked up as a deliverer.

The troubles in Upper Gwent soon extended both northwards and southwards from the valley of the Usk. Earl Richard of Gloucester had died on July 15, 1262, having long been on bad terms with Montfort. His son, Earl Gilbert, was a minor, and the Earl of Hereford, who was made warden of his castles, busied himself in putting them in a good state of defence. Hereford wrote saying that Glamorgan remained quiet, but that the sheriff, Walter of Sully, had ascertained by his spies that an inroad might be anticipated.[53] The next storm, however, was to burst in Mid-Wales, where a revolt broke out towards the end of November among Mortimer's Welsh tenants in Maelenydd.[54] On November 29 Mortimer's new castle of Cevnllys was easily captured. On the same day Bleddva Castle suffered a like fate, while Knucklas

[50] *Royal Letters*, ii. 219–221.

[51] *Royal Letters*, ii. 230–1.

[52] Maredudd ap Rhys, Rhys Vychan, and Maredudd ap Owain were all with the 'moult graunt host de Mid' in September. *Royal Letters*, ii. 220.

[53] *Royal Letters*, ii. 218; cf. 228.

[54] *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 348, 'amgylch gwyl Andras;' *Worcester Annals*, p. 447.

rrendered on December 20,[55] its defenders yielding without struggle from fear of the Welsh siege train.

Other castles were won by the Welsh with equal ease, nd at last Llywelyn himself appeared in Maelenydd at he head of 300 mail-clad horse and a multitude of footmen stimated by the panic of the English at 30,000.[56] By this ime Mortimer and the younger Humphrey de Bohun had come to defend their inheritance. Before the middle of December they occupied the ruined walls of Cevnllys and strove to make them defensible.[57] But Llywelyn soon laid formal siege to the castle, and lack of food and means of defence forced Mortimer to ask for terms. Llywelyn allowed Mortimer with all his household to retire with their arms. Before long the whole March was devastated as far as Weobley, Wigmore, and Eardisley. There were hasty colloquies among the excited knights of the March. Some sold off their corn and cattle, others their lands, and others left their houses empty to the enemies' attack. After the conquest of Maelenydd, Llywelyn went to Brecon, where he received the homage of the Welsh tenants of Mortimer and Bohun.[58] Very little later another Welsh foray devastated Cheshire. The English cowered behind the walls of Gloucester and Hereford. The Savoyard bishop of the latter city, Peter of Aigueblanche, ent pitiable accounts of the misery of the March and of his wn helplessness.[59] Peter was an extreme royalist partisan nd was therefore naturally suspicious of Mortimer. He nsinuated that Roger and Llywelyn understood each other nd that the precipitate abandonment of Cevnllys was due o treachery. A few months later not even Peter of Aigue-blanche would have accused Mortimer of being the ally of his Welsh kinsman. With sublime assurance, Llywelyn complained to Henry that Mortimer had broken the truce by reoccupying his own castle.[60]

Early in 1263 Edward came back from the Continent to defend his lands, in obedience to his father's urgent commands.

[55] *Annales Cambriae*, p. 100.
[56] *Foedera*, i. 423.
[57] *Royal Letters*, ii. 229.
[58] *Foedera*, i. 423; cf. *Flores Hist.* ii. 476.
[59] *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 348.
[60] *Royal Letters*, ii. 232. Llywelyn's letter confirms Bishop Peter's view that Mortimer got out of Cevnllys very easily.

He brought with him a band of foreign mercenaries, who he desired to employ against the Welsh. Meanwhile things were going badly in the West. The Earl of Hereford, who had been put at the head of the English army, was in weak health and was superseded in February by John de Grey.[61] By April Edward was at Shrewsbury, busy with schemes for the protection of the Marches.[62] After Easter he combined his mercenaries with English levies and led them on an expedition into North Wales. John Lestrange, Edward's bailiff at Montgomery, strove to create a diversion by leading a plundering expedition into Kerry and Kedewein.[63] But on his return the Welsh cut off the column laden with booty, and nothing resulted save more slayings and burnings. Equally fruitless was Edward's attack on Gwynedd. As usual, the Welsh withdrew to the moors and forests, and Edward found no enemy to fight. The only result of this expedition was the revictualling of Deganwy and Diserth.[64] Before Whitsuntide Edward was recalled by his father,[65] and henceforth his main concern was with English affairs, which were now reaching a crisis. But nothing prospered with him for the moment. He strove to make his town of Bristol a centre from which both his Welsh and English enemies might be assailed, but was foiled by the opposition of the townsfolk. His foreign mercenaries were besieged in Windsor and forced to go home to their own country.[66]

Llywelyn's triumphs in the field became more conspicuous than ever now that Edward was more and more preoccupied in English affairs. His power in Wales had excited the jealousy of his brother Davydd. Probably about the time of Edward's Welsh expedition, Davydd, says the *Brut y Tywysogion*, by the instigation of the devil, forsook Llywelyn and went to England with some of his confederates.[67] His motive is to be seen in a patent of Edward, dated July 8, granting him Duffryn Clwyd and Rhuvoniog, to be held until

[61] *Royal Letters*, ii. 238.
[62] *Foedera*, i. 425.
[63] *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 350.
[64] *Flores Hist.* ii. 478.
[65] Wykes, p. 133, says he made a truce, but there is no documentary evidence of this until later in the year.
[66] *Worcester Annals*, p. 449.
[67] *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 350.

could win back his inheritance beyond the Conway.[68] But e events of the summer showed that Edward was as power- s in the Vale of Clwyd as in Snowdon itself. The two stles of Deganwy and Diserth had alone broken the flow of lywelyn's power over the Four Cantreds. Now, early in ugust, Diserth was captured by Llywelyn and levelled to he ground.[69] Deganwy was besieged all the summer, hough in August efforts were made to negotiate a truce. On August 22, four days after the mediation of the King of the Romans had brought about a temporary arrangement between Edward and the barons, an embassy containing representatives of both parties was appointed to treat with Llywelyn. Before September 18 a truce till Martinmas had been signed, in which the phrase which had now become almost a common form was repeated, that a boat with twelve oars should be allowed to take provisions to Deganwy.[70] At the same time Llywelyn's envoys had letters of safe-conduct to a 'parliament' to be held three weeks after Michaelmas.[71] But though armed Welshmen appeared at the Council,[72] their prince refused to accept the truce or failed to observe it. Anyhow, no boat was suffered o bring up fresh supplies to the war-worn defenders of eganwy. At last, on September 29, the garrison, having khausted their last rations of horse and dog flesh, were rced by famine to surrender.

The worst of Llywelyn's victory was that it was suspected be by no means unpleasing to Montfort.[73] Llywelyn's

[68] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1272–1281, p. 232. [69] *Annales Cambriae*, p. 101.
[70] *Foedera*, i. 433. [71] Ibid. i. 433. [72] *Dunstable Annals*, p. 225.
[73] The chief texts proving co-operation between Llywelyn and Montfort in 263 are these: 'Ar amser hónnó *y kyfodes barónеit lloegyr a rei o ieirll y gyt r Kymry yn erbyn Etwart ar estronyon.* Ac aruaethu eu górthlad oc eu plith ac o holl loegyr, a darestóg y dinassoed kedyrn o nadunt, a distryó y kestyll a llosgi y llyssoed. Ac yna y distrywaód Llywelyn y kestyll aoed yggóyned yny gyfoeth: Nyt amgen Deganwy, a Chaer faelan.' (P. 377, ed. Rhys and Evans.) *Annales Cambriae*, p. 101 (Rolls Ser.), makes the union even more complete. 'Eodem anno in aestate coadunati sunt omnes comites et barones fere omnes cum domino Lewelino principe contra Edwardum, et ceperunt omnia castella et universas civitates totius Angliae excepto castello de Wyndelesor.' This is, of course, an absurd exaggeration, but it shows the Welsh chronicler's desire to associate his prince with the baronial triumph. The best evidence on the English side is in Rishanger (*De Bello*, p. 20): 'Rogerus de Mortuo Mari, potenter insurgens contra consulem, terras ipsius,

loss of his brother Davydd's support was compensated by the return of Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn to his allian Gruffydd had been lurking on the border or on his Engli estates, but he found no hopes of getting back to Powys his present policy. Before 1255 Gruffydd had been maki aggressions on the lands of his neighbour and kinsma Thomas Corbet of Caus. Even after his expulsion b Llywelyn from the bulk of his lands, he was still able to kee up a fight with Corbet in the law courts.[74] But it was easier in the March to effect a 'novel disseisin' than to exact the execution of a judicial sentence, and it looks as if Gruffydd had to chose between yielding to the Corbets and surrendering to Llywelyn. On December 2, 1263, he made a formal submission to Llywelyn, by which he promised to do homage for all his lands on condition that they were restored to his immediate possession. All fresh conquests were to be held by Gruffydd under Llywelyn's suzerainty, and Llywelyn was to protect his vassal against all his enemies. The immediate result of the compact was the capture and destruction of Corbet's castle of Gwyddgrug. This was followed by the complete conquest of the land of Gorddwr, the district over against Welshpool on the right bank of the Severn from the mouth of the Camlad to as far north as Bausley. At the same time Llywelyn, already master of Kerry an Kedewein, seized several townships of the honour Montgomery. Early in the next reign a third of the baron of Caus, including the lands between Severn and Camlad, well as many of the Montgomery dependencies, was still the hands of the Welsh. It is significant of the stri subordination of Gruffydd to his overlord that while th

praedia, et dominica in Marchia depraedatur. Consul autem, jam sibi i amicitias copulato Leuelino, principe Walliae, praeclarum illuc misit exercitum, qui et terras illius partim destruxit et castrum Radonorum cepit et combussit.' Chron. (R.S.) p. 20: 'Eo tempore Lewelinus princeps Walliae *comiti Simoni confederatus* comitatum Cestriae et Marchiam ejus interim devastavit, duoque Edwardi castra, Dissard et Gannok, diruens ad solum complanavit.' The 'Anglicanus fidelis' whose advice to the barons is quoted by the Tewkesbury Chronicler (p. 179) advised them to make friends with the Irish, Scotch, and Welsh. This was about 1263. There is no diplomatic evidence of a formal treaty, but the consensus of the Chroniclers is pretty conclusive as to the reality of the co-operation.

[74] *Montgomeryshire Collections*, i. 26; Eyton, vii. 25.

Welsh chroniclers make Gruffydd himself the conqueror of Gwyddgrug, the Shropshire jurors of 1273, from whose testimony the Hundred Rolls were compiled, speak of Llywelyn as the agent of the aggressions effected at the expense of Clavs and Montgomery.[75] In short, Powys was practically absorbed by Llywelyn with the good will of its inhabitants and lord.

The Southern March witnessed as many acts of violence as the Northern borders. In the early summer Leicester collected an army here which included all the chief Marcher lords of the district.[76] The first act of this force was to fall upon Hereford, where it captured Bishop Peter in his cathedral and took him with his foreign canons prisoners to Eardisley. Meanwhile, on July 12, John Fitzalan seized upon Bishop's Castle, the strongest of Peter's fortresses, and kept it against the Church for more than six years, while Hamo Lestrange robbed the see of several manors also belonging to Bishop's Castle,[77] seeking thus to compensate the Honour of Montgomery for the lands occupied by Llywelyn and Gruffydd. The Marchers then despoiled the manors of Geoffrey of Langley, Edward's former steward in Wales, and, marching towards Gloucester, captured the castle after a four days' siege, despite the strenuous resistance of Matthew de Basil, the unpopular foreign warden of city and shire. Thence they marched northwards through Worcester and Bridgnorth to Shrewsbury. As the Marchers

[75] *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 350 (R.S.): 'A Gruffudd ab Gwenwynwyn a distryw a'd castell y Gydgruc.' *Hundred Rolls*, ii. 90: 'Et Leuellinus Princeps Wallie tempore guerre ultime prostravit castrum suum de Wypegruc, et occupavit et detinet eidem Petro terciam partem tocius baronie sue, scilicet totam terram intra Kelemet et Sabrinam,' cf. ib. 89, 113. This specific statement that Gwyddgrug was a Corbet Castle makes its identification with Mold, accepted in *Montgomeryshire Collections*, i. 30, and by myself in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn, quite impossible. Its site is to be sought somewhere in Gorddwr, between Long Mountain and the Severn, but I am unable to guess where.

[76] A list of them is given in *Dunstable Annals*, p. 222, viz.: Hugh le Despenser, Earl Warenne, Henry of Almaine, Henry of Hastings, Roger Clifford, John FitzJohn, Roger de Leybourne, Gilbert de Clare, John of Vaux, John Giffard, Hamo Lestrange, N. de Segrave, and G. de Lucy. In the very bewildering chronology of this year, I have followed for the most part the order of events set forth by the clear-headed and precise Dunstable annalist; but it is impossible to feel sure of the ground.

[77] *Swinfield Roll*, pp. xxii–xxiii. (Camden Soc.)

came up to the town from one side, a Welsh force appea in the opposite direction. The burgesses saw that t could not resist both these forces and yielded to the bar to save the town from the Welsh.[78] No wonder Llywely cause made progress when his enemies were thus hop lessly divided.

The general scramble of the strong man for his neigh bour's goods was now becoming simplified by a great redistribution of the political forces in England itself. In 1258 Henry III. had been like Charles I. in 1640. Having no real party of his own, he was at the mercy of the opposition. But by the end of 1263 the King had drifted into the same position as the Stewart monarch in 1642. His concessions had procured for him a following, and personal and political rivalries were hopelessly breaking up the baronial ranks. There is no need here to expatiate upon the causes of the reaction which Edward so cleverly fomented and which now came to a head. It is enough to say that there was a very formidable secession from the baronial party to the new liberal royalist group of which Edward was the soul. For us the great fact is the prominence among the seceders of the lords of the Welsh March. Richard of Gloucester had already gone over, though his death in July 1262 enabled Leicester to attract his young heir Gilbert to his side. But the Earl of Hereford followed the example of the Lord of Glamorgan, though his son Humphrey of Brecon remained attached to Simon. The excuse of Earl Gilbert's nonage allowed the King to bestow on Hereford the custody of Gloucester's castles,[79] so that so far as Welsh affairs went the strongholds of Gwenllwg and Morganwg remained in hands trusted by Edward. Moreover, William of Valence was now back from exile and co-operating with his old enemies. Edward's personal influence was conspicuous in winning over the lesser Marchers. What persuasion and policy could not accomplish was effected by lavish bribes and promises of lands. Among those thus won over were Roger Clifford, Roger Leybourne, John Fitzalan, and the two

[78] Rishanger, *De Bello*, p. 11: 'Ne videlicet Wallenses intrarent.'
[79] *Royal Letters*, ii. 236.

younger Lestranges, John and Hamo.[80] Another conspicuous seceder was the Earl Marshal, Roger Bigod. But by far the most important of Edward's new converts was Roger Mortimer. He was also one of the earliest. In the summer he was already so far shaken in his former policy as to abstain from joining his old associates in the tempting work of robbing the Bishop of Hereford. He was rewarded by a grant of three of Leicester's manors in the March, on which he at once laid violent hands.[81] Thus by the end of 1263 all the Marchers had gone round to the King, save Humphrey de Bohun and Peter de Montfort. The same lords who had in July been plundering the King's partisans of the March were by December keen supporters of the national monarchy upheld by Edward. They were fierce and greedy men, indifferent to principles and eager for personal gain. The manors which they had, for example, stolen from Peter of Aigueblanche they were still allowed to retain. But it may be set down to their credit that they only joined Edward when the monarchy had put off the despotic and alien garb with which the folly of Henry III. had clothed it. For four years more they fought as strenuously for Edward as they had fought strenuously against his father. But they never turned their backs on the principles of 1258, even in the moment of their final triumph.

The result of these new combinations was seen in the campaign of 1264. The alliance of Edward and the Marchers had paralysed the Montfortian party. There quickly followed the appeal to St. Louis, the arbitration of Amiens, and the declaration of the French King on January 23, 1264, against the Provisions. Montfort at once declined to accept the one-sided arbitration, and before the end of January both parties were arming for a decisive struggle. Leicester divided

[80] Wykes (p. 137) says Edward 'callidis allectionibus adjunxit sibi . . . omnes Marchienses.' Rishanger (p. 13) says the seceders were 'muneribus excaecati.' Cf. *Dunstable Annals*, p. 225, which make them won by Edward 'per munera quae dedit eis.' The date of the change is fixed by the precise Dunstable annalist as about October and November. Wykes puts it immediately after the London Parliament of October 14, and before the attack on Dover of December 3.

[81] *Dunstable Annals*, p. 226.

his forces into three bands, one of which, commanded by h... son Henry, was sent to the West to deal with the royali... Marchers. It soon became abundantly clear that Leiceste... was now anxious to make an alliance with Llywelyn to com... pensate for the Marchers' secession. But at this stage things had gone no further than attempts at co-operation against common enemies. The King's friends took alarm at Henry de Montfort's proceedings and feared lest he should effect a union with Llywelyn. On February 4 the King ordered the sheriffs of the border shires to break down all the bridges over the Severn save that at Gloucester, to destroy all boats and obstruct the fords. Edward himself went to the West and soon baffled the blundering strategy of his cousin. Some of the baronial forces got as far west as Radnor, where Mortimer's castle was captured and levelled to the ground. This was the first result of the co-operation of Montfort and Llywelyn, and the ambiguous terms of both Welsh and English chroniclers leave it doubtful whether Radnor was destroyed by the Montfortians or their Welsh allies.[82] But Edward now came to Mortimer's assistance. He took Huntington and Hay from the younger Humphrey de Bohun, and Brecon [83] from either Bohun or Llywelyn. All these castles Edward handed over to Mortimer. Thus Mortimer regained as Edward's deputy a precarious hold on the March. He might well hope to use his new politics to eject Humphrey of Brecon from his share in the Braose inheritance.

The first hard fighting was in the Severn valley, where Henry de Montfort, after a vain attempt to take Worcester, had marched south towards Gloucester, which the barons had captured on their return from the raid against Mortimer. But Edward followed them closely, repaired the bridge over the Severn, and threw himself into the castle. On Montfort's arrival Edward, whose force was not strong enough for resistance, persuaded his cousin to accept a truce and withdraw to Kenilworth. Edward at once broke the armistice and recaptured the town. Thus master of the one means

[82] *Annales Cambriae*, p. 101; cf. Rishanger, *De Bello*, p. 20.
[83] *Flores Hist.* ii. 287; Rishanger, *De Bello*, p. 20.

t of crossing the Severn, Edward felt strong enough to andon the western campaign. Mortimer himself followed preceded Edward, and was soon fighting with the younger imon near Northampton. Thus the tide of war rolled way from the March. William of Valence, who succeeded Edward in command of the Marchers, did little but ravage the country. He also soon moved westwards to Northampton. The inactivity of Llywelyn destroyed any reason for fighting the chief campaign in the Severn valley. The Welsh did not rise to the greatness of their opportunity, and were perhaps not over-eager in Montfort's support. They were content to stand aside while the English fought. 'This year,' says the *Brut y Tywysogion*, 'the Welsh enjoyed peace from the English, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd being prince of all Wales.'[84] The Marchers, however, formed a most important element in the royalist army, enjoying a brief moment of triumph at Northampton, where the capture of the town along with many leaders, including the younger Simon, and Peter de Montfort with his two sons, secured a personal victory for Mortimer and his friends, to whose custody the prisoners were consigned.[85]

The Marchers also took a conspicuous part in the campaign in the south, whither there also went a swarm of Welsh archers to strengthen the forces of Montfort. As Henry, on the eve of Lewes, wandered rather purposelessly about the hills of Surrey and Kent, these Welshmen, hidden in the woods and valleys, proved almost as troublesome to the royalist cavalry as they had often shown themselves to be in their own hills. But when, emboldened by the success of their ambuscades, the unarmoured Welsh rashly charged the mail-clad men-at-arms of the King they were easily scattered. Many were taken prisoners and promptly beheaded.[86] Like some of the Welsh campaigns, the contest in the south was fought in a region thickly spread with Clare castles. At the battle of Lewes, May 14, the Marchers fought for the most part under Edward on the right wing. They shared his partial

[84] P. 352.

[85] Edward, James Audley, Roger Mortimer, and Roger Clifford were among those who had charge of the prisoners (*Foedera*, i. 441–2).

[86] Wykes, p. 148.

triumph and his ultimate defeat, and, like him, most manag to escape from the field. But Fulk Fitzwarin was drowned attempting to cross the Ouse, and John Fitzalan was amo the prisoners.[87] William of Valence fled to Pevensey wi Earl Warenne, and inspired that noble to a prolonge resistance. However, Roger Mortimer, James Audley Clifford, Leybourne, Hamo Lestrange, and the Turbervilles managed to withdraw. They still had a large following, and their attitude may have helped to secure for the vanquished the terms of the Mise of Lewes. Yet they themselves were threatened by the barons. Next day Edward surrendered himself. He and Henry of Almaine, who was already a captive, were held as 'hostages of the peace.'[88] They were virtually, if not formally, hostages for the good conduct of the Marchers, who, save the garrison of Pevensey, alone remained in arms on this side of the Channel. The baronial version of the transaction was that the Marchers were pledged to attend a subsequent parliament and submit there to the judgment of their peers. Whether or not they agreed to this, they certainly never fulfilled this condition.

The Marchers still held the Northampton prisoners, whom they were now disposed to treat as hostages. However, on May 17, orders were issued to them to release the three imprisoned Montforts.[89] On June 4 peremptory instructions were given to Audley, Mortimer, Clifford, and the rest to attend at once at London, bringing their prisoners with them.[90] It is improbable that they obeyed the summons, but it is clear that they found it prudent to set free the prisoners almost immediately.[91] Anyhow, the agreement was confirmed by the King by patent on August 25.[92] But before this the Marchers had retired in safety to their own

[87] *Flores Hist.* ii. 496–7.

[88] Rishanger, *De Bello*, p. 38, 'obsides pacis;' cf. *Foedera*, i. 446, 'obses pro pace regni nostri conservanda.' *Dunstable Annals*, p. 232, says the Marchers 'abire permissi sunt relictis pro eo et domino rege obsidibus' (i.e. Edward and Henry), 'ut ad parliamentum venirent summoniti et starent judicio parium suorum.'

[89] *Foedera*, i. 441.

[90] Ibid. 442.

[91] Young Simon was released and besieging Pevensey early in September, *Rot. Pat.*, in Bémont, p. 221.

[92] Bémont, p. 220, from *Rot. Pat.* 48 H. 3, m. 5.

district, where they still remained in arms. On their way home some of the fugitives, including Hamo Lestrange, Hugh Turberville, and their old enemy Robert Walerand, attacked Wallingford, where Edward was imprisoned, demanding his release.[93] They were told by the castellan that the King's son would be sent to them as the bolt of a mangonel,[94] and Edward himself prudently sent them away. Later they were summoned to appear at a parliament at Warwick, but failed to attend.[95] They were equally unwilling to obey another summons to an Oxford parliament for November 30. Nor could their refusal be deemed unwise, since the government had appointed a military levy for November 25 at Northampton to suppress them, and the chief business for the magnates at Oxford was to deliberate what form the attack on them should take.[96]

Meanwhile the March remained in extreme disorder. The Marchers took Gloucester and Bridgnorth, and in the north James Audley and William La Zouche associated themselves with Davydd ap Llywelyn, and threatened Chester. They were opposed by Robert Ferrers, Earl of Derby, whose policy, essentially self-seeking, still made it prudent for him to adhere to Montfort. So strong was the army of Ferrers that the Marchers dared not risk a battle with him. Ferrers pursued them so closely in their flight that they lost 100 men, while only one man was wounded on the other side.[97] As the pressure of the victors became stronger the Marchers withdrew into the heart of Wales, Some, including Leybourne, established their quarters at Carmarthen.[98] Montfort himself was now with the king and an army at Worcester, seeking for means to cross the Severn. It seemed as if the Marchers would soon be crushed between the anvil of Leicester and the hammer of Llywelyn. Mortimer, Clifford, and Leybourne accordingly agreed to attend a conference at Worcester. There, after many altercations, a peace was patched up, before December 15, called the Provisions of Worcester. It arranged that the Marchers should abjure the realm for a year and a

[93] Rishanger, *De Bello*, p. 40.
[94] Robert of Gloucester, ii. 752.
[95] *Osney Annals*, p. 155.
[96] Ibid. pp. 154–5.
[97] *Dunstable Annals*, p. 235.
[98] *Battle Chron.*, apud Bémont, p. 378.

day, leaving wives, children, castles, and estates in the custod of their enemies. Ireland was selected as their place of exil and they were given till January 15, 1265, to prepare fo their departure. If they conducted themselves peaceably during this year's seclusion, milder arrangements for their future fate were to be determined upon by their peers before the expiration of that term.[99] This treaty the Marchers swore to observe.

Mortimer, Clifford, and Leybourne were allowed to proceed to Kenilworth [100] and hold conference with Edward, now a prisoner in Montfort's castle there. But nothing came of their deliberations, and many of the Marchers repudiated from the first the Provisions of Worcester. On the day of their conclusion, December 15, Henry wrote to Hamo Lestrange, Matthew de Gamages, and the Turbervilles, protesting against their disregard of the peace and the continuing of their depredations. Even the Shrewsbury prisoners were not yet all released, and on January 9 the King, who had now returned to London to hold the famous Hilary-tide Parliament, was forced to write to the bailiffs of Shrewsbury, who retained some of them in custody, ordering their liberation without further delay.[101] Meanwhile, the loyalty of the section that had accepted the peace was becoming more than doubtful. Mortimer and his friends put forth specious excuses for delaying their withdrawal to Ireland, and the reigning faction was too weak to be able to insist on carrying out the letter of the agreement. Time after time the period of delay allowed was extended. Safe-conducts were issued for them on January 2, 1265, and as Hamo Lestrange and the Turbervilles were included in these as well as Mortimer, Clifford, and Leybourne, it seems likely that by this time the nominal submission had become general. But at the same time the date of expatriation was put off to twenty days after Christmas. This date was successively prolonged to

[99] *Foedera*, i. 449, 455 (which gives the name Provisions of Worcester, cf. Eyton, i. 284); *Osney Annals*, pp. 156–8; *Royal Letters*, ii. 283; and *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, pp. 70–71, which wrongly makes Gloucester the place of the treaty. Wykes, p. 159, says that they were to be banished to Ireland 'per triennium.'

[100] *Foedera*, i. 449.

[101] Ibid. i. 450.

id-Lent, the octave of Easter, and finally till six weeks after aster ;[102] that is, to May 17. Still the Marchers made no ttempt to fulfil their promise. The prolongations of the date imply indicate that negotiations of some sort with them were still going on, and that neither side wished to push matters to extremities. There were no further permissions to delay issued, since, ere May 17 came, the victorious party had been rent in twain and the Marchers could once more dare to defy their enemies.

Alongside the negotiations with the Marchers, Montfort was treating with the captive Edward, whose long imprisonment made him naturally anxious to buy his freedom, even at a great price. What this price was appeared in March, when Edward finally accepted the hard conditions of his deliverance. He agreed to transfer to Leicester the whole of his earldom of Chester, with the honours and castles of the Peak and Newcastle-under-Lyme, and all their respective appurtenances, including, of course, what Welsh lands might still depend on Chester.[103] Moreover, Edward's town of Bristol was transferred to Montfort as a pledge to be held until the conditions of the transaction were fulfilled: that is, until the recalcitrant Marchers had performed their part of the bargain. The result was to put Montfort in Edward's former position in relation to Wales and the March. But not even Edward's influence could make the Marchers accept conditions which involved their own extermination. Between Montfort and Llywelyn their position was indeed a desperate one. It is evident that the efforts which Montfort was making to prolong negotiations with the indignant Marchers would now be made in vain. Moreover, it is pretty clear that the ambition of Montfort to divide Wales with Llywelyn finally determined the young Earl of Gloucester to break with his former mentor.

Gloucester and Leicester had shared the spoils after Lewes. On June 6, 1264, Gloucester received the custody of Pembroke, so that he was made virtually lord paramount of all South Wales. But Montfort in Bristol now menaced

[102] *Cal. Doc. Ireland*, 1252–84, pp. 122–125.
[103] *Foedera*, i. 451–2, 454.

his lands, and the saving clause that Gloucester's own claim over Bristol were to be respected could hardly be regarded as having any practical value. Moreover, there were other causes of dispute. The presence of tenants of Gloucester, like the Turbervilles in the Marcher camp was in itself a suspicious circumstance. It was still more suspicious that some of the recalcitrant Marchers betook themselves to Gloucester's Glamorganshire Palatinate,[104] where the great 'concentric' castle of Caerphilly, the first of its type in Britain, was rapidly arising under the young earl's care, and was probably already sufficiently advanced to offer a resistance either to Llywelyn or Leicester such as the cramped early fortresses of the Border had never been able to make. Then there were personal rivalries between Gloucester and the young Montforts, of whom the earl was extravagantly jealous.[105] In Parliament Leicester himself provoked the conflict by reproaching Earl Gilbert with receiving the fugitive Marchers in his lands.[106] For the moment, however, things were hushed up. The fate of Earl Ferrers, whom Simon had now thrown into prison, was a warning to Gloucester of what might well befall him. A tournament between Henry de Montfort and Gloucester which had been fixed for February 17 at Dunstable gave the rivals a good opportunity of turning mimic into real war. But the government prudently prohibited the meeting. Yet Gloucester arranged for another passage of arms for April 20 at Northampton. Before that date he had fled to the March. Simon took Henry and Edward to Northampton, and thence pursued his enemy to the west. On the way John Fitzalan was ordered to surrender his son, or his castle of Arundel, as a pledge for keeping the peace, and attempts were made to get Montgomery into hands favourable to Montfort.[107] But such of Edward's castles as had not been captured by Llywelyn were now seized by the rebel Marchers, who were openly waging war against Montfort's ally Llywelyn.[108] Mont-

[104] 'Marchienses . . . transfretationem, sano ducti consilio, differebant, in terra comitis Gloucestriae, ipso connivente, tutissime commorantes.'—Wykes, p. 159.

[105] *Chron. of Battle*, in Bémont, p. 378.

[106] Wykes, p. 160.

[107] *Foedera*, i. 454.

[108] *Flores Hist.* iii. 263.

t's friends were also vigorously acting. About February lward's castle of Hay surrendered to the Montfortians on ndition of the redemption of the garrison at a reasonable nsom.[109] But some time in April the Marchers received an nexpected reinforcement. William of Valence and Earl Warenne landed with one hundred and twenty men-at-arms nd crossbowmen in Pembrokeshire.[110] Gloucester's bailiffs put no obstacle in the way of the men of Pembroke welcoming back their ancient lord. All South Wales was thus arrayed against Montfort. Warenne and Valence hurried to the Border, whither Gloucester had now betaken himself.

On April 30 Montfort, accompanied by his royal captives, reached Gloucester. Earl Gilbert and John Giffard held the neighbouring Forest of Dean with a strong force. Montfort was still at Gloucester on May 6, but a day or so later he pushed on to Hereford. There was grave risk of Gilbert of Gloucester attacking his left flank during the march, but the Earl contented himself with framing a plot to capture Simon, which did not succeed.[111] Gloucester probably saw that time was on his side, and that it was good policy to lure Montfort beyond the Severn. Now he preferred to negotiate rather than fight. The Montfortians knew that Warenne and Valence had landed in Pembrokeshire, and on May 10 orders were issued in Henry's name ordering that the ports should be watched, the charters re-proclaimed, and protesting that the only motive of Henry's western journey was to procure the execution of the Provisions of Worcester.[112] Under such circumstances Montfort was as ready to negotiate as Gloucester. The Welsh co-operated with the Montfortians, and the approach of an Anglo-Welsh force to Montgomery frightened Mortimer into an offer of peace. Meanwhile a settlement seemed arrived at.[113] It was agreed that the differences

[109] *Royal Letters*, ii. 280.

[110] *Royal Letters*, ii. 282–4; cf. *Flores Hist.* iii. 264.

[111] M. Bémont says Montfort wasted a fortnight at Gloucester, apparently following the loose narrative of the Waverley annalist (pp. 361–2), but it is clear that he was not there much more than a week.

[112] *Royal Letters*, ii. 282–4.

[113] The accounts of elaborate operations against Roger Mortimer about this time, which are given by Rishanger, *De Bello*, p. 35, seem very unlikely to be true.

between the two earls should be referred to a committee arbitration.[114] Thereupon Gloucester came to Hereford a renewed his homage to Henry. On May 20 a mendacious pr clamation assured the sheriffs that the stories of the quarrel Leicester and Gloucester which had been noised abroad wer 'vain, lying, and fraudulently invented,' and that the earl were 'of one mind and harmonious in everything.'[115] But the arbitrators never had occasion to issue their award. On May 24 Whit-Sunday was celebrated more cheerfully than might have been expected. So confident does Montfort seem to have been of Gloucester's loyalty that he allowed his brother Thomas de Clare to remain among the near attendants of Edward, and so little irksome was the restraint to which Edward, after his formal release from captivity, was subjected that he was allowed the diversions of riding and hunting. The Clares took advantage of this to contrive his escape. On May 28 Edward went out for a ride, and towards the hour of vespers, escaping the vigilance of his custodians, availed himself of his superior craft and horsemanship to effect his escape. He was met in a wood by Roger Mortimer, and in a few hours was safe from Montfort behind the walls of Wigmore, Mortimer's chief stronghold, three-and-twenty miles away from Hereford. Next day, May 29, Edward met Gloucester at Ludlow—now again in Marcher hands. There he promised to uphold the charters and expel the foreigners. Valence and Warenne came up from the south-west, and made common cause with Edward and Gilbert. The forces of the Marchers now had a unity of purpose, direction, and policy which they had hitherto lacked. And they could boast with a good conscience that they were fighting for the same cause that they had upheld at Oxford seven years before.

Montfort had been outwitted and was now seriously alarmed. He had but a small force with him, but, two days after Edward's flight, all tenants-in-chief adhering to the Montfortian cause were summoned to hasten with their

[114] *Foedera*, i. 456. The arbitrators were Walter, Bishop of Worcester, Hugh le Despenser, John Fitzalan, and William of Munchensi. *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, p. 73.

[115] *Foedera*, i. 455.

followers to Worcester as soon as they possibly could.[116] It now became the object of the Marchers to prevent a junction between the barons at Hereford and these new levies. They succeeded easily and rapidly in accomplishing this task. The whole of the northern and central March was conquered. Chester, Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth followed the example of Ludlow.[117] Worcester itself opened its gates to Edward without resistance. Once more the crossings of the Severn were destroyed. Worcester bridge was burnt; all boats on the Severn were drawn up on dry land, and great holes were dug in the fords.[118] So thoroughly was the work done that on June 7 the baronial levies were ordered to assemble at Gloucester, since Worcester was no longer accessible.[119] And next day, June 8, all the bishops of the province of Canterbury were called upon to excommunicate Edward and his accomplices.[120] But while the barons were issuing proclamations, Edward was acting. Early in June he marched down the Severn to Gloucester, captured the town after two days' fighting, and, after a three weeks' siege, compelled the garrison of the castle, on June 29, to yield upon honourable conditions.[121] The garrison were released with their arms on taking an oath not to fight against Edward for forty days.

Leicester's position at Hereford was now become desperate. Edward had not only deprived him of any prospect of reinforcements, but had threatened to cut off his retreat over the Severn. Almost surrounded by the enemy, in a hostile country, and with no great force at his command, Simon's only hope now rested in the Prince of Wales. During the previous few months we know little of Llywelyn's movements. The Welsh Chronicles, for earlier years so copious, suddenly cease to yield us any information. We can only guess, therefore, whether Llywelyn had remained inactive,

[116] *Foedera*, i. 455–6.

[117] Rishanger, *De Bello*, p. 43.

[118] Wykes, p. 165.

[119] 'Propter fractionem pontium et viarum discrimina eis planus non patet accessus.'—*Foedera*, i. 456.

[120] *Foedera*, i. 456.

[121] On June 15 he had already taken the town and was still besieging the castle: *Royal Letters*, ii. 288. The date of the capture of the castle is given in Rishanger, *De Bello*, p. 43. Cf. *Waverley Annals*, p. 362.

cleverly biding his time, or whether he had attempted at earlier stage to help Montfort by carrying on war against t Marchers. If he attempted the latter course, he was qu unable to influence the course of events, and it seer more consistent with his general aims that he had up now designedly pursued a policy of 'masterly inactivity It seems most probable that Montfort, now that he wa Edward's successor in 'Cheshire and its appurtenances,' wa hardly so eager to make concessions to his ally as he had been in the days when it was easy to promise Llywelyn indemnities from Edward's own lands. But necessity now forced him to yield to Llywelyn his own terms, and Llywelyn therefore saw that the time was come to strike with profit. While the Marcher host was gradually drawing tighter the cordon round the barons at Hereford, active negotiations were being conducted between Montfort and the Welsh prince. For this purpose Llywelyn and his army took up their quarters at Pipton, near Hay, within twenty-five miles of Hereford. There, on June 19, Llywelyn announced his adhesion to the terms of alliance, and on June 22 the captive king was forced to put his name to the English ratification of the treaty.[122]

The terms showed Simon's need. Henry granted Llywelyn the title of Prince of Wales, with the overlordsh of all the magnates of Wales. He ceded to him Mau Castle, or Castell Colwyn, on the Ithon, in Maelenydd, t hundred of Ellesmere, Shropshire, and the castle of Haward with its appurtenances. These districts seem to have be already under his power. Henry also promised to a Llywelyn and his magnates in reconquering all the oth lands and castles which were within their right, but which the time were held 'by our and their common adversaries,' an especially the castle of Montgomery with its appurtenances

[122] Llywelyn's letters patent are in *Royal Letters*, ii. 284–287; Henry's patent is in *Foedera*, i. 457, and is dated at Hereford. Llywelyn's letters are dated June 19, 'in castris juxta Pyperton' and 'apud Pipertone.' I assume that this is Pipton, a township in the parish of Glasbury, in the modern Radnorshire, south of the Wye, at its junction with the Llynvi and about four miles from Hay, which we know was garrisoned by Montfort's men. *Waverley Annals*, p. 363, says Llywelyn wanted his inheritance and got it, whereupon he and Montfort 'bona eorum in Marchia ad nihilum redigerunt.'

Llywelyn was recognised as overlord of Whittington, but the heir of the actual tenants was to retain possession of it, paying the accustomed services. If, however, he failed in duty towards Llywelyn, he was to make amends according to Welsh custom. In return for all this Llywelyn was to recognise Henry as his liege lord and perform all customary services to him. The prince agreed to pay a fine of 30,000 marks, payable in instalments of 3,000 marks a year, every Michaelmas at Whittington. He was also to promise to 'remit all rancour' against the men of the castles and lands granted by the King, and to allow them to remain peacefully in their lands and houses, paying their ordinary dues, or to permit them, if they preferred, to depart with all their goods. If this promise were broken, the convention was to be no longer binding on the King. The essential promise made by Llywelyn was that he would help with all his forces the magnates who strove to uphold the ordinance recently made at London for the liberation of the lord Edward against all who wished to infringe it or molest the said magnates. Simon gave hostages for the performance of the compact. These were sent by Llywelyn to the remotest parts of Wales. Many Welsh magnates, including Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, were present at Pipton and attested the treaty. It is probable that there was some talk at this time about a marriage between Llywelyn and Montfort's daughter Eleanor.[123]

Thus, in return for great concessions, Simon got the promise of the whole-hearted co-operation of the Welsh. The great Welsh host at Pipton seemed just what was wanted to save Montfort in his perilous plight. If Llywelyn intended to take a serious part in English politics, he had now a better chance than his grandfather in the days of the occupation of Shrewsbury seventy years before. But he failed to rise to the opportunity. As at another crisis of his life, the 'timor qui cadere potest in constantem virum' may well have paralysed his action on lines so different from those traditional with his race. Despite his diplomatists and

[123] Trivet, p. 294, says that the match, carried out in the next reign, was arranged in Simon's lifetime. Cf. *Melrose Chronicle*, p. 204.

his armoured horsemen and his castles, he was ill at e
under the conditions of English warfare, and his follow
were still more so. It was soon found that Montfort was to
little good by the alliance. The Welsh would not leave th
hills, and, though admirable as guerilla troops, were of lit
service in a regular campaign. They preferred to improve the
hold upon the March. But the castles that they took the
still levelled to the ground, Maud's Castle sharing the fate o
the others.[124] Moreover, when the news of the Welsh allianc
was known in England, much ill-feeling was excited. The
Londoners were as a rule strong supporters of Simon, but
we may suspect that it was not merely the partisanship o
the royalist city chronicler that indignantly recorded how
Leicester had given Llywelyn the greater part of the March
with its castles, to the utter loss and undoing of the English
realm. 'For the Welsh have never been allied with the
English, and never will be, without fraud and treason arising
from them.'[125] Another chronicler regards Montfort's league
with the Welsh as an equally evil thing with his alliance
with the Londoners.[126]

Llywelyn therefore remained at Pipton while the foes o
the cause gathered round Simon at Hereford. Seven da
after the Welsh treaty, Gloucester Castle opened its gat
to Edward. Thus the last obstacle in the way of
march to Hereford was removed. Even before this Mo
fort had left Hereford for Monmouth, one of Edward's
Marcher possessions. There he destroyed the castle af
the fashion of his Welsh allies, and there, on June 2
Henry's name was attached to fresh proclamations a
appeals for help.[127] But after the fall of Gloucester Cast
John Giffard was at once on the heels of the baroni
host. Giffard came close to the camp under the walls o
Monmouth, and daily provoked Montfort to battle. Befor
long Simon fled from him to Usk, one of Gloucester's
castles, and overpowered its scanty garrison. Within three
days he was again on the move, and Gloucester had retaken

[124] *Battle Chron.* in Bémont, p. 379.
[125] *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, p. 74.
[126] *Flores Hist.* iii. 258; cf. also Wykes, p. 168.
[127] *Foedera*, i. 457.

k. Montfort then proceeded down the Usk valley to wport. Bristol was still garrisoned by his adherents, and sent orders to them to send ships across the Channel to wport, hoping by this means to evade his pursuers and ach England safely. But Gloucester filled three 'pirate ips' with soldiers and intercepted the Bristol fleet in the hannel. In the one-sided conflict that followed, the Bristol nen lost eleven ships. The remainder withdrew to the Avon, and Montfort's last chance of escape seemed cut off. Flushed with victory, Edward and Gloucester sought to force on a battle by attacking the bridge over the Usk, which on the western side was commanded by the castle and town walls. But after some fighting on the bridge the Montfortians withdrew, burning the Newport end of the wooden structure as they retreated. During the ensuing night Montfort fled from the town.

At first Simon shaped his course westwards into Glamorganshire, but the unfriendly population and the strong Clare castles blocked his way. The only safe retreat lay northwards over the hills to the lands ruled by Llywelyn.[128] Geographical details of the movements of Montfort and the unwilling King are for a time denied us. But it seems most probable that they made their way into he upper Usk valley, where Llywelyn had long been bsolute master. Edward, however, followed up Gloucester's ccesses at Monmouth and Usk by capturing Brecon, Hay, nd Huntington from Llywelyn. Before these were taken, e marched higher up the Usk than Brecon and destroyed rom the foundations a new castle which Llywelyn had rected in that region.[129] These triumphs must have given he royalists the command of the Usk and Wye valleys, and driven Montfort and Llywelyn to take refuge among the hills more to the north. There the English army soon grew weary of the simple food of meat and milk on which the wild Welsh lived.[130] They could not get on without bread, and as bread was not to be found on the hills, they insisted on once more returning eastwards. After much

[128] Wykes, p. 168; cf. Rishanger, *Chronicle*, p. 34.
[129] *Battle Chron.*, in Bémont, p. 379.
[130] Wykes, p. 168.

weary marching, Montfort and the King went back Hereford, where the earl remained until August 1, waiti once more for a chance of crossing the Severn. But t army was worn out with famine, and his first efforts we unsuccessful. At last, on August 2, Simon managed to find ford over the river,[131] and encamped for the night a Kempsey, a manor of the Bishop of Worcester, a few mile below that city. Thence he marched eastwards, still ignorant of the defeat of his son at Kenilworth, only to find his doom at Evesham on August 4. The Welsh Prince did not leave his own country with Simon, but a swarm of light-armed Welsh infantry attended the baronial host to the end.[132] At the battle of Evesham the long struggle of Welsh and Marchers collapsed ingloriously. The Welsh infantry were useless in the regular battle array, and as the royalist host surrounded them they fled in a panic before the fighting began. Many hid in the gardens and fields around the town; many attempted to escape by swimming over the Avon.[133] But large numbers were intercepted and butchered. On the other hand, the whole glory of the day belonged to Edward and the Marchers. Conspicuous among the latter were Roger Mortimer and Gilbert o Gloucester. Another Marcher, Roger of Leybourne,[134] save the life of the King, who had been forced to appear i armour among Simon's ranks. But the disgraceful muti lation of Montfort's corpse and the sending of his hea as a present to Mortimer's wife at Wigmore were th work of the 'vilissima peditum caterva' that followed th Marcher lords, and speak eloquently of the ferocity engendered in border warfare.[135]

[131] *Battle Chron.*, in Bémont, p. 379.

[132] The *Lanercost Chron.* says 5,000 of them were slain at Evesham. I cannot agree with Professor Oman (*Art of War*, p. 434) that a writer whose whole account is full of gross blunders is likely to fix numbers with a 'considerable show of probability.' They seem even more loose than mediæval chroniclers' numbers invariably are. Cf. Rishanger, *Chron.* 36, who confirms the account of the excessive loss of the Welsh.

[133] Hemingburgh, i. 324, who, with characteristic inaccuracy, calls the river of Evesham the Dee.

[134] Hemingburgh, i. 325, makes Adam of Mold the rescuer of Henry.

[135] Cf. the curious story in the *Melrose Chron.* (p. 202) of the 'quidam Marchius in comitatu Cestriae' who sent one of Simon's hands to his wife. According to the same writer, a foot of Simon was sent to Llywelyn, 'in odiosum contemptum utriusque' (ib. p. 205).

Llywelyn had done little to help Simon in his great need. was characteristic of the inability of the Welsh to conduct campaign on the grand scale that on August 2, two days efore Evesham, a great multitude of Welsh, led by William f Berkeley, 'a noble knight, but a famous malefactor,' landed t Minehead, in Somerset, and spoiled the district. However, they were soon dispersed and many slain by Adam Gurdon, the governor of Dunster Castle.[136]

The struggle did not end with Evesham. For two years afterwards Edward was busy in putting out the embers of the barons' wars. Axholme, Winchelsea, Alton, Chesterfield, Kenilworth, Ely, were still to witness the last stages of the contest. It was not until July 1267 that the defenders of Ely were allowed the terms of the 'Dictum de Kenilworth.' During these two years Llywelyn was very active. He showed that he could fight much more intelligently for his own hand than as part of a general plan. He fully realised that the restoration of Edward to his old dominions involved him in the most imminent danger. Nor was this danger lessened when Edmund, Edward's brother, was entrusted with his old lands in Gwent and in Cardigan and Carmarthen, leaving to Edward the county of Chester and its appurtenances.[137] Moreover, the victorious Marcher army was eager to turn its arms against Llywelyn and drive him out of his conquests. The Welsh prince cleverly took advantage of the fact that his enemies were still occupied in the complete subjugation of England. When Simon the younger was defending himself in Axholme, distance did not prevent Llywelyn renewing with him the treaty made with his father. Llywelyn gathered an army that was expected to go to the help of the garrison of Axholme and the other 'disinherited' barons. The result was a destructive foray into Edward's earldom of Cheshire in September 1265, in the course of which Hawarden Castle was captured and destroyed. The magnates were assembled in parliament at Winchester, but on the news of the invasion the meeting was adjourned for a month. Hamo Lestrange was put at the head of the Marcher force

[136] Rishanger, *Chron.* p. 41.
[137] See W. E. Rhodes in *Engl. Hist. Review*, x. 31-34.

assembled against Llywelyn. With him was associated Maurice Fitzgerald, an Irish magnate in close relation with the Clares and the Valences, who brought a considerable Irish contingent to the help of the English in Gwynedd.[138] But Llywelyn scattered their army, and slew their knights and troopers without mercy. The leaders barely escaped with their lives. So little success attended the English resistance that on November 28 Henry authorised James Audley to negotiate a truce with Llywelyn which was to last until Lent 1266.[139]

During this period fresh negotiations were entered into with the object of obtaining a permanent peace. The Cardinal Ottobon was now in England, as the legate of Clement IV., and was anxious to establish a complete pacification in every direction. To ensure this he invited Llywelyn to send ambassadors to him, and on December 14 these emissaries received safe-conducts from the King which were to last until February 2, 1266.[140] No immediate result followed, and for the greater part of 1266 the chief interest centred round the long siege of Kenilworth. Meanwhile, the Marchers had been amply rewarded by Henry for their services at Evesham, and were now striving to win back their ancient estates from Llywelyn. It was, however, very hard to do this when their attention was divided between England and Wales. Even Roger Mortimer was unable to effect much against his cousin. On Whitsun Eve, May 15, 1266, Mortimer was severely defeated by Llywelyn at Brecon. His army was annihilated, and he himself escaped with the utmost difficulty.[141]

Llywelyn was also helped by the dissensions that began to arise in the ranks of the conquerors. As early as January 1266 Edward and Gilbert of Gloucester were beginning to quarrel, and it was found necessary to issue an official declaration that they were on the best of terms.[142] But Gloucester was certainly jealous of Mortimer, and probably also of Edward, and had reasonable fears lest the increasing strength of the reaction should cause the doctrines of 1258

[138] *Waverley Annals*, p. 366. [139] *Foedera*, i. 466.
[140] *Foedera*, i. 467. [141] *Waverley Annals*, p. 370. [142] *Foedera*, i. 467.

be forgotten. It is significant that while Mortimer, fresh om his Brecon failure, took a prominent part in the siege Kenilworth, which began on June 24, Gloucester busied imself with arranging terms of pacification. He was one of he mediators who procured the drawing up of tolerable conditions in the document called the 'Dictum de Kenilworth' of October 31, while the name of Mortimer was significantly absent from the list. For a time Gloucester left the siege of Kenilworth in order to protect his estates against the Marchers. It was a triumph for the earl over Mortimer when in December most of the defenders of Kenilworth surrendered, and accepted the terms of the 'Dictum.' There were more stormy scenes as Mortimer and Gloucester departed from Kenilworth. Even after that Mortimer did his best to upset the compromise effected by the 'Dictum.' Edward's favour had already covered Mortimer with rewards. He was made warden of Hereford Castle and sheriff of Herefordshire.[143] His Cleobury estate was invested with privileges that practically cut it off from the neighbouring shires, and erected it into a lordship of the Marcher type.[144] He was made lord of Kerry and Kedewein, though he still had to conquer these districts from Llywelyn. Gloucester's jealousy could not but be aroused by such an increase of the Mortimer power. Moreover, there were rumours that Mortimer was plotting against Gloucester's life.[145]

Wykes (page 184), loyalist though he was, speaks very emphatically against the lavishness of the grants made after Evesham. It was natural then that Gloucester, both from local and general reasons, should have made himself the spokesman of the party of moderation against Mortimer and the extremists: though it was little less natural that Edward should in the first flush of complete victory have been little mindful of his oath at Ludlow. When Henry and the legate were celebrating Christmas at Oxford, their chief concern was to reconcile the rival Marcher potentates. Gloucester sullenly held aloof, refusing to attend the feast of St. Edward, which the King celebrated in London. Thence,

[143] *List of Sheriffs*, P.R.O. Lists, No. ix. p. 59.
[144] Eyton's *Shropshire*, iii. 40, iv. 221–2. [145] Rishanger, *De Bello*, p. 59

in January 1267 Henry went to Bury St. Edmunds fight against the irreconcilables who still held the islan of Ely. On February 3 a 'parliament' was summone to assemble at Bury.[146] Gloucester refused to atten and betook himself to the March, where he prepared t make war against Mortimer. Earl Warenne and William of Valence were sent to beseech him to appear, but all they could get from him was a declaration that, while he would never bear arms against Henry or Edward save in self-defence, he would do all that he could to destroy the power of Mortimer. He now complained of the return of the foreigners and the neglect of the Provisions of Oxford. At last Gloucester marched at the head of an armed force to London, pretending that he wished to hold conference with Ottobon. On April 8, 1267, the Londoners gladly admitted the champion of the disinherited into their city. John d'Eyville and some of the leading defenders of Ely joined him, and it looked for a moment as if the local rivalries of Gloucester and Mortimer were about to renew the civil war. Henry and Edward marched from Cambridge towards London,[147] and Gloucester besieged the legate in the Tower. But Gilbert was wise enough not to enlarge his programme in proportion to his success. He contented himself with reiterating his demand for the better treatment of the disinherited, and with reminding Edward of his former promises. The legate strove hard to make peace, and on June 16 Gloucester made his submission, having practically obtained all that he sought for. Thus the greatest of the Marchers checked the excesses of the Marcher party. He also completed the pacification of England by procuring for the Ely insurgents the terms of Kenilworth.

Llywelyn found a fresh opportunity in the quarrel of the Clares and Mortimers. He confederated himself with the lord of Glamorgan, as he had previously allied himself with Earl Simon. The Welsh annalist chronicles Gloucester's

[146] *Dunstable Annals*, p. 144.

[147] Henry still had a Welsh following. Two of his Welshmen were beheaded for robbery as he passed through Dunstable. *Dunstable Annals*, p. 246.

arch to London as a movement which naturally followed e alliance of the Prince with the Earl.[148]

It would now have been possible for Edward to have urned all his forces against Llywelyn, and revived his outhful dominion over the Four Cantreds and Carmarthen. Hot-headed partisans like Mortimer were pretty sure to have welcomed such a policy. But the country was rejoicing in the novel luxuries of peace,[149] and strongly averse to fresh hostilities. Edward himself was as anxious as any one to end the war, and was moreover wishful to go on crusade. Ottobon had much influence with the King, and was striving hard to include Wales in the general peace which he was commissioned to establish. On February 21, 1267, Robert Walerand, lord of Kilpeck, was commissioned to make a truce with Llywelyn, for two or three years from the ensuing Easter.[150] At the same time Edmund, the King's son, soon to be Earl of Leicester and Derby, and already in possession of Edward's old lands in South Wales and of the Montfort and Ferrers estates, was joined with Walerand in a commission to treat with Llywelyn for a permanent peace.[151]

Richard of Cornwall, to whose good offices the reconciliation with Gloucester was largely due, now exerted himself to persuade Llywelyn to accept reasonable terms. The Welsh prince refused the suggestion that he should surrender all Edward's lands. He declared, however, his willingness to pay a large sum of money, and surrender the commots of Creuthyn and Prestatyn, with their castles of Deganwy and Diserth.[152] At last Ottobon himself directly intervened. The legate accompanied Henry to Shrewsbury, where, on Sept. 21, the King gave him full powers to treat personally with Llywelyn, and promised to observe whatever the legate thought fit to conclude. Robert Walerand and Geoffrey de Geneville, lord of Ludlow, were at the same

[148] *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 354.
[149] Wykes, p. 211.
[150] *Foedera*, i. 472.
[151] *Ibid.*
[152] Llywelyn to King Richard, in *Royal Letters*, ii. 312–314. This letter is a good statement of the case from Llywelyn's point of view. It makes us regret that we have so few official records from the Welsh side. In the long run Llywelyn got much better terms than he had offered.

time authorised to swear by the King's soul to the articles agreed upon by Ottobon.[153] The negotiations seem to have taken place at Shrewsbury. Robert Walerand and John de la Lynde were the English negotiators, and Einion ap Caradog and Davydd ap Einion the Welsh. Four days later, on Sunday, September 25, the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Shrewsbury.[154] On the same day Llywelyn received safe-conduct to visit the King, in order to perform homage at the impregnable castle of Montgomery, which had so long defied his efforts.[155] On Michaelmas Day, Thursday, September 29, the King went to Montgomery, attended by his sons, the legate, his councillors and barons. There they were met by Llywelyn, Howel ap Madog, 'Grocion Goronum,' the prince's steward, Tewdwr ap Ednyved, Einion ap Caradog, and Davydd ap Eineon. There the Welshmen paid homage to the King, and took oaths to observe the treaty, which was sealed by Henry, Edward, Llywelyn, Einion, and Davydd. The same day Ottobon drew up the formal record, which was deposited in the royal archives. Thus for the first time within the memory of man was formal peace established in Wales and its March, and thus was consummated the final act of the Barons' Wars. The peace was sometimes called the Treaty of Shrewsbury, sometimes that of Montgomery, and sometimes the peace of Ottobon.

After general remarks on the blessings of peace, in which justice is tempered with grace, and the ancient enmities of two nations reconciled, the peace of Ottobon lays down the following conditions: Llywelyn is to restore to Henry and his subjects all the lands he had occupied during the war, save the lands of Brecon and Gwrthrennion, the seisin of which shall remain to Llywelyn and his heirs. The possession of 'Burget' (possibly Abergavenny) shall remain with Llywelyn, to whom all the King's rights therein are assigned, but any claiming rights therein shall have justice done to them, according to the ancient laws of the March. Roger Mortimer is allowed to go on building, at his own risk, a castle in Maelenydd, but that castle and all Maelenydd shall

[153] *Foedera*, i. 173. [154] Ibid. i. 174. [155] Ibid. i. 473.

be restored to Llywelyn if he can make good his claim to it. Llywelyn is granted Kerry and Kedewein. Whittington Castle and lands shall belong to Llywelyn, who shall receive from it the accustomed service from the knight to whom the King has granted its custody.[156] Llywelyn shall restore all Hawarden to Robert of Mold, but for thirty years Robert shall not be permitted to erect a castle therein. Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn is to have whatever lands he held before he revolted from the King. The King concedes to Llywelyn the four Cantreds of Perveddwlad. In all the above districts justice is to be given to all claimants, according to the law of the March. These were the chief territorial clauses.

The vital conditions of the treaty were perhaps the following:

The lord King, wishing to magnify the person of the aforesaid Llywelyn and in him his heirs by hereditary succession, from his own liberality and favour, and with the will and assent of the lord Edward, grants to Llywelyn and his heirs the Principality of Wales, so that Llywelyn and his heirs may be styled Princes of Wales. And let them have moreover the homage of all the barons of Wales who are Welshmen, so that the aforesaid barons may hold their lands in chief of the aforesaid prince and his heirs, saving the homage of the noble Maredudd ap Rhys, which the King retains along with the dominion over all his lands which Llywelyn is bound to restore forthwith to him and his. If the King ever resolves to give Llywelyn the homage of Maredudd, Llywelyn is to pay Henry or his heirs 5,000 marks. Llywelyn is to perform for his lands homage, fealty, and the accustomed services.

Davydd, Llywelyn's brother, is to be restored to the lands which he held before he left Llywelyn for the King. If Davydd be not contented with these, he is to receive such an addition as shall seem right to Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, Gruffydd and Howel sons of Madog, Owain Bleddyn and Tewdwr ap Ednyved. If Davydd be not content with that, let justice be done to him according to Welsh law in the presence of one or two representatives of the King.

Henry and Llywelyn mutually pledge each other not to receive

[156] It is curious that this clause escaped the attention of Eyton in his extraordinarily careful and minute history of Whittington (*Shropshire*, xi. 38 sq.). It is not quite clear who the knight thus alluded to was. Fulk Fitzwarin, lord of Whittington, had died at Lewes fighting for the King. His heir, also named Fulk, was a minor, and in 1277 was still 'nondum miles.' Four days after the battle, however, the King gave the custody of his land and person to Hamo Lestrange, who is possibly the knight referred to. However, in Mich. Term. 1266, Robert Lestrange had custody of the lands, and William de Waleria of the heir.

fugitives, outlaws, or banished subjects of the other, and not to maint their respective enemies. All agreements hitherto made between Ki and prince at variance with this peace are to be held invalid.

For all the favours received from the King Llywelyn is to be boun to pay 25,000 marks, 1,000 within a month, 4,000 marks by Christmas, fo which security shall be given, and henceforth 3,000 marks every Christmas to be paid at St. Werburgh's monastery, Chester, until the whole sum is paid off If Llywelyn does not pay before February 2, he shall be fined 100 marks, and for subsequent defaults 50 marks a month.

What did Llywelyn gain by the treaty? In the first place may perhaps be put his recognition as Prince of Wales. In an age tenacious of legal rights and formal titles, it was no small concession to have wrested this recognition from the weakness of the English King. It was, to begin with, a new point scored. Llywelyn ap Iorwerth had been a much more mighty ruler than his grandson. But yet he had never obtained, had hardly ever aspired to, so formal a position in the feudal hierarchy. The elder Llywelyn had generally been content to style himself 'Prince of North Wales.' Even in the times of his most successful aggressions, the English Government had preferred to recognise his power rather than his style. When he had wrested the castles of Cardigan and Carmarthen from the Regency of Henry III., he had received them as the warden of Henry, and with no higher title than Prince of North Wales.[157] Though he had waged a successful war against the Earls of Pembroke and Gloucester, though he had laid hands, at some time or the other, on nearly all the castles of the South, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth seldom formally claimed a higher territorial title. Even the style of Prince of North Wales seemed to the English Court too comprehensive a dignity. He was usually called in English legal documents simply

[157] 'Rex omnibus &c. Sciatis quod commisimus dilecto sororio nostro, Lewelino, principi Norwallie, castra de Kaerdigan et de Kaermerdin . . . custodienda usque ad etatem nostram, salvo jure cujuslibet.'—Worcester, March 17, 1218. *Patent Rolls of Henry III.*, 1216–1225, p. 143. This concession was made at Worcester at the time when Llywelyn did homage to the King. It confirms, in a rather remarkable way, the precise accuracy of the *Brut y Tywysogion*. The English chroniclers are, of course, less precise in such matters. The Scottish chronicler of Melrose (p. 150) actually calls him 'rex Wallie.' In the Welsh chronicles Llywelyn is 'tywyssaôc Kymry' (*B. y T.* p. 326). But the South Welsh chieftain, Rhys ap Gruffydd, called himself 'princeps Wallie' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1422–1429, p. 522).

Prince of Aberfraw and Lord of Snowdon.'[158] In such formal dealings with his overlord he never called himself by a higher title than Prince of North Wales. His son David was even less ceremoniously treated by the clerks of his royal uncle. 'David, son of Llywelyn, former Prince of North Wales,' is the highest dignity he received from the English Court. He was even content, in his own acts, to acquiesce in this humble title.[159] To the Chancery of Innocent IV. he was simply the pretender to the North Welsh principality.[160]

Llywelyn ap Gruffydd early raised higher pretensions. In some of his earliest acts he styled himself 'Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon.'[161] It may well be that the young and struggling ruler laid more stress on the symbols of power than his great and successful grandfather. When Llywelyn made in 1265 his alliance with Simon de Montfort his title of 'Princeps Walliae' and his claim to the 'principatus' were for the first time recognised by an English King.[162] But Henry had granted this under constraint, and there was every prospect that after Evesham Llywelyn's principality would share the fate of Montfort's earldoms of Chester and Leicester. It was therefore a matter of the first importance that the government of the restoration should have recognised the Montfortian innovation. The native chronicler rightly laid special stress on the concession of the title. 'And the king granted,' says the *Brut y Tywysogion*,[163] 'that they should thenceforth be called Princes of Wales.' It was the final recognition of his natural claim to be lord over all men who spoke the Welsh tongue or followed the Welsh laws. It was therefore a veritable national triumph when the local lord of Snowdon and of Anglesey

[158] For example, *Foedera*, i. 206, 214, 229, 230, 239; sometimes, however, he is called 'princeps Norwalliae,' ib. i. 196. This seems to have been his own formal title, ib. i. 150. But upon occasion Llywelyn had no scruple in calling himself simply 'princeps de Aberfrau et dominus de Snaudon,' ib. i. 236. In the documents emanating from the Papal Chancery, he is once called Prince of Wales (Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Letters*, 1198–1304, p. 64), but generally Prince of North Wales, ib. 13, 19, 87, 93, 109, and once Lord of Wales, ib. 153.

[159] *Foedera*, i. 242, gives examples of both.

[160] Ibid. i. 243, 'qui se pro principe Norwalliae gerit.'

[161] Ibid. i. 339, 'princeps Walliae et dominus Snaudon;' cf. i. 341. This is his regular style in *Royal Letters*.

[162] *Foedera*, i. 456.

[163] P. 357 (R.S.)

was hailed by the King and the Pope's legate as Prince of Wales. What bards had dreamed and seers had prophesi had become bald legal right.

The territorial title was the more important since carried with it overlordship over all the Welsh chieftain Here again there was a striking alteration of English policy Earlier in the century it had been a regular device for the King to claim the direct homage of the principal magnates of Wales as a means of breaking down and localising the power of the house of Gwynedd. It was, for instance, a primary condition of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's submission in 1218 that he should compel all the magnates of the whole of Wales to go with him to Worcester and become the immediate vassals of the English King.[164]

Henry III., always greedy for formal dignity, made every effort to see that this submission was a real one. When, on his death-bed, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth sought to secure the succession of his son Davydd to the Principality, he gave great offence to Henry by calling upon the magnates of Wales to take oaths to his son without having asked the King's permission or without Davydd having himself performed homage to his uncle.[165] When in 1241 Davydd found that his only way of getting his inheritance was to submit to Henry, he specially promised that he would resign to the King the homages which belonged to him, and especially the homage of all the Welsh nobles.[166] When in 1245 Davydd was again in revolt, none of his misdeeds moved his uncle to greater anger than his malicious efforts to incite 'our barons of Wales' to neglect their oaths of homage and associate themselves with his

[164] *Foedera*, i. 150: 'Ad haec sciant omnes nos . . . Henrico regi promisisse . . . quod fideliter et potenter laborabimus ut *omnes magnates totius Walliae* ad dominum regem venient ad certum diem et locum et facient eidem domino regi, sicut domino suo ligio, homagium et fidelitatem, sicut ipsi vel antecessores sui plenius facere solebant patri praedicti domini regis et antecessoribus suis.' Though not recognised as Prince of Wales, Llywelyn was expected to issue commands which all Wales would obey.

[165] Ib. i. 235.

[166] Ib. i. 243. 'Reddidi autem eidem domino regi omnia homagia quae dominus Johannes rex pater suus habuit et quae dominus rex de jure habere debet; *et specialiter dimisi ei homagia omnium nobilium Walensium.*' In the same document Davydd promised that not only he but his brother Gruffydd would be tenants-in-chief of the King for any portion of his father's inheritance assigned by the King to them.

bellion.[167] Nor was Henry's insistence upon direct relations th the 'barons of Wales' a mere matter of form or dignity. was an obvious act of policy to break up the growing ity of Welsh national resistance by reminding the repre-ntatives of ancient but decayed dynasties that legally as well as historically they stood on the same footing as the pstart lords of Snowdon. Welsh magnates with traditions such as those of the petty native chieftains who divided with the Marchers the ancient principality of Powys, or the still more degenerate descendants of the house that had once ruled all Deheubarth from Dinevor, were only too ready to make common cause with the English against a more immediate and more dangerous rival. It was equally important, in the likely case of a partition of the principality of Gwynedd between brothers, that each joint holder of the divided state should be a tenant-in-chief of his English over-lord. By such devices the feudalisation of Welsh Wales was perceptibly brought nearer, and once brought within the meshes of the feudal doctrine of fealty, time was sure to increase the subjection of the Welsh barons to the Crown. Henry and Edward knew how in Southern France the reservation of the rights of the 'privileged' barons of the Limousin, Quercy, and Périgord had practically made of no effect the boasted concession by St. Louis of all his rights in these districts in the Treaty of Paris of 1259.[168] It was their obvious policy to create among the jealous Welsh chieftains a privileged class of direct royal vassals like the privileged lords so fully established on the Dordogne and the Lot. It was equally Llywelyn's obvious policy to keep a tight hold over his influential brother chieftains. He had won back their homages when he was fighting for his own hand in the earlier years of the barons' wars. In his treaty of 1265 with Montfort he made the recognition of his dominion over the magnates of Wales as primary a condition of alliance as the acknowledgment of his claim to the

[167] 'Praedictis malitiis non contentus, immo barones nostros Walliae et ligios homines nostros omnes quos potuit ad nequitiam suam allicere a fide et servitio necnon et homagio nostro fecit imprudenter recedere et secum non minus seditiose guerrare.'—*Foedera*, i. 258.

[168] M. Gavrilovitch, *Étude sur le Traité de Paris de 1259* (1899), pp. 75–82.

Principality.[169] It was a more precious gain to have t homages of the Welsh barons than even the national title Prince of Wales. The feudal idea of lordship was now far influencing Llywelyn's mind that he did not rega himself as a true prince unless he was surrounded by a rin of vassal barons. So much was this recognised that, after hi humiliation ten years later, Edward I. still allowed him t retain the homage of some five of the 'barons of Snowdon,' 'inasmuch as he could not be called a prince if he had no barons under him.'[170]

Both as regards the Principality and the homage of the Welsh barons, the treaty of 1267 exactly confirmed to Llywelyn what he had obtained from Montfort in the hour of his greatest need. Here, as so often elsewhere, Edward was incorporating the results of Montfort's work into the traditional and legal obligations of the lawful and restored monarchy. If we turn to the territorial from the legal concessions, we shall find that the position of the Welsh prince was equally favourable. Substantially he was secured the numerous Marcher territories upon which he had laid violent hands during the days of trouble. Moreover, his aggressions at the expense of the rival Welsh chieftains were legitimated with almost the same completeness as his aggressions at the expense of the Marchers. A short comparison of Llywelyn's territorial position as settled at Shrewsbur with his position according to the Treaty of Woodstock o 1247, with the help of the maps on pp. 76 and 135, wi bring out clearly the enormous strides which he had made.

At Woodstock Llywelyn and his brothers were confine to Anglesey, Snowdon, and Merioneth. Then his power wa shared with his brothers. Now he was lord paramount. Save for the conditional restoration of Davydd on terms which it was anticipated he would not like, Llywelyn was sole master of the ancient territories of his house. Then the sons of Gruffydd were local lords of a limited district with few rights outside it. Now Llywelyn was the suzerain of every Welsh baron, wherever he lived. He was the lord of

[169] *Foedera*, i. 457. 'Dominium etiam omnium magnatum Walliae cum principatu . . . concedimus.' [170] *Ann. Osney*, p. 273; cf. *Foedera*, i. 545.

uffydd of Powys. Only the representative of the ancient use of Dinevor was removed from his immediate sway. o longer had he to scramble for power as best he could ith a swarm of rivals. And whatever rights he attained y the treaty were guaranteed to him and his heirs by hereditary succession.

In 1247 Llywelyn had expressly renounced the Four Cantreds, the river of Conway, and Mold. In 1267 he was restored unconditionally to the lordship of the Four Cantreds. There was no longer any use in reserving the castles, since Llywelyn had probably long levelled them to the ground. Mold indeed he had never conquered, and it had remained with its English lord. But there was something very humiliating to Robert of Mold and his overlord Edward of Chester when the restoration of Hawarden was made conditional on Robert pledging himself not to erect a castle there for thirty years.

We are left to guess the exact limits of the lands actually held by Llywelyn in Mid-Wales at the time of the treaty. But, as they were to be restored to their former owners, the matter is of the less importance. The exceptions made to this rule of restoration, however, show how deeply Llywelyn was allowed to cut into the heart of the Marcher power. Roger Mortimer was a special sufferer, though of all the Marchers he was the most friendly and closely allied to Edward. Mortimer lost Gwrthrennion and his share of Brecon. If he were restored to Maelenydd, it was subject to vexatious claims of Llywelyn which seriously disturbed his tenure. After Evesham, Mortimer had received a grant of Kerry and Kedewein. He was now forced to give up these lands definitely to his rival, and it was but small consolation that he might prosecute any claims for any part of them by the same means of law which had been allowed to Llywelyn in the case of Maelenydd. Further south still Llywelyn's possession of Abergavenny drove the wedge of Welsh dominion deep into the lower Vale of Usk. Humphrey de Bohun the younger, who lost Brecon, and the youthful George of Cantilupe, who lost Abergavenny, thus atoned dearly for their personal or family devotion to the

lost cause of Earl Simon. It was only in the extreme sou that Llywelyn was allowed no footing. There the interes of the Clares in Morganwg and Gwent, of Valence in Pem brokeshire, and of Maredudd ap Rhys in the Vale of Tow all combined to exclude him. Moreover, there was nothin in the treaty to prevent the Lord Edward resuming possessio of the districts of Cardigan and Carmarthen which he had received in 1254. Llywelyn was thus limited to the North of the Dyvi. It was the one exception to his triumphant vindication of the rights of his famous grandfather. What in 1265 he had extorted from the extreme need of Simon de Montfort, he now obtained with the formal permission of the triumphant King and his son.

The financial clauses of the treaty are similarly a substantial re-enactment of the compact of 1265. The only differences were, that the 30,000 marks fine was now only 25,000 marks and that the date and method of the repayment of the instalments were somewhat different. We should not pass too lightly over this aspect of the treaty. M. Gavrilovitch has shown that the one substantial thing which Henry III. obtained from Louis IX. in the Treaty of Paris of 1259 was the money payments.[171] Henry's financial distress was almost as great in 1267 as in 1259, and the considerable sums offered by the Welsh prince were a very acceptable addition to his impoverished exchequer.

Such were the advantages reaped by Llywelyn from the treaty. Alone of Montfort's friends he came out of an unsuccessful struggle with terms such as are seldom obtained even by brilliant triumphs in the field. And it was the more remarkable since the chief sufferers by the treaty were Edward himself and his best friend, Roger Mortimer. Why did Edward allow the treaty to be made? Why did Mortimer utter no word of protest? Full answers to these questions cannot be given. We can only fall back upon the exhaustion of the country, the known difficulties of successful campaigning in Wales, the pressure of the papal legate, the general desire for peace, and the cry for the Crusade. But we shall be safe in regarding the two chief factors in the

[171] Op. cit. pp. 54-56.

cification as the alliance of Llywelyn with the house of are, and the moderation and self-restraint of Edward. ad Edward striven to crush Llywelyn, there can be but ttle doubt that he could have succeeded. Other interests, owever, called him away. He may well have dreaded the evival of the Montfort party by a renewal of the Welsh war. He had no mind to give the Earl of Gloucester a chance of re-enacting the part of Leicester. He renounced, therefore, his early ambitions, and went on his way to Palestine, leaving Llywelyn triumphant, and Gloucester even more than Llywelyn the master of the situation.

How far was the treaty carried out? To answer this question fully would be to write the history of Wales and the Marchers for the next ten years. It is enough here to say that, though the English King and his son and the papal legate had every wish to observe the treaty, it never was fully executed even to the limited extent to which mediæval treaties were ever carried out. Though the main lines of settlement were indicated in it, many troublesome details still remained to be fixed. Within a year of the treaty Henry appointed a commission, on August 17, to sit at Montgomery to try individual claims of right 'according to the law and customs of the Marchers.'[172] With this investigation of detail troubles began. Moreover, Llywelyn himself soon became involved in quarrels with the Shropshire tenants of Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, who raided the lands of Gruffydd, which Llywelyn seems to have still kept strictly under his own control.[173] On May 21, 1269, Edward himself was directed to go to Montgomery in the hope of appeasing disputes.[174] But the Welsh and Marchers acknowledged no law but force. The Hundred Rolls show that in the early years of Edward I.'s reign Llywelyn still encroached largely on English lands; and the other early records of the same reign reveal Marchers claiming or ruling territory that, according to the treaty of 1267, rightfully belonged to Llywelyn. The Welsh prince was so elated by his successes that he did not realise the limitations of his power, but embarked upon that career of ambition which within ten years

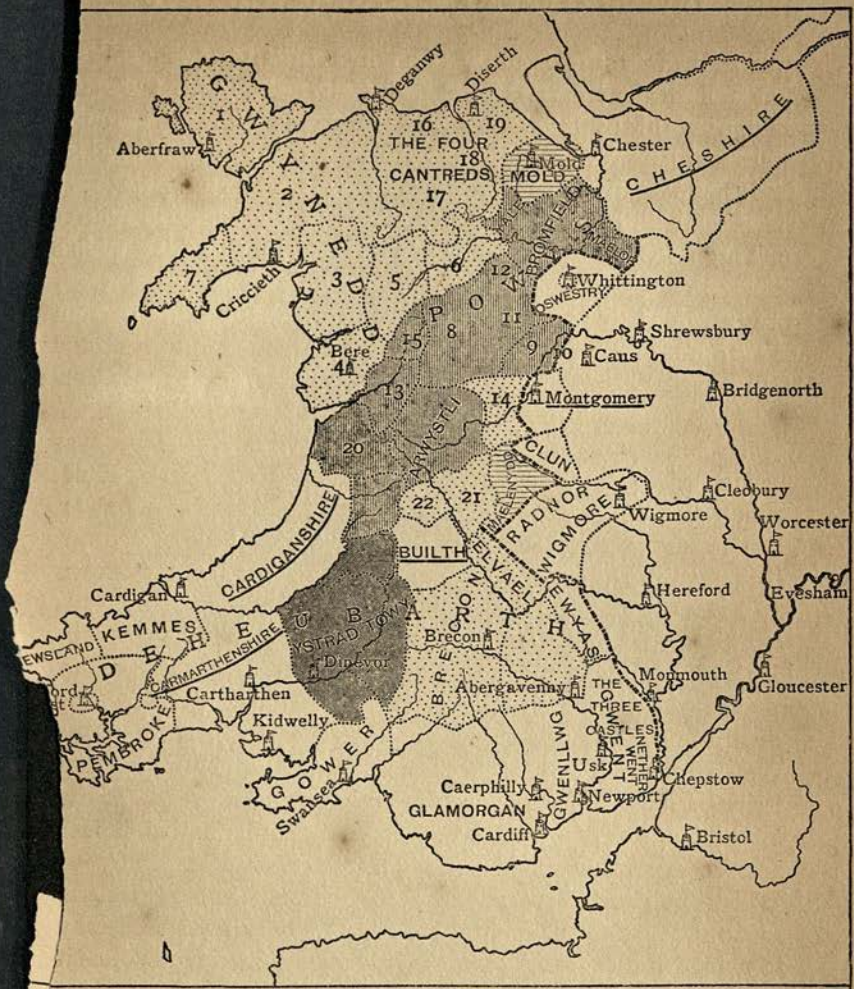
[172] *Foede a*, i. 477. [173] *Royal Letters*, ii. 328–30. [174] *Foedera*, i. 479.

was to bring him to ruin. The instalments of the Wel fine fell into arrears. Welsh fugitives and outlaws fou refuge in Marcher castles, and fugitives from the Marc were readily entertained by Llywelyn. Soon the border raid and the local quarrels were resumed. Edward attempted, a he was quite justified in doing, the revival of his early plan o making Cardigan and Carmarthen shire ground. The Welsh inhabitants at once looked to the Prince of Wales as their protector against the threatened subversion of their ancient laws. In 1270 there was war between Llywelyn and Gilbert of Clare, culminating in Llywelyn's siege of Caerphilly,[175] the great new stronghold of the land of Glamorgan.

At last came the death of Henry, when his heir was beyond sea, and the rash refusal of homage to the young King, which was the beginning of the end of Llywelyn's power. But to work out these points in detail would take us too far. It is enough to have pointed out how that power had grown up against which Edward was twice forced to hurl his armies. And we have seen, though its kernel was undoubtedly the stubborn and unconquerable nationality of Wales, how much the course of English politics, the rivalries of Marcher families, and the clever balancing of the Welsh prince between them, contributed to build up that Principality of Wales which, within fifteen years of its establishment, was torn away from its only native holder and incorporated in the English Crown. The study of Welsh political history has often been despised for its monotony and want of vital interest. Nor, indeed, is it easy to defend it altogether from such charges when studied, as it too often is, from the local standpoint only. Yet when regarded from a broader point of view its dullest details are lighted up with a new meaning. We see how strong an influence the history of Wales had upon the history of England, and how the stories of the two countries act and interact upon each other. We are, perhaps, nearer realising the essential interdependence of the various aspects of true British history when we see that the Welsh Principality of Llywelyn owed its existence not only to the fierce

[175] Wykes, p. 229.

AND THE MARCH, after the Treaty of Shrewsbury (1267).



1. Mon (Anglesey)
2. Snowdon
3. Ardudwy
4. Merioneth
5. Penllyn
6. Edeirnion
7. Lleyn
8. Caereinion
9. Pool
10. Gorddwr
11. Deythur
12. Mochnant
13. Cyveiliog
14. Kerry and Kedewein
15. Mawddwy
16. Rhos
17. Rhuvoniog
18. Duffryn Clwyd
19. Englefield (Tygeingl)
20. Geneu'rglyn
21. Gwrthrennion
22. Deuddwr

Lands directly ruled by Llywelyn

Lands of Llywelyn's Welsh Barons

Lands over which Llywelyn had certain rights

Lands of Maredudd ap Rhys

Edward's lands underlined, as CHESHIRE

Western boundary of Shropshire, Herefordshire and Gloucestershire shown thus:-.....

Castles marked thus:-.....

Walker & Cockerell sc.

enthusiasm of the Cymric race, but also to the politic troubles of the Barons' War, and that not merely the clas of discordant nationalities, but the feuds of rival baronia houses of the Welsh March, led to something beyond aimles bloodshed. It is not too much to say that the whole con stitutional and political development of the English nation was profoundly and permanently affected by the part which Wales and the March played in the momentous years when the 'greatest of the Plantagenets' was learning his lessons of statecraft.

T. F. Tout.

V

THE ITALIAN BANKERS IN ENGLAND AND THEIR LOANS TO EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II

THE subject of the loans made by the Italian merchants to the mediæval English kings has been already treated of at some length in an article contributed by the late Sir Edward Bond to *Archæologia* in 1839.[1]

The publication, however, since that date of the printed calendars of the patent and close rolls of the greater portion of the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II. calls for an attempt to extend the researches which he made in the liberate rolls to their fellow rolls. A personal examination of the Enrolled Accounts of the Customs in the Public Record Office has yielded further interesting details.[2] Yet it must be confessed that, even with these additional data, we are still conscious of the incompleteness of our information, and some problems connected with the loans remain unsolved. The financial embarrassment of which these loans were a symptom and sometimes a cause is the key to most of the troubles of the monarchy during the period, the greatest factor in constitutional development, and the most potent cause of the failure of Edward I.'s schemes of conquest and of the 'lack of governance' which brought Edward II. to his fall. Such being the case, a detailed account of the various banking

[1] 'Extracts from the Liberate Rolls, relative to Loans supplied by Italian Merchants to the Kings of England in the 13th and 14th Centuries; with an introductory memoir; by Edward A. Bond, Esq. Communicated by Charles George Young, Esq., York Herald, F.S.A.' *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. pp. 207–326. This article will be referred to in future as 'Bond,' followed by the page.

[2] *Enrolled Accounts, Customs Rolls*, 1 and 2. The earliest account on the rolls is that of London for 25 Edward I. The series is only continuous and complete from April 1, 1304. See Appendix I. At the time of writing the printed Calendars of the Close Rolls include the years 1272–79 and 1307–27, and those of the Patent Rolls the years from 1272 to 1317.

'societies' and their dealings with the Crown needs no apology. The dryness of its details may be relieved by the thought that it is with the fellow-countrymen and contemporaries of Dante that we are dealing, and that the energy, skill, and enterprise which made them the bankers of Europe were only another phase of the vigorous life which brought forth the chastened passion of the 'Vita Nuova' and the fierce denunciations and sombre imaginings of the 'Inferno.'

The companies of Italian merchants (it is seldom we find one merchant carrying on business alone) which came to England, in the first place for the purpose of purchasing English wool, began in the reign of Henry III. to be employed as papal agents for remitting the large sums which the complaisance of Henry allowed the Popes to extract from the English clergy. They had, therefore, at an early date perfected a system analogous to modern bills of exchange. As early as 1199 we find them furnishing 2,126 marks to the ambassadors of Richard I. at the Court of Rome by means of letters of credit,[3] and frequent use was made of their services for such purposes during the reigns of his successors. But it was Henry III.'s attempt to obtain a crown for his younger son that first introduced them to the notice of an English king as bankers on a large scale. In April 1255 Henry, who had accepted the crown of Sicily for his second son Edmund, found himself saddled with a debt of 135,000 marks, which sum the Pope had raised from the Italian merchants for the expenses of the war against Manfred. Inauspicious as was the occasion, it marks the beginning of a series of transactions with Italian merchants which culminated in the failure of the Bardi through Edward III.'s repudiation of his obligations to them in 1345.

The series of loans on a large scale begins with the reign of Edward I. Edward had already found the Italian bankers useful in supplying money for his crusade and for the expenses of his return home. We find him borrowing extensively from them on his way back from the Holy Land through Italy. The wars to which his policy in Wales and Scotland soon committed him demanded an extra expenditure which,

[3] *Rotuli Chartarum Johannis* (Rec. Comm.), p. 31.

While it hastened the development of parliamentary institutions, favoured the establishment of the merchants of Italy in the royal favour. A subsidy from parliament had to be first asked for, then voted, then collected. Meanwhile the Welsh might be harrying the Marches and the treasury empty. But the Florentine and Lucchese merchants had always plenty of money in hand, remitted to them for the purchase of English wool from the monasteries, from which they collected the papal tithes and to which they also lent money. By a system of mutual accommodation too, the merchant, if he had not the required sum, could, like Shylock, get it from a fellow-countryman. Sometimes several companies would join together in making a loan: as when on December 8, 1288, nine Italian merchants, representing as many different companies, joined in raising a loan of 5,000 marks for Edward I.[4] The mention of Shylock suggests another topic of interest. How far did the Italian merchants succeed to a position occupied by the Jews in the previous epoch; and, since usury was prohibited to Christians, how did they manage to profit by their transactions with king or subject? The Jews do not seem to have possessed anything like the resources of the Italian merchants. Neither did the king borrow of them. He merely taxed and tallaged them as much as he possibly could without killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. A tallage upon the Jews of a third of their property in the second year of Edward I. did not probably exceed 2,000*l.*[5] Such being the case, it can hardly have been because the influx of the Italians rendered him able to do without them that Edward expelled the Jews in 1290. They were not competitors of the Italian bankers in a really important degree, though both lent money to private persons. The 'Caursini'[6] or Christian money-lenders whom Matthew Paris holds up to execration are, indeed, these same Italians. Open infringement of the laws against usury was not allowed. On the Patent Rolls under the date May 26, 1275,

[4] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, p. 310. In the course of this article, Calendar of Patent Rolls will be abbreviated into *C.P.R.*, and Calendar of Close Rolls by *C.C.R.* The date of the document referred to will in each case indicate the volume. Where no date is given the years covered by the volume will be supplied.

[5] Bond, p. 225.

[6] See Appendix T.

we find a grant during pleasure to Giacomo Aguilanti, Land Assoni, and others, their fellows, citizens and merchants of Pistoia, that they may recover all such debts in the realm as they can show are due to them, and that they may safely stay in the realm to recover the same, on condition that henceforth they lend not out any money for usuries by art or device, and that if they do otherwise all their merchandise and goods shall be impounded and forfeited.[7] There were means of evading the usury laws, however, difficult to detect. Sometimes the amount lent was acknowledged by the borrower as more than what he actually received. Sometimes an agreement was entered into that the money should repaid within a certain term, after which the losses which the creditor suffered by its non-payment at the stipulated time had to be compensated. This latter procedure was that most common in the dealings of the Italian merchants with the English kings. The only drawback seems to have been that it depended too much on the good pleasure of the Court. The following instances occur in the rolls under this head. The Riccardi had 5,000 marks granted to them; the Frescobaldi, 13,000*l.*; Antonio Pessagno of Genoa, 3,000*l.*; while the Ballardi had the issues of the Exchanges of Dover and Yarmouth from May 6, 1299, to Michaelmas, 1302.[8]

Such gifts as these and the royal favour and protection seem to have been regarded by the Italians as a sufficiently productive return for the money they lent to the Crown. Many of them, too, acted as the king's merchants, and their purchases and sales for him must have left plenty of room for profit.

In order to illustrate the succession of companies of merchants which in turn lent large sums of money to the Crown, the best course seems to be to deal with each company separately in a sort of rough chronological order. The details of the separate items in the total sums stated to have been lent to the Crown by the various companies will be found in a series of appendices.

Lucas of Lucca and his fellows, between the beginning of Edward I.'s reign and January 23, 1276, lent to him

[7] *C.P.R.* p. 91. [8] See Appendix P and *C.P.R.* 61.

7,326*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*[9] They appear to have acted as receivers of the new custom on wool granted in 1275, as well as of the fifteenth granted by Parliament the same year. Lucas died before November 8, 1279.[10] With him may be mentioned several other merchants of Lucca and elsewhere. Aldebrando of Lucca and his fellows, before September 20, 1274, lent 200*l.* Bonasio Bonanzi, who before June 29, 1275, lent 58*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, acted as keeper of the new custom of wool in Ireland, where he was slain by malefactors. As he had not rendered an account, his goods were seized, but were released on his fellow merchants promising to render an account for him on April 12, 1277.[11] Tegro Amatori[12] of Florence, before October 17, 1274, lent 466*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Raniero of Lucca, before August 9, 1277, lent 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Giacomo Aguilanti and his fellows, of Pistoia, lent before June 14, 1277, 1,000 marks. Ugo Pape and his fellows, merchants of Florence, before November 1278, lent 1,000 marks.[13]

The Society of the Mozzi of Florence, beginning with a loan of 1,200 marks in 1277, from that date until May 6, 1309, advanced to the English kings 7,994*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*[14] The society was represented in 1277 by Manetto Becchi, in 1290 by Restauro Bonaventura, in 1294 by Giacomo Ananzati. From 1298 to 1301 the representatives are generally Cambino Falconieri and Filippo Borghi, twice Filippo Borghi alone. Benchio di Ananzati appears in August 1300; in 1306 and 1309 Filippo Borghi alone. Six names occur during the period of thirty-two years.

The Riccardi of Lucca, between June 25, 1285, and November 18, 1293, lent to Edward I. 56,240*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.*[15] Bandini, one of the members of their society, is mentioned in 1285: Raniero Guidiccioni in the same year. In 1286 he again appears along with Riccardo Guidiccioni, Matteo 'Rugepeil,' and 'Enrico de Podio.' Riccardo Guidiccioni appears alone

[9] See Appendix A.

[10] *Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 44th Report*, p. 173, *C.C.R.* p. 544.

[11] *C.C.R.* p. 376.

[12] The writer has tried to modernise the Italian names which appear in such varied and distorted forms in the rolls &c., not always with success, however.

[13] See Appendix A. For some additional companies and individual merchants see Appendices P and S.

[14] See Appendix B.

[15] See Appendix C. Certain members of the society lent money to the King before 1285. See Appendix P.

in 1287 and 1288, and in 1289 along with Orlandino a[illegible] Enrico 'de Podio.' In 1290 Riccardo Guidiccioni, Orlandi[illegible] 'de Podio,' Riccardino Bonefazii, Pagauncio Guidiccio[illegible] Labro Vulpelli, Giovanni Simonetti, Adiuto 'Rugepeil,' an[illegible] Berthelotto Bandini appear; Riccardo Guidiccioni again i[illegible] 1291; Francesco Malozardo and Girardo Chimbardi in 1292; Orlandino 'de Podio' in 1294 and 1296; Enrico 'de Podio' in 1303; Riccardo Guidiccioni, Orlandino 'de Podio,' and Riccardino Bonefazii in 1309. These fourteen names are all that occur during the period of twenty-four years. The Riccardi seem to have acted as collectors of the customs, which were in their hands up to July 7, 1290.[16] On November 4, 1290, the king granted them 5,000 marks for their services at the Court of Rome.[17] In 1296 we find them buying wool for the king.[18] They were receiving the issues of the Irish customs in 1292.[19] In 1301 the king had seized their houses and goods by reason of their debts due to him. These debts still remained unpaid on June 11, 1309.[20]

The Pulci of Florence, who were associated with the Rembertini of the same city, from February 22, 1290, to April 11, 1300, lent to the Crown 3,490*l.*[21] On May 6, 1293, the king guaranteed them against every loss in respect to 10,000*l.* arising from the tenth in aid of the Holy Land which Edmund of Lancaster, the king's brother, had received from the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, and applied to his own use, and for which they had given their bond to the collectors.[22] In August and December 1294, and in August 1295, they were employed in carrying sums of money for the king from Scotland to London.[23] Like the Riccardi, they seem to have got into difficulties. In January 1305, Bracchio Gerardi, Ugolino Sampi, Giovanni Ricci, and Giotto Guidi, members of the society, had absconded with their money and goods without paying their debts to the king and others, and orders were given for the arrest of Giovanni, son of Ugolino Sampi, and Fanto, who were said to be hiding in the realm.[24] On February 18, 1306, Edward wrote to the

[16] *C.C.R.*, Ed. II. 1307–13, 186, 180.
[17] See Appendix R.
[18] Bond, xcv.
[19] *C.P.R.* 479
[20] *C.P.R.* 13.
[21] See Appendix D.
[22] *C.P.R.* 12.
[23] *C.P.R.* 83, 128, 139.
[24] *C.P.R.* 412.

bles, the podestà and the captain, the priors of the arts nd trades, the gonfaloniere and council and commune of lorence, asking them to send the absconding merchants ack in safe custody to answer to their creditors. The oods of the other merchants of the city were to be detained until this request was complied with.[25] On November 12, 1306, safe-conduct was granted to Bracchio Gerardi and Grisio de' Barbarini, two of their number who were returning to satisfy the creditors of the society.[26] They delayed their coming, however, and similar letters were issued on June 6, 1307, with a proviso that they were not to be molested for any debt due from them, and the debts due to them were to be levied as though they were the king's; but everything levied or paid was to be applied to the payment of their creditors. Unless they arrived before August 15, the letters were to be of no effect.[27] They failed to do so, and on March 21, 1308, a fresh safe-conduct was granted to Mansueto Renaudi, Baldo Gelfi, and Grisio de' Barbarini.[28] They seem to have arrived at last before May 23, and on that date their protection was extended to September 29.[29] A further extension to a fortnight after Michaelmas 1309, made on May 9, 1309,[30] shows that the settlement of their affairs was still incomplete.

The name of Durazio Uberti occurs as representative of their society in 1285 and 1290. In 1294 appear Uberto 'Dosy,' Bracchio Gherardi, Raniero Belinzoni, and Girardo Simonetti in addition. In 1298 Raniero Bellinchori represents them in the great 'prest' made to Edward I. by eleven companies of Tuscan merchants. The names of Ugolino Sampi, Fanto, Giovanni Ricci, Giotto Guidi, and Albinzino de' Pulci appear among the defaulting debtors of 1305, while Grisio de' Barbarini and Giotto Guicci (Wyche)[31] appear with the previously mentioned Bracchio Gherardi and Giovanni Ricci in the list of those to whom safe-conduct was granted. The final settlement of their affairs seems to have been left in the hands of Mansueto Renaudi, Baldo

[25] *C.P.R.* 415. [26] *C.P.R.* 469. [27] *C.P.R.* 529.
[28] *C.P.R.* 59. [29] Ib. 79. [30] Ib. 113.
[31] This looks like a corruption of Giotto Guidi = Giotto di Guido.

Gelfi, and Grisio de' Barbarini. Fifteen names occur durin a period of nineteen years.

The Ammanati of Pistoia, from July 13, 1290, to April 1 1300, lent to Edward I. 4,693*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*[32] In 1290 they ar represented by Lapo Bonchi and Gherardo Pini; in 129 by Melior Pistoresii, and in 1299 and 1300 by this last and Giovanni Francisci.

The Ballardi of Lucca, between September 29, 1294, and July 13, 1313, lent to Edward I. and Edward II. 10,074*l.* 12*s.*[33]

The first names of members of the society to appear are those of Brunetto Bulgarini and Coluccio Ballardi in 1294. Coluccio Ballardi appears again in 1300 associated with Giovanni Ballardi, Giovanni 'Galeys,' and Giovanni Vanni. These names occur again in 1301, except Giovanni 'Galeys,' and Paganello 'de Podio' is added. In 1302 Giovanni 'Galeys' appears again with Giovanni and Coluccio Ballardi. Giovanni Vanni appears alone in 1305 and 1307, with Giovanni Ballardi in 1308, again alone in 1310, and with Giovanni and Coluccio Ballardi in 1311. In 1312 and 1313 he again appears alone. Altogether, the names of only six representatives occur during the period of nineteen years.

On August 25, 1302, the king granted them the receipts of the Exchanges of Dover and Yarmouth between May 6, 1299, and September 29, 1302, in compensation for the losses sustained by them on his behalf.[34] It is worthy of note, too, that Edward II., in distinct contravention of the recently made Ordinances, on August 29, 1311, and August 27, 1312, ordered the collectors of the customs at Hull to pay their receipts over to the Ballardi in satisfaction of his debts to them, instead of into the Exchequer, as the Ordinances directed.[35]

The Bonsignori of Siena, in 1300 and 1301, made two small loans amounting to 385*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*[36]

The society was represented in 1285 by Bartolomeo

[32] See Appendix E. [33] See Appendix F.

[34] *C.P.R.* 61. The Exchange was the office at which uncoined gold and silver were exchanged for coin of the realm.

[35] *C.P.R.* 386; *C.C.R.* 476. Ordinances, No. 9, in *Rot. Parl.* vol. i. p. 281.

[36] *C.P.R.* 505, 586.

Marti; in 1299 by Giovanni Brabanzoni, Giacomo Brabanzoni, Guglielmino Bonsignori, Fazio Berimoni, and Meo Orlandi; in 1300, by Giacomo Brabanzoni and Conrado Berimoni.

The Cerchi Bianchi of Florence from September 13, 1290, to September 23, 1309, lent 8,555*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to the English Crown.[37] The society was represented in 1290 by Agolino 'Chauffeyne;' in 1298 by Dardano Consilii and Bindo 'Squarchia;' in 1299 by Dardano Consilii; in 1300 by this latter, Michele Marchi, and Francesco Grandoni; and in 1308 and 1309 by 'Manens' Francisci and Giacomo Ranieri: six names in all during nineteen years.

The Cerchi Neri from September 13, 1290, to May 6, 1309, lent to the English Crown 6,253*l.*[38] In 1290 they were represented by a certain Allando. In 1298 they were represented by Carocchio Auberti and Villano Stoldi; in 1299 by Bernardo Manfredi and Simone Guidoni; in 1300 by Betto Juncti, Tommaso Arri, and Bindo di Rota, in addition to the two last mentioned: altogether eight names during nineteen years.

The Frescobaldi Bianchi of Florence were by far the most important of the royal bankers. From September 13, 1290, to May 30, 1311, there was disbursed to them in repayment of loans made by them to Edward I. and his son, and as compensation for the losses which they had suffered by the delay in the repayment of Edward I.'s loans, no less a sum than 110,207*l.* 6*s.* 5½*d.* Their loans probably amounted to at least 121,941*l.* 2*s.* 11¼*d.*[39] From April 1, 1304, until May 30, 1311, nearly the whole of the receipts from the customs were handed to them. On the latter date, in accordance with the Ordinances, the payments to them ceased. There seems to have been a strong feeling against them. Amerigo de' Frescobaldi, one of the chief members

[37] See Appendix G. The divisions of the Cerchi and Frescobaldi arose from the existence of the two factions of Bianchi and Neri at Florence.

[38] See Appendix H.

[39] In compiling these figures I have been greatly assisted by the Customs Rolls (*Enrolled Accounts, Customs*, 1, 2) in the Public Record Office. Incidentally the figures of the amounts collected in the various ports indicate their relative importance. It is as follows in the order named: London, Boston, Hull, Southampton, Newcastle, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Lynn, Sandwich, Hartlepool, Chichester, Exeter, Bristol, Haverfordwest. See Appendix I for the details, which are interesting.

of the society, was banished by name in the Ordinances. The details of the composition and history of the society in England are more abundant than is the case with any other society with the exception of the Bardi, who come more into prominence in the reign of Edward III.

The Frescobaldi were a powerful family in Florence in the 13th and 14th centuries, and took part in both the consular government and the magistrature of the Ancients. Their houses were situated in the street which still bears their name. Lamberto di Fresco de' Baldi, being one of the Ancients in 1252, had constructed in wood the bridge which led to the church of the S. Trinità. In 1289, at the battle of Campaldino, Berto Frescobaldi carried the standard of Charles of Anjou.[40]

It was said that Giano della Bella joined the popular side in Florence in consequence of a quarrel at San Piero Scheraggio with Piero Frescobaldi, who struck him in the face and threatened to cut off his nose. In the movement against Giano della Bella, in 1294, Betto Frescobaldi was the advocate of extreme measures. In a meeting of the nobles at San Jacopo Oltrarno he cried, 'Let us cast off this slavery! Let us arm and rush to the piazza; let us kill both friends and enemies of the popular class, as many as we find of them, so that neither ourselves nor our sons may ever be crushed by them.'[41]

Raniero Giuseppi, Gyno 'Shuffayne,' and Corbelino Benchi appear as the representatives of the society in 1277; Giacomo Janiani in 1288; and Lambertuccio, Restauro Spilati, and Carruccio Belverre in 1293. In 1298 appear Giacomo and Taldo Janiani; in 1299 and the following years Coppo Giuseppi and Coppo Cotenni are added to these. In 1302 Berto Penuchio and Stoldo de' Frescobaldi appear with Coppo Cotenni. Taldo Janiani reappears with them in 1304; and Giacomo Janiani in 1305, in which year and in 1309 and 1310 Bettino de' Frescobaldi appears. Amerigo

[40] S. L. Peruzzi, *Storia del Commercio e dei Banchieri di Firenze in tutto il Mondo conosciuto dal* 1200 *al* 1345, p. 152.

[41] P. Villari, *The Two First Centuries of Florentine History. The Republic and Parties at the time of Dante.* Tr. Linda Villari, p. 472.

de' Frescobaldi appears for the first time on March 20, 1307, and then constantly until 1311; Gherardo 'Renouchi' once only on November 21, 1308. On June 7, 1309, a Piero de' Frescobaldi appears, possibly the hero of the incident at San Piero Scheraggio. The Frescobaldi seem to have enjoyed the highest confidence and favour of both Edward I. and Edward II., as an account of the different offices and emoluments conferred on them will show. On September 17, 1299, Edward, son of Edward I., appointed them receivers of the issues of his appanages, the counties of Ponthieu and Montreuil, a post which they held till May 14, 1308.[42] On October 31, 1299, as security for a loan of 11,000*l.*, they received all the issues and profits arising from the land of Ireland.[43] On April 6, 1301, the King granted to them that they might receive the custom on wool, hides, and wool-fells in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and the issues of the lands late of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, the King's kinsman, and keep them until they had received satisfaction for his debts to them as soon as the citizens of Bayonne had paid themselves out of the custom, and as soon as Raymond Michel, Bartholomew de Ryvers, Raymond Bernard, and other merchants of Gascony had received 3,370*l.* 13*s.* 1½*d.* out of the issues of the earl's lands for wines supplied to the Household.[44] The grant is repeated on August 23, 1302, for England, with the mention that for their greater security the King had caused Edward, Prince of Wales, his son, to accept the assignment so far as in him lay.[45] On February 10, 1304, the custom on wool, hides, and wool-fells in all ports of England (i.e. half a mark on the sack, and 300 wool-fells and a mark on the last of leather) were granted to them from April 1, 1304,[46] and to this were added on October 10 the receipts of the new custom (40*d.* on the sack and 300 wool-fells and half a mark on the last of hides.)[47] On January 3, 1305, they received a promise of the office of receivership of the King's lands in Gascony, if it should be deemed expedient and the King were advised to demise it at a fixed yearly rent.[48] On October 29, 1307, Amerigo de'

[42] *C.C.R.* Ed. II. 1307–13, 130. [43] *C.P.R.* 449. [44] *C.P.R.* 586.
[45] *C.P.R.* 57. [46] *C.P.R.* 213. [47] *C.P.R.* 262. [48] *C.P.R.* 307.

Frescobaldi, as representative of the society, was acting as receiver of Aquitaine and continued to hold the post until removed from it by the Ordinances of 1311.[49] He was also keeper of the Exchange of London in 1307 and 1309, and of Canterbury in 1308 and 1309.[50] The society was appointed keeper of the Exchanges of Newcastle, Hull, and Exeter during pleasure on March 14, 1300.[51] On April 18, 1299, the King committed to them the custody of his mine of Birland, in Devonshire.[52] They gave it up on February 27, 1301. On that date the King ordered an inquiry to be made into the condition in which they had left it.[53] On June 27, 1308, Edward II. granted to Amerigo de' Frescobaldi for life the manors of Thoresway, Styveton, Lyndwood, and Carlsthorpe in Lincolnshire, together with a free-court in the city of Lincoln, and the manors of Wey and Piddle in Dorset.[54] On December 3, 1310, the King ordered the Chancellor to prefer nominees of Amerigo and Bettino de' Frescobaldi to all other clerks until they were provided with benefices of the value of 300*l.* a year, and if the nominees, not being able to enjoy such benefices peaceably, should resign, they or other nominees of Amerigo and Bettino were to be preferred to all other clerks until they were in receipt of the above yearly sum.[55] Probably in fulfilment of this promise, the King, on January 18, 1311, presented Guglielmino de' Frescobaldi to the church of Aveley, near Purfleet, in the diocese of London, and on March 6 to the church of Stanhope in the diocese of Durham, and Bonaccorso de' Frescobaldi to that of North Cave in the diocese of York.[56]

It has already been stated that the Frescobaldi had 13,000*l.* granted to them in compensation for the losses occasioned to them by delay in the repayment of their loans by Edward I.[57] They do not, however, appear to have been satisfied, and on April 1, 1307, presented a long petition touching their losses, which they enumerated as follows:—

[49] *C.P.R.* 11, 234. [50] *C.C.R.* 6, 35, 96. [51] *C.P.R.* 504. [52] *C.P.R.* 410.
[53] *C.P.R.* 62, 5; *C.P.R.* 1307–13, 235. [54] *C.P.R.* 84.
[55] *C.P.R.* 294. [56] *C.P.R.* 303, 327, 320.
[57] In three sums: 1,000*l.* on April 12, 1300; 2,000*l.* on April 5, 1301; 10,000*l.* on August 23, 1302. See *C.P.R.* under those dates, 508, 585, 57.

(1) 10,000*l.* by reason of loans to the King for ten years.

(2) 10,000*l.* through clerical and lay persons, afraid because of the great 'prest' the Frescobaldi made the King in Flanders and at Florence, demanding back sums deposited with them amounting to 50,000*l.*

(3) 3,000*l.* for keeping in England sometimes three, sometimes four of their fellows suing the King for payment.

(4) Losses in the collection in Ireland of money due to them from the King.

(5) Losses through taking a lease of the mine in Devon, at 13*s.* 4*d.* a last, which was not worth 10*s.*, and retaining two masters and eighteen men to work the mine and carry silver to London.[58]

The King appointed John de Drokenesford and others to inquire into these alleged losses and audit their accounts, but the commission was not put into effect, and Edward II. appointed another, consisting of Walter Reynolds and others, to do the same work, subsequently (April 16, 1309) again transferring the commission to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer.[59] In pursuance of this the Frescobaldi received on June 25, 1310, acquittance upon rendering their account of the customs of wool, hides, and wool-fells in England and Ireland; of the silver mines in Devon; of various sums of money due to the Treasury of Ireland; of the fifteenth voted by Parliament to Edward I.; and of that part of the tenth imposed on the clergy by Pope Clement: all of which had been received by them up to April 15, 1309.[60] A more comprehensive acquittance, dated July 4, 1310, included these items and moneys received from April 15, 1309.[61] The amount still owing to them on that date was 21,635*l.*4*s.*6½*d.*, and the customs on wool, hides, and wool-fells were again assigned for its discharge.[62] Meanwhile the Lords Ordainers had met and placed in the forefront of their reforms the abolition of this system of assignment. The fourth of the Ordinances provided that henceforth the customs were to be guarded and received by people of the realm itself, and not

[58] *C.P.R.* 513.
[59] *C.C.R.* 1307-13, 95.
[60] *C.P.R.* 234. For particulars of this account see Bond, 244-5.
[61] *C.P.R.* 234.
[62] *C.P.R.* 234-5.

by aliens, and the issues and profits of the said customs, with all other issues and profits coming from the realm from whatsoever source, were to come entirely to the Exchequer, and be paid out by the Treasurer and Chamberlains to maintain the Household of the King, and for other purposes to his profit, so that he might live of his own without making prises other than the ancient ones, due and accustomed, and all other to cease. The fifth ordinance provided for the arrest of the foreign merchants and their goods until they should have rendered reasonable account of the moneys they had received.[63] As the Frescobaldi had just rendered an account, the point of this ordinance, which the King confirmed with the fourth and four others on August 2, is not very clear. Nor does the order to pay money into the Exchequer seem to have been carried out at once. The King did not give orders that the customs were to be entirely paid into the Exchequer until Whitsuntide 1311.[64]

The further ordinances published in October 1311 enacted that Amerigo de' Frescobaldi and his fellows were to come and render account in the manner previously ordained, notwithstanding the account they said they had rendered, between September 22 and October 6, 1312, and meanwhile their bodies and goods were to be arrested and the lands of Amerigo in the realm seized. If Amerigo did not appear within the time, he was to be banished.[65] The ordainers also demanded that a suitable keeper of the Exchange, which had been in the hands of Amerigo de' Frescobaldi, should be appointed.[66]

Amerigo and Bettino were in Rome, whence Clement V. interceded for a safe-conduct for them to come and render account.[67] On March 9, 1312, the King gave orders for the arrest of Piero de' Frescobaldi and all the goods of the society he had in his custody.[68] The order was followed by another, on April 20, to levy all their debts to the King's use according to the information of Piero, who was described as

[63] *Rotuli Parliam.* i. 281.
[64] See *Enrolled Accounts, Customs*, 1, 2, m. 11, Ipswich, et passim.
[65] *Rotuli Parliam.* i. 283–4.
[66] *Annales Londonienses*, ap. Stubbs, *Chron. of Ed. I. and Ed. II.*, i. 200.
[67] Peruzzi, op. cit. 153. [68] *C.C.R.* 415.

King's yeoman.[69] Other members of the society must have been arrested, for on January 30, 1315, we hear of the escape of one of them, Lapo del Bruno.[70] They were most probably suspected of peculation; indeed, we have evidence of one case in a letter of the King to the podestà, captain, priors, and community of Florence, requesting that they would call before them 'Emericus de Friscobaldis,' their fellow-citizen, and compel him to satisfy William, called 'Person Fulberti,' for 500 marks sterling due to him for money lent to the late King, which sum the King ordered 'Emericus,' then receiver of his customs, to pay to him, the King having subsequently caused that sum to be allowed to 'Emericus' in his accounts, believing he had paid it to William, who now informed the King that he had not received it.[71]

A safe-conduct was issued to the proctors of the Frescobaldi coming to render account on March 23, 1316.[72] The goods, chattels, and debts of Amerigo and Piero de' Frescobaldi were still held by the King, however, on June 11, 1319.[73] This looks as if the account had never been properly rendered. The Frescobaldi certainly do not appear again in England. If the account rendered in July 1310 was correct, which the Lords Ordainers seemed to doubt, though it was certified by the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, the King was still considerably in their debt. If he still owed them 21,000*l.* on July 4, 1310, it could not possibly have been paid off by May 30, 1311. The average yield of the customs was not more than 15,000*l.* per annum.[74]

A certain Giovanni Frescobaldi, who had evidently been in England, expressed his sentiments in a sonnet of which the following is a free translation:

Counsel for him who is passing into England. Clothe yourself in dingy colours, be humble, stupid in appearance, subtle in act. May evil come upon the Englishman if he molests you! Avoid cares and the man who injures you. Spend with a good heart and do not show yourself mean. Pay day by day. Be courteous in collecting debts, pointing out that necessity compels you. Do not ask awkward questions. Buy betimes if you see it is profitable. *Do not have any dealings with men of the Court.*

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[69] *C.C.R.* 420. [70] *C.C.R.* 142. [71] *C.C.R.* 1313–18, 215
[72] *C.P.R.* 445. [73] *C.C.R.* 142. [74] See Appendix I.

Observe the commands of the powerful. It is to your interest to unite yourself with your fellow-countrymen, and have your door well bolted early.[75]

The Frescobaldi suffered misfortune in Italy as well as in England, for in this same year 1311 the family was driven out of Florence in a popular revolution as belonging to the magnates and took refuge in Pisa, not to return until 1343.

The Frescobaldi Neri had on May 6, 1298, loans to the amount of 2,378*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* owing to them by Edward I.[76] They were represented by Guido Donanti and Giovanni Recenonti.

The provision of the ordinances enjoining the payment of all revenues direct into the Exchequer seems to have been but little observed, in spite of the banishment of the Frescobaldi. We have fresh instances of the old way of dealing with the revenue in the dealings of Edward II. with Antonio Pessagno of Genoa, who is generally described as king's merchant. Between July 8, 1313, and December 16, 1316, Antonio lent Edward II. 36,985*l.* 15*s.*[77] He seems, moreover, to have acted as a buyer for the Crown for the Household and the Scotch war, receiving large sums from the customs or from the Exchequer and accounting in the Wardrobe.

The King's jewels were deposited with him during the treasurership of John de Sandale (July 6, 1310, to November 12, 1311).[78] On November 27, 1314, he was granted the entire profit of the purchase of tin for the royal use in Cornwall.[79] On the Patent Roll under the date Novem-

[75] Peruzzi, op. cit. 153, 154 :—

Ricordo per chi passa in Inghilterra :
Vestir basso color, esser umile,
Grosso in aspetto ed in fatti sottile :
Male sia a l'Inglese se t'atterra.
Fuggi le cure e chi pur ti fa guerra :
Spendi con cuor e non ti mostrar vile :
Pagar al giorno, a riscuoter gentile,
Mostrando che bisogno ti sotterra :
Non far più inchiesta ch' abbi fondamento :
Compera a tempo se ti metta bene,
Nè t'impacciar con uomini di corte.
Osserva di chi può 'l comandamento.
Con tua nazione unirti t'appartiene ;
E far per tempo ben serrar le porte.

[76] See Appendix J.
[77] See Appendix K.
[78] *C.P.R.* 1313–17, 201.
[79] *C.P.R.* 199.

ber 27, 1314, we have a long account of his of various moneys received by him, amounting in all to 102,913*l.* 10*s.*, the mises, payments, and expenses for which he had well and truly accounted in the Wardrobe amounting to 111,505*l.* 15*s.* 8½*d.*[80] On April 10, 1314, the King granted him 3,000*l.* on account of his good services.[81]

The company of the Peruzzi of Florence, between November 12, 1311, and February 20, 1315, lent Edward II. 900*l.*[82] In 1311 they were represented by Giovanni Rustechini, Matteo 'Claussant,' and Giovanni Juncti, in 1315 by Giovanni Rustechini, in 1320 by Francesco Jammori and Bonsignore Jacobini. In this last year they were pardoned a fine of 500 marks for infringing the Charter of the Staple, at the intercession of the King of France.[83]

The Spini of Florence, from May 6, 1298, to April 18, 1315, lent to the English kings 9,327*l.* 3*s.* 4½*d.*[84] They were represented in 1294 by Restauro Bonaventura; in 1298 by Guido Bardi; in 1299 by Guido Bertaldi; in 1300 by Guido Bertaldi, Filippo Gherardini, Lorenzo Ugolini; in 1308 by Guido Bertaldi, Giacomo de' Spini, Ugo Paganelli, and Ghirardino Nerli; in 1309 by Giacomo de' Spini, Ugo Paganelli, Piero Morelli, Rogero Ranieri; in 1313 by Giacomo de' Spini, in 1314 by Giacomo de' Spini and Ugo Paganelli; in 1315 by Giacomo de' Spini.

The Bardi of Florence, from September 13, 1290, to September 15, 1326, lent to Edward I. and Edward II. 72,631*l.* 5*s.* 0½*d.*[85] The family was an ancient one, coming from the suburbs of Florence, and established in the city as early as the eleventh century. Their houses included a great part of the Borgo called Pidiglioso, which afterwards became known as the Via dei Bardi. Many soldiers sprang from the house, which followed alike the profession of arms and the paths of commerce, and distinguished itself in trade and in arms under the Guelfs. Bartolo di Jacopo was elected to the priorship of the arts in 1282. He had two sons, Ridolfo and Jacopo. Jacopo's son, Gualtieri dei Bardi, was granted the rights of English citizenship by Edward III.[86]

[80] *C.P.R.* 203–6. [81] *C.P.R.* 105. [82] See Appendix L. [83] *C.C.R.* 302.
[84] See Appendix M. [85] See Appendix N. [86] Peruzzi, op. cit. 148.

They were represented in 1285 by Michele Bonazi and Bartolomeo Bardi; in 1298 by Thaddeo Orlandi; in 1299 by Riccardo de Salvaterra; in 1300 by Riccardo de Salvaterra, Taddeo Orlandi, Francesco Cose, and Manetto Taddei. In the year 1309 appear the names of Doffo, son of Bartolomeo Bardi, 'Togge de Alboys,' and Guido Donati; Manetto Francisci and 'Teguis del Aje' in 1310. Manetto Francisci appears alone in 1311 and 1312. In July 1313 he is joined by Taldo Valori, but continues to appear alone until March 1314, when Taldo again bears him company, followed by Gyno Boninsegni in April. He again appears alone until February 1315, when Gyno Boninsegni appears again. Manetto appears for the last time on February 15, 1315. He was replaced by Totti Guidi on March 24, and by Gyno Boninsegni and Ruggiero Ardinghelli on May 20. Doffo Bardi appears on May 9, 1316, and later in the year, accompanied on July 27 by Ruggiero Ardinghelli, who appears alone on December 20. The two of them appear along with Dino Forcetti on January 4, 1317, and they generally all three appear together during that year. Francesco Balducci is associated with them in August. In December 1317, Doffo de' Bardi was about to return home and received 200 marks from the King to buy jewels for his friends.[87] His name last appears on January 28, 1318. The names of Ruggiero Ardinghelli, Dino Forcetti, and Francesco Balducci occur in 1318. On June 8 appears Bono Filippi associated with them. On August 7, 1320, Ruggiero Ardinghelli was in Italy. Francesco Grandoni (who had previously appeared as attorney of the society) appears associated with Bono Filippi and Francesco Balducci on November 8, 1320. Finally, in January 1326, the name of Taldo Valori, which appeared last in 1314, again appears alone. This Taldo was a politician of some importance; four times one of the 'priori della libertà;' in 1328 ambassador to the Venetians; in 1329 one of the syndics sent to the Congress of Montopoli to conclude peace with Pisa. He was gonfaloniere in 1340. He married Francesca de' Bardi, and when the conspiracy of the Bardi and Frescobaldi was discovered during his term of magistra-

[87] *C.C.R.* 516.

ture he was suspected of undue leniency to them.[88] Like the Frescobaldi, the Bardi had certain definite revenues assigned to them for the repayment of their loans. In spite of the recent ordinances which forbade the practice, Edward II. on February 26, 1312, assigned the customs of Yarmouth and Ipswich to the Bardi, until they should be fully satisfied in the sum of 458*l.* in which he was indebted to them.[89] Similar assignments constantly occur during the rest of the reign, sometimes on the customs, sometimes on a fifteenth or on a tenth granted by the Pope. It was Edward's constant expedient for anticipating his revenue. On July 21, 1316, the King, on the point of going north against the Scots, ordered the keepers of the bishopric of Winchester, then void and in his hands, and the taxers and collectors of the fifteenth granted out of the cities, boroughs, and demesne lands in the county of Hampshire, to deliver the moneys arising from the above sources to the Bardi, to be used for the expenses of the Household of Queen Isabella until Michaelmas, and they were for that purpose to deliver to William de Boudon, king's clerk, keeper of the wardrobe of Queen Isabella, money for the expenses of her Household. Any sum that they might deliver to him for such expenses above what they received from the said keepers and taxers was to be repaid to them out of the issues of the realm after Michaelmas.[90] This is an instance of the kind of operations the Bardi were constantly performing for the King. Sometimes the repayment was almost immediate, as here, sometimes less prompt. In each case the Bardi acted as the royal bankers and supplied the King's need of ready money, whether for the Scotch war or for Household expenses.

The transactions were large, and the gifts made in compensation for losses and reward for services were equally large. From April 15, 1313, to June 6, 1317, the King granted to the Bardi no less than 8,800*l.* under this head. This does not include gifts to individual members of the society. For instance, at the same time that Doffo de' Bardi received the 200 marks mentioned above to buy

[88] Duca di Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane*, Fasc. xiii.
[89] *C.P.R.* 433. [90] *C.P.R.* 518.

jewels for his friends, Ruggiero Ardinghelli received 100*l.* for his labour in the King's affairs in the Roman Court, and Dino Forcetti 100 marks.[91]

On August 4, 1317, the King ordered the collectors of the custom of wool, hides, and wool-fells at Southampton, London, Boston, and Hull, to allow the Bardi to export their wool, hides, and wool-fells upon payment of the due custom without payment of the increment.[92] On August 7, 1319, he told the mayor and town of Southampton that he had taken the Bardi under his special protection.[93] Members of the society were frequently employed in special missions. Ruggiero Ardinghelli, on December 23, 1316, received a safe-conduct on going with his men beyond seas in the King's service, and he and other members of the society are styled 'king's merchants.'

The society had, in short, succeeded to the position which the Frescobaldi held in the earlier part of the reign, and thereby paved the way for its failure through the huge loans it made to Edward III. The history of those loans and that failure lies without the limits of this essay. It suggests, however, one remark which may possibly have occurred to the reader of these pages. It is that large transactions with the English kings seem to have generally gone hand in hand with disaster. The Riccardi, the Frescobaldi, and the Bardi were the three societies which had the biggest dealings with the English kings. Ill-fortune attended all three.

The loans from Italian merchants of which we have evidence in the liberate rolls, the printed calendar of the patent and close rolls, and in the enrolled accounts of the customs during the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., amounted to no less a sum than 420,650*l.* 4*s.* 9½*d.* The sums granted to them as gifts and compensation for delay in repayment amounted to 27,133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The amount of their loans was probably greater still. The amount as it stands, however, is sufficiently striking evidence of the need which the English kings felt for ready money, and the extent to which they used the facilities offered them by these wealthy companies of merchants.

[91] See Appendix P. *C.C.R.* 516. [92] *C.C.R.* 492. [93] *C.C.R.* 159.

Edward II.'s relations with the Frescobaldi illustrate the manner in which he was hampered by his father's debts. In this connection, however, it is interesting to note that on October 23, 1305, Edward I. believed his debts to the Frescobaldi would be satisfied out of the customs and other revenues on which he had assigned them before Easter 1307.[94] His hopes were, however, dashed by his Scotch troubles. Edward II. contracted fresh debts of his own. But, with the customs revenue absorbed by the payment of his father's debts, he had no other course open to him. Under such circumstances he was helpless to conquer Scotland, helpless to resist the demand for reform. The prises and other exactions by which the Household, deprived of the revenue from the customs, could alone be maintained, only served to add to the discontent which his favouritism aroused.

The crisis of 1311 was perhaps hastened by the weakness of Edward II.'s character. But some constitutional change was inevitable in any case even if the son had been like his father. Foreign war was incompatible with the resources of the monarchy even when supplemented by extraordinary grants. The loans were only a temporary resource, and complicated matters by anticipating the ordinary revenue which was required for ordinary purposes.

The country, as represented by the magnates who drew up the ordinances, still failed to realise this, and so was bound to come into conflict with the monarchy. Constitutional concessions were the only means by which the King could secure, if not its conviction of his necessities, at least its grumbling acquiescence in them. Meanwhile the means by which the King strove to supply the defect in his revenue became themselves a grievance. Between King and people the merchants fared but ill, as we see in the cases of the Bardi and Frescobaldi. The warning of Giovanni Frescobaldi was not without some foundation:

'Nè t'impacciar con uomini di corte.

WALTER E. RHODES.

[94] *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, 1302-1307*, p. 141.

APPENDIX

In the following tables the abbreviations C.P.R. and C.C.R. are used for Calendars of the Patent Rolls and Calendars of the Close Rolls, preserved in the Public Record Office, respectively.

The volume referred to is indicated by the date. The Roman numerals refer to the appendix of extracts from the Liberate Rolls appended to Sir Edward Bond's article, in which each item is so numbered.

The item is sometimes an acknowledgment, sometimes a repayment. Care has been taken not to fall into error through these duplicating one another. As in most cases the acknowledgment promises payment within a very short time, it is hoped that this mistake has been avoided.

A = acknowledgment. P = order for payment.

Date	—	—	—	Reference
A.—Lucas of Lucca and his Fellows				
		Marks	£ s. d.	
April 18, 1273	P	—	1000 0 0	L
April 28, 1273	P	1000	—	XLIX
Oct. 15, 1274	P	70	—	LIII
Oct. 25, 1274	P	—	80 0 0	LVI
Oct. 25, 1274	P	—	400 0 0	LVII
Dec. 10, 1274	P	500	—	LVIII
Dec. 28, 1274	—	1000	—	C.P.R. 74
April 26, 1275	P	—	2000 0 0	LXI
June 13, 1275	—	1000	—	Deputy Keeper's 44th Rep. p. 173
Oct. 15, 1275	P	—	400 0 0	LXIV
Oct. 28, 1275	P	—	3066 13 4	LXV
Jan. 23, 1276	P	—	8000 0 0	LXVIII
			14946 13 4	
		3570	= 2380	
			17,326 13 4	
Bonasio Bonanzi				
Oct. 17, 1274	P	50	—	LIV
" "	—	—	25 0 0	
		50	= 33 6 8	
			58 6 8	
Tegro Amatori and his Fellows				
Oct. 17, 1274	P	—	466 13 4	LV

Date	—	—	—	Reference
ALDEBRANDO OF LUCCA AND HIS FELLOWS				
		Marks	£ s. d.	
Oct. 17, 1274 .	P	—	200 0 0	LI
RANIERO DI LUCCA, UGOLINO DE ENTHIO, AND LOTERO BONAGUIDI AND THEIR FELLOWS				
Aug. 9, 1277 .	P	—	133 6 8	Deputy Keeper's 46th Report, p. 22
UGO PAPE				
Nov. 12, 1278 .	P	1000	—	—
B.—MOZZI OF FLORENCE				
June 14, 1277 .	A	1200	—	Deputy Keeper's 46th Report, App. p. 225,
Feb. 22, 1290 .	A	—	2000 0 0	C.P.R. 347
Sept. 29, 1294 .	A	—	1184 0 0	CII
Oct. 19, 1295 .	A	—	333 6 8	
Feb. 19, 1297 .	A	—	1066 13 4	
May 6, 1298 .	A	—	1160 0 0	
April 11, 1300 .	A	500	—	C.P.R., 505
May 6, 1309 .	P	—	1117 0 0	CXXIII
			6861 0 0	
		1700	= 1133 6 8	
			7994 6 8	
C.—RICCARDI OF LUCCA				
June 25, 1285 .	P	500	12 9	C.P.R., 177
July 10, 1285 .	P	100	—	C.P.R., 183
March 3, 1286 .	A	—	8000 0 0	C.P.R., 228
Aug. 12, 1289 .	A	—	14907 3 11	C.P.R., 318
" "	A	—	12632 19 6	
Oct. 14, 1290 .	P	—	10000 0 0	XCIII
Jan 3, 1294 .	A	—	10000 0 0	C.P.R., 59
Feb. 10, 1296 .	P	—	300 1 11	XCV
			55840 18 1	
		600	= 400 0 0	
			56240 18 1	

Date	—	—	—	Reference

D.—Pulci and Rembertini of Florence

		Marks	£	s.	d.	
Feb. 22, 1290 .	A	—	500	0	0	C.P.R. 347
Sept. 13, 1290 .	A	500	—			C.P.R. 385
Sept. 29, 1294 .	A	—	1030	0	0	CI
Oct. 19, 1295 .	A	—	333	6	8	CI
May 6, 1298 .	A	—	1160	0	0	CI
April 11, 1300 .	A	200	—			C.P.R., 505
			3023	6	8	
		700	= 466	13	4	
			3490	0	0	

E.—Ammanati of Pistoia

July 13, 1290 .	A	3000	—			C.P.R. 373
May 6, 1298 .	A	—	500	0	0	XCVIII
„ „	A	—	333	6	8	
„ „	A	—	1160	0	0	
April 11, 1300 .	A	750	—			C.P.R. 505
			1993	6	8	
		3750	= 2500	0	0	
			4493	6	8	

F.—Ballardi of Lucca

Sept. 29, 1294 .	A	—	200	0	0	CV
May 6, 1298 .	A	—	333	6	8	CV
Aug. 16, 1308 .	P	3989½	—			C.P.R. 137
Aug. 16, 1308 .	P	—	275	0	0	C.P.R. 145
Dec. 9, 1308 .	P	200	—			C.P.R. 144
		200				
Jan. 25, 1310 .	P	500	—			C.P.R. 205
March 6, 1310 .	P	689½	—			C.P.R. 213
June 13, 1311 .	P	6000	—			C.P.R. 356
Aug. 29, 1311 .	A	—	1513	12	0	C.P.R. 386
July 12, 1313 .	P	250	—			C.C.R. 2
			2321	18	8	
		11629	= 7752	18	4	
			10074	12	0	

Date	—	—	—	Reference
			G.—Cerchi Bianchi	
		Marks	£ s. d.	
Sept. 13, 1290 .	A	200	—	C.P.R. 385
Sept. 29, 1294 .	A		2132 0 0	C.
May 6, 1298 .	A		1160 0 0	C.
Aug. 16, 1308 .	P	4100	—	
Nov. 4, 1308 .	P	2500	—	C.P.R. 145
June 11, 1309 .	P		200 0 0	C.P.R. 120
Sept. 23, 1309 .	P		200 0 0	C.C.R. 183
Dec. 6, 1309 .	P		330 0 0	C.P.R. 95
			4022 0 0	
		6800	= 4533 6 8	
			8555 6 8	
			H.—Cerchi Neri	
Sept. 13, 1290 .	A	400	—	C.P.R. 385
Sept. 29, 1294 .	A		2457 0 0	XCIX
Feb. 19, 1297 .	A		200 0 0	
May 6, 1298 .	A		1160 0 0	
April 11, 1300 .	A	500	—	C.P.R. 505
May 6, 1309 .			1836 0 0	CXXIII
			5653 0 0	
		900	= 600 0 0	
			6253 0 0	
			I.—Frescobaldi Bianchi	
Sept. 13, 1290 .	A	300	—	C.P.R. 385
May 6, 1298 .	A		4666 13 4	CIII
Oct. 21, 1299 .	A		11000 0 0	CVIII
Jan. 17, 1300 .	A		1680 0 0	C.P.R. 489
Jan. 17, 1300 .	A		926 11 6	C.P.R. 489
June 8, 1300 .	P		1387 12 0	CIX
June 14, 1300 .	P		1753 0 8	CX
			21413 17 6	
		300	= 200 0 0	
			21613 17 6	

PAYMENTS TO THE FRESCOBALDI IN REPAYMENT OF LOANS, 1295–1308 [BOND, pp. 244–5]

	£.	s.	d.
From the Customs at Winchelsea . . .	8	3	9¼
From the Irish Exchequer	4996	2	0
From the Justiciary of Ireland . . .	463	6	4
From the profits of the custom on wool, Ireland	1280	0	0
From the mines of Devonshire . . .	2510	4	0
	9257	16	1¼

The Irish sums, however, must be included in the £11,000 mentioned above under date October 21, 1299, which is an order for payment out of the Irish Exchequer.

TABLE SHOWING THE PAYMENTS TO THE FRESCOBALDI BIANCHI FROM THE OLD AND NEW CUSTOMS ON WOOL &C. AND THE NEW CUSTOM ON AVOIRDUPOIS, COMPILED FROM ENROLLED ACCOUNTS, CUSTOMS ROLLS 1 AND 2 (P.R.O.)

	Gross Amount			Paid to Frescobaldi		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
*London, April 1, 1304, to Sept. 29, 1313 .	47619	5	0¾	29938	5	3½
Boston, April 1, 1304, to Sept. 29, 1311 .	34679	8	1¾	27757	19	9
Hull, April 1, 1304, to Sept. 29, 1311 .	21958	4	9	20345	18	3½
Southampton, April 1, 1304, to June 28, 1311	9645	17	11	7141	0	8¾
Newcastle, April 1, 1304, to Sept. 29, 1313 .	5021	5	6¼	4006	16	5¼
*Ipswich, April 1, 1304, to May 1, 1313 .	3820	10	3¼	2836	0	3
*Yarmouth, April 1, 1304, to Sept. 29, 1312 .	3575	18	3	1988	7	4½
Lynn, April 1, 1304, to Sept. 29, 1312 .	3396	15	5¾	1783	7	8¾
*Sandwich, April 1, 1304, to Sept 29, 1311 .	2521	4	6	1298	4	0½
Hartlepool, Feb. 10, 1303, to Sept. 29, 1311	1024	13	3½	Nothing		
Chichester, Sept. 29, 1307, to Sept. 29, 1312	800	18	2	401	5	11½
Exeter, April 1, 1304, to May 20, 1312 .	358	8	11¼	311	11	9¾
Bristol, Sept. 1, 1305, to Sept. 29, 1313 .	54	13	3	Nothing		
Haverford, Feb. 10, 1303, to Sept. 29, 1309	41	8	10¼	Nothing		
	134518	12	4¾	97808	17	8

* In the ports marked with an asterisk the new custom is reckoned from Feb. 10, 1303.

Date	—	—	—	Reference
		J.—FRESCOBALDI NERI		
		Marks	£ s. d.	
Sept. 13, 1290 .	A	300	—	C.P.R. 385
Feb. 19, 1297 .	A		876 0 0	CIV
May 6, 1298 .	A		213 6 8	CIV
„ „	A		1089 6 8	CIV
			2178 13 4	
		300	= 200 0 0	
			2378 13 4	

Date	—	—	—			Reference
			K.—Antonio Pessagno of Genoa			
		Marks	£	s.	d.	
July 8, 1313 .	A		15000	0	0	C.P.R. 4
July 26, 1313 .	A	1000	—			C.P.R. 7
Aug. 5, 1315 .	P		1017	6	0	C.P.R. 339
Aug. 5, 1315 .	P		1050	0	0	C.P.R. 339
Oct. 33, 1315 .	A		7084	8	4	C.P.R. 363
Dec. 16, 1316 .	A		4000	0	0	C.P.R. 603
		5500	4500	0	0	
			32651	14	4	
		6500	= 4333	6	8	
			36985	1	0	
			L.—Peruzzi of Florence			
Nov. 12, 1311 .	—	—	700	0	0	C.C.R. 443
Feb. 20, 1315 .	—	—	200	0	0	C.P.R. 254
			900	0	0	
			M.—Spini of Florence			
Nov. 20, 1294 .	A	—	745	0	0	XCVII
Oct. 19, 1295 .	A	—	333	6	8	XCVII
Feb. 19, 1297 .	A	—	1666	13	4	XCVII
" "	A	—	1160	0	0	XCVII
Aug. 16, 1308 .	A	2000	—			C.P.R. 136, 137,
April 11, 1309 .	P	500	—			C.P.R. 109
June 14, 1309 .	A	400	—			C.P.R. 121
Nov. 8, 1313 .	P	—	40	0	0	C.P.R. 36
April 18, 1315 .	A	—	3448	16	8½	C.C.R. 170
			7393	16	8½	
		2900	= 1933	6	8	
			9327	3	4½	
			N.—Bardi of Florence			
Sept. 13, 1290 .	A	300	—			C.P.R. 385
Sept. 29, 1294 .	A	—	1566	0	0	CVII
May 6, 1298 .	A	—	1160	0	0	CVII
June 14, 1309 .	A	—	1229	0	3	C.P.R. 120
" "	A	—	770	19	9	C.P.R. 120
Feb. 27, 1311 .	P	—	458	0	0	C.C.R. 406
Dec. 16, 1311 .	P	—	2000	0	0	CXXXV
Dec. 26, 1311 .	A	—	100	0	0	C.P.R. 409
Feb. 26, 1312 .	P	—	342	0	0	C.C.R. 407
April 6, 1313 .	P	—	431	5	3	CXXXVII
July 5, 1313 .	P	500	—			C.C.R. 589

Date	—	—	—	Reference
			BARDI OF FLORENCE (*continued*)	
		Marks	£ s. d.	
Nov. 23, 1313 .	P	—	352 7 10½	C.P.R. 43
Dec. 7, 1313 .	P	—	3715 18 0	CXXXVIII
Dec. 11, 1313 .	P	—	2000 0 0	C.C.R. 33
April 12, 1314 .	P	—	1333 11 11½	C.P.R. 106
Sept. 21, 1314 .	P	10283	—	C.C.R. 121
Sept. 26, 1314 .	P	—	2000 0 0	C.C.R. 114, 118
Feb. 6, 1315 .	P	—	3103 10 1	C.C.R. 144
Feb. 7, 1315 .	A	1000	—	
Feb. 7, 1315 .	P	—	296 12 6	C.C.R. 144
Mar. 15, 1315 .	P	—	612 7 1	CXLIII
May 22, 1315 .	A	2950	—	C.P.R. 289
Aug. 15, 1315 .	A	—	7084 15 4	C.C.R. 245
Sept. 1, 1315 .	P	—	331 0 0	C.C.R. 249
April 24, 1316 .	P	—	900 0 0	C.P.R. 450
May 9, 1316 .	P	—	1492 1 2	C.C.R. 284
July 14, 1316 .	A	—	2333 6 8	C.P.R. 513
July 21, 1316 .	P	—	100 0 0	C.C.R. 354
July 22, 1316 .	P	—	335 15 0	C.P.R. 516
July 22, 1316 .	A	—	100 0 0	C.P.R. 521
July 27, 1316 .	P	—	109 4 0	C.P.R. 522
Aug. 8, 1316 .	A	500	—	C.P.R. 524
Jan. 4, 1317 .	A	—	7787 9 2	C.P.R. 608
Jan. 9, 1317 .	A	1000	—	
Jan. 24, 1317 .	P	—	612 7 1	C.C.R. 388
" "	P	—	100 0 0	
April 16, 1317 .	P	—	213 15 11	C.P.R. 640
June 16, 1317 .	P	—	539 0 0	C.P.R. 672-3
July 6, 1317 .	A	—	1692 3 4	C.P.R. 677
" "	A	—	533 6 8	
Aug. 4, 1317 .	P	—	1600 0 0	C.C.R. 492
Dec. 12, 1317 .	P	1100	—	C.C.R. 516
Dec. 12, 1317 .	P	—	120 0 0	C.C.R. 516
Jan. 28, 1318 .	—	13000	—	C.C.R. 522
April 12, 1318 .	P	—	200 0 0	C.C.R. 538
April 12, 1318 .	P	—	840 0 0	CLII
April 15, 1318 .	P	400	400 0 0	CLIII, CLIV
Oct. 15, 1318 .	P	—	400 0 0	C.C.R. 21
Feb. 20, 1319 .	P	1000	—	CLVIII
June 9, 1319 .	P	100	—	CLIX
May 26, 1324 .	P	1000	1 3½	CLXIV
Dec. 15, 1326 .	P	—	1313 6 8	CLXVII
			50609 5 0½	
		33033	= 22022 0 0	
			72631 5 0½	
			O.—BOURUNCINO OF LUCCA AND HIS FELLOWS	
Jan. 24, 1282 .	—	—	250 0 0	LXXXVII

Date	—	—	—	Reference
Rostero Bonaventura of the Mozzi of Florence, Giacomo Brabanzoni of Siena, Bartolomeo Jacobi of the Bardi of Florence, Giacomo Bonchi of the Ammanati of Pistoia, Berto Machi of the Cerchi Neri of Florence, Dardano Consilii of the Cerchi Albi of Florence, Ugolino Petri of the sons of Bettoro of Lucca, Giacomo Janiani of the Frescobaldi of Florence, and Durazio Uberti of the Society of the Pulci of Florence				
		Marks	£ s. d.	
Dec. 8, 1288 .	—	5000	—	C.P.R. 310
Giacomo Brabanzoni and Bonaventura of Siena				
Feb. 18, 1291 .	—	—	1000 0 0	C.P.R. 422
Giacomo Aguilanti and his Fellows of Pistoia				
June 14, 1277 .	—	1000	—	Deputy Keeper's 46th Report, p. 225.
Riccardo Guidiccioni and Riccardo Bonifacii and their Fellows				
July 16, 1290 .	—	500	—	XC
Lapo of Pistoia				
Oct. 14, 1290 .	—	200	—	XCI
Bonsignori of Siena				
April 11, 1300 .	A	100	—	C.P.R. 505
April 7, 1301 .	A	—	319 3 6	C.P.R. 586
			319 3 6	
		100	= 66 13 4	
			385 16 10	
Salumbeni				
June 14, 1277 .	—	1400	—	Deputy Keeper's 46th Report, App. ii. p. 225.
Dancesto Guilelmi				
June 22, 1275 .	—	—	442 18 10	LXIII

Date	—	—	—	Reference
Bonasio Bonanzi, Odo di Gaski, Tegro Amatori				
		Marks	£ s. d.	
1274–5 . .	—	—	1467 0 0	LIX
Theobaldo Malagalye and his Fellows				
Jan. 20, 1276 .	—	1210	—	LXVII
Bouruncino Gualtieri of Lucca and his Fellows				
Feb. 8, 1281 .	—	258½	—	LXXXV
Bouruncino Gualtieri, Riccardo Guidiccioni, and their Fellows				
Feb. 8, 1281 .	—	—	200 0 0	LXXXVI
Bouruncino Gualtieri, Riccardo Guidiccioni, Orlandino de Podio, Enrico de Podio, and their Fellows of Lucca				
Dec. 28, 1279 .	—	—	23000 0 0	C.P.R. 355

P.—GIFTS IN COMPENSATION FOR LOSSES

Frescobaldi Bianchi				
April 12, 1300 .	—	—	1000 0 0	C.P.R. 508
April 5, 1301 .	—	—	2000 0 0	C.P.R. 585
Aug. 23, 1302 .	—	—	10000 0 0	C.P.R. 57
			13000 0 0	
Riccardi of Lucca				
Nov. 4, 1290 .	—	5000	—	C.P.R. 394
Antonio Pessagno of Genoa				
April 10, 1314 .	—	3000	—	C.P.R. 105
Bardi of Florence				
April 15, 1313 .	—		2000 0 0	CXXXVI
Aug. 12, 1313 .	—	2000	—	C.P.R. 11
March 13, 1314	—	1000	—	C.P.R. 109
Jan. 29, 1316 .	—	1200	—	C.P.R. 381
July 17, 1316 .	—	2000	—	C.C.R. 371
June 6, 1317 .	—	4000	—	C.P.R. 661
—	—		2000 0 0	
		10200	= 6800 0 0	
			8800 0 0	

Q.—LIST OF LOANS BY ITALIAN MERCHANTS TO EDWARD I AND EDWARD II

		£	s.	d.
1273–1276	Lucas of Lucca	17326	13	4
1275	Bonansio Bonanzi	58	6	8
1275	Dancesto Guilelmi	442	18	10
1275*	Ugolino Enthio and his fellows of Florence	333	6	8
1274	Tegro Amatori	466	13	4
1274	Aldebrando of Lucca	200	0	0
1274–1275	Bonasio Bonanzi, Odo di Gaski, Tegro Amatori	1467	0	0
1276	Theobaldo Malagalye	806	13	4
1277*	Scoti of Piacenza	666	13	4
1277*	Aldebrandi of Lucca	333	6	8
1277*	Frescobaldi Cerchi, Bardi, Falconieri	1333	6	8
1277	Raniero of Lucca	133	6	8
1277*	Scali of Florence	666	13	4
1277	Giacomo Aguilanti	666	13	4
1277	Salumbeni	933	6	8
1277*	Peregrino di Chatri and his fellows of Lucca	266	13	4
1277*	Cerchi, Frescobaldi, Frescobaldi and Falconieri of Florence	2000	0	0
1277*	Scoti of Piacenza	1333	6	8
1277*	Raniero Pieri and Arigo Sinachi, and their fellows of Lucca	100	0	0
1277*	Enrico Jacobini of Florence	66	13	4
1277*	Ugolini di Vichio and Luterio di Bonaguidi, and their fellows of Florence	666	13	4
1277*	Bartolommeo Marchi and his fellows of Siena	666	13	4
1277*	Bonvicino Nicholai and Durazio Uberti of Florence	666	13	4
1278	Ugo Pape	666	13	4
1279	Bouruncino Gualtieri and his fellows	23000	0	0
1280*	Bartolommeo Jake and his fellows	966	13	4
1280*	Bartolommeo Marchi	1000	0	0
1280*	Attino Providali	2000	0	0
1280*	Simone Balduini	200	0	0
1280*	Cambino Falconieri	751	0	0
1280*	Manetto Becchi	2000	0	0
1280*	Giacomo Fronti	1116	13	4
1280*	Theobaldo of Lucca	1336	6	8
1280*	Piero Vile	733	6	8
1280*	Durazio of Firenze	2000	0	0
1280*	Ugolino of Vico	2666	13	4

* The entries thus marked are derived from the recently published *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1272–1281*, which appeared too late for them to be included in the previous tables.

		£	s.	d.
1280*	Bernardo Manfredi	1333	6	8
1280*	Lando of Pistoia.	2000	0	0
1280*	Peregrino of Lucca	200	0	0
1281	Bouruncino Gualtieri of Lucca . .	172	6	8
1282	Bouruncino of Lucca	250	0	0
1281	Bouruncino Gualtieri and Riccardo Guidiccioni	200	0	0
1277–1309	Mozzi of Florence	7994	6	8
1285–1296	Riccardi of Lucca	56240	18	1
1290–1300	Pulci and Rembertini of Florence .	3490	0	0
1290–1300	Ammanati of Pistoia	4493	6	8
1294–1313	Ballardi of Lucca	10074	12	0
1290–1309	Cerchi Bianchi	8555	6	8
1290–1300	Cerchi Neri	6253	0	0
1290–1311	Frescobaldi Bianchi	121941	2	11¼
1290–1298	Frescobaldi Neri	2378	13	4
1313–1316	Antonio Pessagno	36985	1	0
1311–1315	Peruzzi of Florence	900	0	0
1294–1315	Spini of Florence	9327	3	4½
1290–1326	Bardi of Florence	72631	5	0½
1300–1301	Bonsignori of Siena	385	16	10
1288	Nine Tuscan merchants . . .	3333	6	8
1291	Giacomo Brabanzoni and Bonaventura of Siena	1000	0	0
1290	Riccardo Guidiccioni	333	6	8
1290	Lapo of Pistoia	133	6	8
		420650	4	9¼

R.—THE CAORSINI

'Caursini' or 'Caorsini' early became a general term for all money-lenders. See Du Cange, ii. 117, art. 'Caorcini.' The origin of the term is uncertain. The derivation from Cahors seems the most likely, seeing that Dante selects the men of Cahors, as noted usurers, for punishment in hell (*Inferno*, canto xi. l. 46–50). See Bourquelot, 'De l'Origine et de la Signification du mot Caorcin' (*Revue des Soc. Savantes*, 1861, 1er Semestre, pp. 787 et seq.).

On June 14, 1277, John Donedeu and his fellows, merchants of Cahors, lent Edward I. 400 marks (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 214). It seems pretty certain that the Caursini referred to by Matthew Paris (*Chronica Majora*, iii. 331–2) were Italians, as he mentions their close connection with the Papal Curia. An edict of Louis IX. against usurers speaks of the 'Caursini et alii mercatores extranei.' Some have derived the name from Caours, in Piedmont. Whatever the origin of the word, it early became a synonym for usurer. A charter of 1302 speaks of 'Abelon Malabaille Corrsin de Bourc' (see Du Cange).

VI

PIERRE DUBOIS: A MEDIÆVAL RADICAL

THE growth of interest in the Middle Ages during the nineteenth century is a fact too important to be overlooked. Like every other fascination, it is difficult to explain, and is due to many causes. Some, who would sympathise with the saying of one of George Eliot's characters, that there has been no great people without processions, and who feel that the beauty and wonder of human life are slipping away, look back wistfully at that splendid time, so different from their own. Others, who love to analyse great ideas and understand great causes, have found the Middle Ages a mine of wealth. And others, again, to whom all that is done by mortal man is dear, eagerly question the past to see how that incalculable being, ever the same, faced his dangers and grappled with his tasks. They echo the words of our great historian: 'it is my wish to depart in charity with all mankind.'[1]

Such are the sympathies which underlie current theories about mediæval times, and at least three theories are implied in modern research. There is, first, the picturesque doctrine, made familiar to us by some of Froude's most eloquent passages, that the spirit of those times is almost as alien and inaccessible to us as the mind of the Chinese. The careful reader of historical romances finds in their unrealities much to attract him towards this view. Again, there is the school which rejoices in the Middle Ages as so suitable for analytical investigations. This is the orthodox school, and it can tell us the value of every mediæval theory, the influence of every movement, their place in historical development,

[1] *Decline and Fall*, c. lxx., at end.

and their modification by new forces. Its reign began in England with the crowds in Arnold's lecture-room, and splendid workers in its cause have been Guizot, Ranke, Freeman, and most of the exponents of legal and political theories.[2] But this comparative method is sound and applicable only to certain sides of life and thought. We learn, perhaps, to understand the feelings of Dante as he wrote the *De Monarchia*, of the burgher as he heard read the privileges of his city, or of the clerk as he listened to the discourses of St. Thomas. But, universally applied, the doctrine of development simply states the harmless fact that one event is dependent upon those that precede it.[3] And so a third way of looking at the past, Gibbon's way, has revived of late. Probably the most hateful question that can be put to the modern humanists who follow it is—'What is the good of history?' Though Gibbon might have tried to argue the point, they answer shortly that it is no good at all. This attitude is not so much the result of prejudice, still less of weariness, as the outcome of a better understanding of our ignorance. It is seen that until the facts have been mastered we must be content with the assumptions of universal human experience. It is impossible

[2] For English readers the most noteworthy example of this good work in recent times is Professor Maitland's translation of Gierke's *Political Theory of the Middle Ages.*

[3] For some excellent remarks on this see Mr. John Morley's *Compromise*, ed. 1874, p. 63. It is unnecessary to do more than refer to the lectures on the whole subject by the late Bishop of Oxford. His main thesis (*Lectures on Modern and Mediæval History*, p. 210), that 'the idea of right or rights [rather than of forces or ideas] was the leading idea of the Middle Ages,' he illustrates in as satisfactory a manner as could be desired. But it seems to go hardly far enough. Could it not be urged, for example, that the balance of forces was appreciated to some extent in mediæval times, and controlled occasionally the theory of right? And is the old contrast between conscious and self-conscious reflection on rights and wrongs, which is what the distinction amounts to, strictly true? The works of Dante and his contemporaries are a sufficient proof that the unconscious expression of feeling had been outgrown. Nor is it proved that the voice of authority silenced the utterance of thought on the grounds of the ideas about which men argued. (Cp. Gierke on the growth of 'naturrechtliche' theories of the state in the Middle Ages: op. cit. trans. Maitland, pp. 89, 186.) It is curious, however, to note how the writings of Dubois illustrate Stubbs's general dictum that while 'in the greatest men of the period there was a conscious attempt to exalt law and a willingness to abide by it, there was in the inferior actors, in the worse men, a disposition to maintain their own rights within recognised limits, and when they attacked the possessions or infringed the apparently equal rights of their opponents, to do it on the ground of legal pleas.' (Ibid.)

to describe the character of every man, like Uncle Toby's, 'from his hobby-horse;' and it takes more than a knowledge of mediæval theories and customs to understand the Middle Ages. A late Oxford thinker, after a long struggle with the main thesis of Buckle, thus sums up his conclusion: 'I came to see the impossibility of reducing the theory of progress to any single law.'[4] This is an attitude which is becoming prevalent. It is felt that the past is not entirely alien to us, that it can be understood very largely, but that at present no law of development is satisfactory enough to take us more than a short way, or exhaustive enough to prevent error and misunderstanding.

In the meantime it is natural to ask whether what we know is so very strange to us. If the men and women of the past cannot be reduced to a system, for they were human, yet, as they were human, they must have had much in common with us. Mediæval poetry and architecture have always been a delight to us; we can still enjoy mediæval songs, and sing to mediæval tunes. Are we so very different in other respects? On the contrary, we find not only much with which we can sympathise, but some similarity. In the literature of emotional experiences we discover almost exact parallels to-day to the expression of the so-called mediæval sin of 'accidia.'[5] As the intricacies of mediæval politics are unravelled, we see that our foreign complications and diplomatic see-saws were anticipated and developed long before the year 1494.[6] We may go further. The best feeling of monasticism—that there is in every man and woman a want which no other can satisfy, but which, if it remain unsatisfied, poisons wealth and degrades honour—has been a necessary part of the teaching of good men since men began to teach. Chivalry was simply an attempt—in true mediæval fashion—to put into a coherent and external form that which, 'if it is not as old as the hills,' is, as

[4] Mark Pattison, *Memoirs*, p. 311.

[5] See the interesting introduction to the present Bishop of Oxford's *Spirit of Discipline*. There the accounts of Aquinas, Dante, and Chaucer are succeeded by the confessions of Wordsworth (*Prelude*, Bk. xi.), Keble, and Stevenson. Cp. especially pp. 37–38.

[6] For an expression of this view, cp. Professor Tout's *Edward I.* p. 105; and for an example see below, p. 177 note.

Thackeray says, 'as old as the men and women who walk up and down them.' Nor need we turn to our lady novelists for examples of honour and devotion, who, while they are worthy to be named with the great names of old, are not branded with the ridicule reserved for Don Quixote.

If we turn the tables, and try to trace modern elements in mediæval things, the task is, as would be expected, much harder. The ordinary man of to-day is not particularly given to visions and prophecies; and it would be unfair to expect more of his mediæval prototype. Yet we imagine that, as we all know men who might have lived in the Middle Ages, so it would be possible to pick out a few like-minded with ourselves from the past. There is no reason for supposing that the hard and fast system of the Middle Ages hindered the free exercise of mental activity upon most subjects of human interest, that the man who did not care for theology or philosophy [7] was any more fettered than, let us say, a man of letters, a village politician, or a stockbroker of our own day. It is quite conceivable that much which was very far off in fact was near to the critic of the past in the sphere of suggestion or theoretical inquiry. These reflections, indeed, have been aroused by the main subject of this essay, who is an extraordinary example of the modern thinker in the Middle Ages. The work of the legist, Pierre Dubois, is perhaps interesting rather than instructive. M. Langlois, the editor of his chief work, classes him with the *utopistes* who are despised in their lifetime and 'afford posterity the opportunity which it loves for brilliant rehabilitation.' [8] It is true that we have practically no contemporary notice of Dubois,[9] and that with a most fastidious correctness of literary method he combines an unusual liberality of thought. Yet he implies throughout that his suggestions are far from being the chimerical dreams of a frivolous

[7] As is well known, modern writers assert that under the still more definite Roman Catholic Church there is considerable freedom of thought allowed in these matters also (cp. Newman's *Apologia*).

[8] *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte*, par Pierre Dubois, publié d'après le manuscrit du Vatican par Ch. V. Langlois (*Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire*), p. xix.

[9] Probably because he kept most of his work secret. Cp. Langlois, p. 90, note.

visionary. We have nowhere the delightful sensation of otherworldliness which we have in reading the *Utopia* and similar *jeux d'esprit*.[10] All is practical and to the point. Every remedy has its application. And even when he is complaining most bitterly of the conservatism of his time, the author gives us to understand that his suggestions are but some of many possible checks to recognised evils.[11]

If we can learn little from him of the critical attitude of his contemporaries, the writer himself is an object of instructive study.[12] Renan calls his career 'l'avènement de l'homme du Tiers-État;'[13] and to modern eyes he is a typical member of the brilliant crowd of mediocre men who were the mainstay of France in the reign of Philip the Fair, as of England under Elizabeth. His life, however, does not warrant the conclusion. The facts of his career have to be drawn from scattered remarks in his works, and from two or three insignificant references in official documents. He was probably born in Normandy about 1255. He speaks of forming his ideas in the year 1286,[14] and of having attended

[10] Cp. Wailly (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1846, p. 273). Notwithstanding occasional flights of fancy, Dubois is 'trop versé dans la pratique des affaires pour se noyer entièrement dans les abstractions d'une vaine utopie.'

[11] *De Recup.* § 82, cp. § 49, 106 (Langlois' divisions). In the *De Abreviatione* Dubois refers to 'magister Henricus de Rie, vicecomes de Cadomo,' for evidence on legal abuses (Langlois, p. viii; Wailly, pp. 293–294).

[12] For details of the life of Dubois and the interesting subject of his connection with contemporary politics we must refer to M. Langlois' introduction to the *De Recuperatione*, to M. Natalis de Wailly's article on the *De Abreviatione* (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1846, pp. 293–315), Renan's long and brilliant study in the *Histoire Littéraire* (vol. xxvi. p. 491 sqq.) and the minor works edited by Boutaric in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits* (vol. xx., 2nd part). Other references are given by M. Langlois. As we are not here concerned with the political interest attaching to Dubois' writings, the materials of this essay are mainly to be found in the *De Recuperatione* and Wailly's synopsis of the *De Abreviatione*. The want of an edition of the latter work has been partly remedied by the copious notes to Langlois' edition of the former treatise. With regard to the importance of our author, though it has been much exaggerated (e.g. by Delaville le Roulx), it is noteworthy that

(i) Some of his proposals were not quite original or considered unworthy of serious regard. Thus, the project of a school of Eastern languages was common property. (See Langlois on *De Recup.* § 59.)

(ii) His political visions were occasionally verified; and, as the *Ordonnances* show, his suggestions in legal matters were in some cases followed.

[13] *Hist. Litt.* xxvi. 536.

[14] Langlois, p. vii (*De Abrev.*). The persistency with which Dubois preached his doctrines is sufficient to modify the stricture of Renan upon his place-hunting. For his readiness to further his own interests by means of the writings he loved, cp. *De Recup.* § 96, 100.

previously the lectures of Siger de Brabant upon the 'Politics' of Aristotle.[15] He was also old enough to remember a sermon by St. Thomas Aquinas.[16] In 1300 he was an advocate of the royal pleas at Coutances, and some years later, when he wrote the *De Recuperatione*, he had charge of the ecclesiastical suits of his master there, and also of those of Edward I.[17] His partisan writings and his persistent representations at court[18] procured him some attention, and he represented Coutances in the Estates of the Realm in the memorable years 1302 and 1308. Very little notice was taken of him beyond this, and he seems to have died soon after 1321 in the service of the Countess of Artois.[19]

What thanks he did get were probably not due to the works in which we are most interested. But for the *De Abreviatione* (1300) and the *De Recuperatione* (1306) he would simply be known as one of the most virulent of the royalist pamphleteers of the time, whose work is sometimes almost indistinguishable from that of Nogaret. All the subjects which interested and excited contemporary politicians, the quarrel between Philip and Boniface, the proceedings against the Templars, French policy on the Rhine, in Italy, and in Spain, the projected crusade, the evils of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and temporalities, were dealt with by him in numerous tracts.[20] His last pamphlet was in defence of the chivalric games threatened by the Church and loved by the royal House. As a royal legist of plebeian birth his adherence to everything which would make for the stability, growth, or comfort of the royal power, is as correct and orthodox as could be desired. Yet Dubois shares in a marked degree in the popular tendencies of the age.[21]

[15] *De Recup.* § 132. [16] Ibid. § 63. [17] Ibid. dedication and § 100.

[18] For his own statements on this see § 117, and his memoir on the foundation of an Eastern Kingdom (Langlois, Appendix, p. 133).

[19] Langlois, p. xiv.

[20] Many of these are assigned to him on account of internal evidence or casual references in other pieces. There is, consequently, some difference of opinion upon some of them. (Cp. Langlois, p. 100, note.) In a note added to the end of this essay is drawn up a list, compiled and abbreviated from the various studies upon the subject.

[21] These tendencies have been traced even in dying literature of the time—the *Chansons de Geste*. One of the last of these—Hugues Capet—is supposed by some to have been intended 'à préparer l'influence que les bouchers de Paris usurpèrent un demi-siècle plus tard.' *Hist. Litt.* xxvi. 146.

He lived in the days when the States General were first called together in complete form. He served a master to whom the first popular subsidy was voted. Notwithstanding his assertions of the legal supremacy of the King, of the sanctity attaching to his person,[22] of the propriety of his controlling the patrimony of the Church, Dubois insists upon the good of the people as the end of all his suggested improvements. He quotes with approval the Greek view that every prince who rules for his own sake ought not to be called a prince, but a tyrant.[23] He is a devoted disciple of the advanced thinker, Siger de Brabant, and if his radical views caused him to attack the Church with increased vehemence, they also forced him to speak out his mind to the King with a good deal of decision and courage.

Dubois' chief work, *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte*, contains most of his political suggestions, and his favourite ideas in their final form.[24] It was written, as its contents show, about 1306, between the accession of Clement V. and the death of Edward I. It is divided into two parts, the first of which was probably destined to be sent as a circular to

[22] Dubois is always insisting that the King should remain in France, where the climate was pleasant and healthy, and no danger was nigh, for the sake of himself and his realm. Cp., among other passages, *De Recup.* §§ 119, 140. In the former he further remarks that it is better for an army not to be led by too distinguished a person. An ordinary general can easily be replaced by one 'qui statim cum consilio statuto ulterius celeriter et mature procedat. Magnum enim exercitum propter impedimentum unius hominis quiescere, ociosum esse et dimittere, esset magnus defectus ordinationis.' The truth of this is often exemplified in the history of the Crusades.

[23] *De Abreviatione.* Cp. especially *De Recup.* § 52. Dubois was no philosopher, and it is difficult to gauge his position exactly. His general standpoint would probably have been that of St. Thomas—obedience is only demanded 'in quantum ordo justitiae requirit.' Parallels to such remarks as do appear may be found in Gierke's notes. Occasionally, as in the discussion of the means to procure peace, his speculation has a quasi-scientific and hypothetical tone which anticipates Machiavelli.

[24] See Renan and Langlois. It is curious that an event so typical of the Middle Ages as a crusade should give rise to such modern reflections. But the interest taken in the Holy Land at this time was everywhere more worldly and scientific in character, and therefore easily attracted schemes of advancement and reform. For the commercial advantages of eastern conquest cp. *De Recup.* § 67 and Appendix § 6. 'Illa etiam vasa pugnatores portabunt et tempore pacis, ne sint ociosi, species aromaticas et res alias nobis utiles reportabunt.' Besides such pilgrims as Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who studied military situations for Otto IV., we have Brocard, with his impartial descriptions of manners (1289) and the less disinterested researches of Sanudo. (*Hist. Litt.* xxiv. 489–490.) For other memoirs on a projected crusade, see the same work (xxvii. pp. 381–391).

the chief monarchs of Europe from the French Court. In the manuscript in which it has come down to us, the dedication is to the English King, in consideration of his well-known zeal for the crusades, a zeal which takes the place of the 'ease which other princes have been wont to choose after such heavy, and even lighter, labours.' The latter and shorter part of the treatise (§§ 110–142) is for the ear of Philip alone and deals with his own royal interests. Though not an all-absorbing topic by the fourteenth century, the recovery of the Holy Land was of much more importance than usual stock debating subjects. It was regarded as a pretext for the advancement of political or commercial ends, very much as the partition or integrity of China is to-day. Besides the genuine spiritual zeal for the event which Dubois seems to possess, he finds in it the complexities and dangerous ambitions of an Eastern Question, the necessary outcome of the network of French dynastic influences which covered the whole of South-Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean. The first necessity for united action is of course universal peace, but to a legist of the age of Nogaret and Plaisian no project was satisfactory unless some advantage accrued to the King of France, just as it is impossible to disregard the imperial instincts of modern Europe in any scheme for the decrease of armaments. The universal peace of the Church must go hand in hand with the universal empire of Philip the Fair. Dubois quite enters into the spirit of French diplomacy. In the year 1308, besides presenting a new edition of the *De Recuperatione* to the King at Chinon, he addressed two memoirs to him advising the establishment of an Eastern kingdom for his second son Philip the Long, and Philip's own election as Emperor.

The former of these[25] is devoted entirely to Eastern matters, and lays special stress upon the advantages which would arise from the occupation of Egypt as part of the

[25] Published in an Appendix by Langlois (pp. 131–140). For a discussion of French affairs in Castile, Constantinople, &c., see *De Recup.* §§ 103, 104:—'Quibus premissis sic per Dei graciam ordinatis, *catholici concordes* possidebunt totam ripam maris Mediterranei, ab ejus occidente usque ad orientem versus septentrionem, et meliorem partem tangentem Terram Promissionis versus meridiem' (§ 105).

projected kingdom. After speaking of the hardships suffered by the armed expeditions of former times, he turns to the riches of the land that had succoured the brethren of Joseph.

> Those who have been there say that the Soldan collects from the people an annual revenue of more than 600,000 gold bezants, each of which is worth six florins. Hence, when the Promised Land has been occupied and ordered sufficiently [by the Christians], Egypt may be defended with a small garrison at little expense during the absence of its ruler. For no hostile force will be able to invade the land from any side but the sea of Babylon (*prope Babilonem*), on account of the secure fastnesses of the desert. (§ 10.)

Although Dubois busied himself with almost every part of Philip's diplomacy, he is evidently most interested in the idea of a French Empire. Philip contented himself with forming alliances with the princes of the Rhine, and, after the fruitless intrigues[26] in his son's favour, was satisfied by the entire possession of Lyons. But Dubois had sketched much more ambitious plans for him. In 1300, probably misled by rumours of the interview between Albert of Austria and Philip at Vaucouleurs (December 1299), he insists on a convention for the subjection of mutinous Germany.[27] This is returned to in the 'De Recuperatione' (§ 116) as an advisable step to take before the publication of peace projects, The author further ventures to suggest that 'it would be a source of much profit and honour to the King if the Empire could be procured for his brother and nephews in perpetuity,' for he would then be able to control the hated cities of Lombardy and North Italy.[28] In the pamphlet belonging to the early part of 1308, Dubois discovers that if the King were crowned Emperor himself, the control of Italy would give him access to the superior land route to the Holy Land.[29]

[26] These recall vividly the negotiations of Mazarin after the death of Ferdinand III. in 1657 (Vast, *Les grands Traités du Règne de Louis XIV.*, p. 67). And cp. the contest of Francis and Charles in 1519.

[27] Langlois, p. 104, note.

[28] Dubois' scorn for the Italian cities, their independence and pride, and his desire to see them plundered and abased, would do credit to the sixteenth century. For a similar vision of the later age, less extravagant and from the German point of view, see *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, xx. 90.

[29] *Notices et Extraits*, xx. part ii. p. 186. Cp. *Hist. Litt.* xxvi. p. 528. For the various routes proposed, see *De Recup.* §§ 26, 104, and compare Sanudo's letter to Philip VI. (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1895, p. 22).

Without going into more detail we may note how Dubois invariably puts forward as arguments for his scheme considerations which have alone appealed to modern imaginations. He has a thorough knowledge of the territorial advantages of the arrangement, which would have done credit to Richelieu or Mazarin, and was applied by Napoleon. And throughout he evinces a dislike to the elective system, which shows how early men appreciated the benefits of absolute hereditary monarchy to such a disunited land as Germany. We have a vision of a power which should unite the projects of the three great Fredericks of Germany, of a Northern Empire controlling a united Italy and controlled by a despotic head. At first the royal intriguers were to disregard and then bribe the electors.[30] But in the 'Pro Facto' we have the solemn sight of a Pope relieving the august body of the trust they had so shamefully neglected, and handing it over to the King of France. It is a scene worthy of the days of Louis XIV.

To accompany this happy result, Dubois puts forward a series of drastic reforms, summed up in the attainment of universal peace. Then only can the Holy Land be recovered. Peace itself must be established and maintained by the appointment of a board of arbitrators. But it must be heralded by improvements in the systems of political centralisation, education, and judicial procedure. The Church must be reformed in its various branches and its worldly powers must be abolished. Let us disregard the confused arrangement of Dubois and take these points in order. Then we may consider the regulations drawn up for the allied forces in their enterprise. And here we find startling anticipations of modern military organisation.

I. Dubois aims at no mere *Treuga Dei*. Restless vassals are not to be restrained but crushed; for the king (*qui non*

[30] *De Recup.* § 116: 'Fieri expediret inter reges Francorum et Alemannie, cum approbatione et confirmatione Pape, ut confirmaretur Imperium regi Alemannie sueque posteritati, datis muneribus electoribus, saltem laicis, ut assentirent. Papa bene faceret prelatos electores imperatoris assentire, quoniam eorum multipliciter interest solitas guerras Imperii et subditorum ejus cessare.' In § 13 the advantages of an hereditary monarch 'cum thesauris reservatis et fortaliciis roboratis' are dwelt on at more length.

recognoscit superiorem in terris) should so control all forces and supplies that he may ultimately and with small loss force a rebel to extremities, were he the Duke of Burgundy or Lorraine. A tedious and tame method of proceeding is necessary. Existing modes of warfare are too destructive. A good prince should employ tactics which involve as little fighting and destruction, and send as few souls unprepared to hell, as possible.[31] The value of cavalry, for example, is now less evident. It is as much exposed to engines of war as infantry, and its power is evaded by topographical expedients.[32] Sieges, indeed, are now the chief events of war, and it is in the conduct of them that reforms should be introduced. At present they are destructive of both large and small armies. For one thing doctors should be instructed to see to the proper sanitation of camps, since their disgusting condition is responsible for much of the loss in horses and men of noble birth, who are unaccustomed to the hardships of their new surroundings.

II. When a strong prince has made peace to prevail, he must see to the ease and improvement of his subjects. How far such an end is attainable by educational reform is still debated, and Dubois has no ideas on the matter. He confines his lengthy remarks to the class of persons, apparently of all lands, who should be trained for missionary service in the East. Though his scheme is comprehensive enough, it has not the ideal grandeur of the *Encyclopaedia* sketched by the Humanists; we have no effort to bring education into relation with life as a whole. But still his suggestions form one of the few bits of rational pedagogic writing to be found in the Middle Ages. Dubois does see that a successful career in any chosen walk of life is largely dependent on the training which precedes it. A good educational system is the surest means of acquiring and keeping power. The

[31] *Bibliothèque*, 1846, pp. 273–278. Cp. *De Recup.* § 5. In the eyes of Dubois a good king was, like Frederick Barbarossa, 'bellorum amator, sed ut per ea pax acquiratur.' (Rad. Fris. ii. 76.)

[32] Dubois saw the true cause of the impotence of the cavalry better than his countrymen did later. For their misconceptions see Oman's *History of the Art of War*, p. 627.

bounds of the Catholic Republic must be extended from the *studium* :—

> For we read in the history of the ancients how the glory of arms (*flos milicie*) trod in the wake of learning, from India to Assyria, from Assyria to Greece, from Greece to Rome, from Rome to the lands beyond the Alps. If this has been so hitherto, then let the Catholic body set up one state in every realm and place, and stir up learning in fitting spots, and the same result will follow. For this republic would rule the world now and henceforth, increasing in process of time. (*De Recup.* § 70.)

Dubois then expounds a way to effect this. This is to set up a graduated system of schools. First, however, he lays great stress upon the teaching of modern languages, more particularly of the Eastern tongues spoken in his day. In this matter he is as earnest as Sir Richard Burton. He has no faith in foreign interpreters, and advises that the best teachers of Eastern languages should be procured (§§ 59–61). Two years earlier Dubois had 'attributed it as a crime to Boniface that he was not a polyglot.'[33] Now he proposes the establishment of a 'civil service' to help the Pope. A higher department for instruction in the papal services should be set up in Rome (§ 62), and less advanced schools for boys and girls in suitable places in each province. He is very enthusiastic on the value of women in the good work. They in particular should be instructed in the rubrics and canons of the Church, in languages, surgery and medicine, and be sent out to the East. On the one hand, they would be a great assistance and inducement to the marriageable[34] clergy who work there; and on the other, might be of much use as proselytisers. As the wives of intelligent schismatics or infidels they might, by their gentle care and cure of body and soul, lead their erring husbands to the true fold from the way of perdition (§§ 61, 69).

In the elementary schools Dubois insists on method rather than matter. Groups of one hundred or so, ranging from four to six years of age, who shall only be allowed to

[33] Langlois (p. 49, note), who quotes the passage from the *Supplication du Peuple de France.*

[34] *De Recup.* § 61. 'Expediret multum prelatos et clericos orientales qui uxores habent, et qui beneficio matrimoniorum cum Romanis et aliis occidentalibus renunciare minime voluerunt, tales uxores habere.'

return to their parents by special agreement, shall be set apart in some fitting place.[35] They are to begin with the Psalms and Donatus, and then learn minor authors by a method of repetition. The Bible must next be taught, the historical parts first, and be repeated throughout the whole course. Dubois makes a strong point of the utilitarian uses of historical study :—

> As soon as they begin to construe, on feast-days let the Gradual and Breviary, with only as much of the Missal as is in the Bible, be construed to them; after the Breviary, the Golden Legends of the Saints and short prose selections from the histories of the poets. They should write themes upon these histories, or, still better, turn them into Latin again (*latinizent*): they will help them in the future rather than the useless histories now in fashion; so no time will be wasted as hitherto, and their compositions will be of lasting value to them. (§ 71.)

After an elementary course of the sciences from accredited manuals,[36] the scholars should finish this part of their education before the age of twelve.

Another place should be found for the next course, in which advanced logical instruction and the study of languages should be continued for about two years. The necessary knowledge of natural science should be acquired orally from abridged editions of Albert's *Naturalia* and of the writings of St. Thomas and Siger. In this way much labour and time will be saved, for the works, 'as they are read in the schools,' need only be gone over once. The moral sciences should be learned in the same way with the addition of a few written exercises—not many, 'quoniam argumentorum multitudo magis confusionem intellectus et judicii rationis quam scienciam inducit.' (§ 73.)

This should last a year, during which time the Bible and *Summae* must be read, for they are the bases of all knowledge, and treat of the elements which are, as Aristotle says, common to all sciences. Special study now begins for those who are to take up preaching, law, or medicine.

[35] Dubois knew nothing of subsoils, but he is fond of urging the value of suitable places for work. He even proposes certain tasks for certain parts of the year. Cp. his remarks on the residence of the King in France.

[36] For these, as for the whole subject of education at the time, see Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, especially i. 441 sq.

Students of the last might start immediately after the course in natural science, provided that the *fundamenta*, mentioned above, are not neglected. Those who are to enter either branch of the legal profession might modify their course in a similar way. That is, in modern jargon, everybody must take the preliminary, but there are a few optional subjects (§ 74). Corporal exercises and mechanical training, especially for the dull-witted, must not be forgotten. They should be of a military nature, or subsidiary to the profession of arms.

As the length of the course and his insistence on the conversational method show, Dubois was no mere advocate of schools for useful knowledge. But he knew of no system which could give men a start in life except one which formed the commencement of a career of absorbing study. Hence his tone, though he is dealing with the most sacred of professions, is critical and almost materialistic. Men of the world, he asserts, cannot be always studying. 'If a prelate wishes to devote himself entirely to contemplation, like Mary, he should enter upon some religious life, and give up his staff to another. And if prelates are supposed to live both sorts of life, and in them obtain blessedness, they should be instructed in what pertains to both' (§ 78). This is why he lays what would nowadays be unnecessary stress on abridged text-books. His experience made him emphasise particularly the need of handy editions of the *Decretum* and *Decretals*. They would, he says, be of value not only to scholars, but to the practical man and administrator.[37]

III. Dubois' other proposals for the time of peace are more immediately concerned with the comfort of his fellow-subjects. We must pass over his remarks (§§ 121–138) on the military and financial abuses of the time. He is mainly concerned to show how military service was evaded in France, and how a more systematic mode of enlistment might be substituted for that in vogue. France, he tells us in the *De Abreviatione*, could easily provide many more troops than it does,[38] and still avoid the economic evils of

[37] *De Recup.* § 76.

[38] *Bibliothèque*, 1846, p. 306, and Langlois, p. 116 note. He thinks France could afford to *lose* 80,000 foot and 2,000 horse.

the age. One of these evils—the change in the value of money[39]—is due to the new habit of paying troops. 'I believe' he says, 'that when all is considered the lord king has lost and will continue to lose by this measure [depreciation of money] much more than all the benefits that have accrued from the change.'

The proposals for legal reform are twofold. In his earlier work he goes at length into the evils consequent upon the increased influence of the ecclesiastical courts.[40] His attack upon the clergy is interesting, because he is speaking of things which affected him personally in the pursuit of his profession as royal advocate. He paints in vivid colours the piteous lot of the conscientious legist, and how he is in continual danger of excommunication. The ecclesiastics even call laymen before them; and in the last sixty years the revenues in Norman sees have increased from nothing to more than twenty thousand Paris pounds, or over two million francs. Dubois advises that notaries should be appointed, for whom the bishops would have respect, and procurators who should be attached to the ecclesiastical courts and be ready to call in the notary and advocate. Or there might be an assize of judges with fixed powers, who should report to the Exchequer or Parlement. In any case, help given to the local authorities will be found in the end to effect a greater saving. The ecclesiastical opposition is a great temptation to advocates; and it is against all law for judges to be excommunicated for the punishment of contumacious clerks. Moreover, the king has a divine grant of judicial independence.

All this is eminently sensible, and shows Dubois at his best as a sharp-witted lawyer. His method of abridging lawsuits, which he proposes in both of his larger treatises,

[39] *De Recup.* § 135. He gives his own experience, which, as Langlois remarks, shows that he must have been very rich. 'Ego scriptor presentium scio me quolibet anno, facta collatione, postquam ceperunt mutari pecunie, quingentas libras turonensium amisisse.' This may well account for the increase of numbers in the advocate's profession (*Hist. Litt.* xxiv. 360).

[40] *Bibliothèque*, pp. 287–307. For the legists who encouraged the study of civil law, see *Hist. Litt.* xxiv. 465–467. And for Philip's attitude towards judicial matters, cp. Rigault, *Le Procès de Guichard, Évêque de Troyes* (1308–1313), especially p. 246.

is more original. 'A great public evil,' he says, 'can be found in the realm (and be destroyed by the same) in the increase and lengthening of lawsuits, by which, since the ordinary means of livelihood are taken away, men slay and devour each other like fishes of the sea.'[41] The remedy is simple. Instead of the wearisome process of making depositions, hearing witnesses and the speeches of counsel, let it all be done in writing, as briefly as is possible, in a set form of words.[42] The judges would thus have better control over the case, and put a stop to the proceedings when they were satisfied, and the parties could plead their cause with more clearness and brevity. The scheme is drastic enough in its simplicity. But its interest lies rather in the fact that there could be no clearer proof of the modern nature of Dubois. Or better, it shows how mistaken is the vulgar notion of the Middle Ages as a time series of spectacular display. We really love pageants and processions and ceremony now, as much as our ancestors did; circumstances alone slowly work against us. And, on the other hand, there were impatient men then, as there are now, who would sweep away for the sake of convenience the cumbrous forms endeared to men by the sentiment of time, although it is time which they have done much to waste. Dubois urges his scheme, not only because it will save much travelling and expense and useless labour to litigants and advocates, but because it would avoid all the little tricks of the trade which influence so much. All the *squalor et sordes*, the tones of the voice, the gestures and attitudes that cannot be written down, the speeches that are nothing when they are read, would be got rid of; and justice would be cheaply got, rightly administered, and speedily executed.

IV. Such are the great reforms which should precede or maintain a time of peace. The rest are too familiar to us to need repetition. The reform of monasteries, both of monks and nuns, especially in Burgundy[43] (§§ 30–32, 102);

[41] *De Abreviatione* (Langlois, 74, note).

[42] For this and what follows, see *De Recup.* §§ 90–98. For legal procedure at this time, Langlois refers to the monographs of M. Tardif.

[43] For the state of the monasteries in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, cp. the visitations of the saintly Rigaud, Archbishop of Rouen, and the reports concerning the Cluniac houses (*Bibliothèque*, 1846, pp. 478–499; 1877,

the spoliation of the Italian cities; restriction in the use of the ecclesiastical ban, of which he has a proper and holy terror (§ 4), although he naïvely remarks that the *pena temporalis* is more feared, are all dwelt upon by Dubois. He advises the suppression of religious houses which are not conventual, with the preservation of a single chaplain for the benefit of the neighbourhood (§54); and he deals with the friars in his usual spirit of tender respect. They are merely warned not to attempt too much for their spiritual strength, and the writer recommends that the Church should provide necessaries for them (§ 102 at end). But his greatest care is the state of the Church, and his survey of abuses is interesting if only for its completeness.[44] We can only dwell for a short space upon his one great reform. The appeal for a general council is but the echo of a cry which resounds through the Middle Ages. His desire to see all the temporalities of the Church abolished is much bolder.[45] As things stand, philosophy and theology are deserted for the lawsuits these necessitate. The Holy Father and his servants in Christ must be rescued and put in a position where they will not seek to lay up treasure, nor withdraw themselves from due anxiety for spiritual things. All Church lands should be given into lay hands in perpetual *emphyteusis* in return for a fixed sum sufficient to prevent want. The patrimony of St. Peter may be given into the charge of the King of France, and he, as is explained in the second part of the work, will appoint a senator of Rome and receive the homage of those who hold of the Pope, such as the King of England.[46]

pp. 114–127; 1891, pp. 64–74, especially p. 68). Rigaud (ib. 1846, p. 497) mentions the dancing and loose demeanour of the nuns.

[44] Thus he remembers to mention the number of the servants in episcopal houses (*De Recup.* § 45: 'per hanc provisionem sufficiet aliquibus prelatis dare robas quatuor domicellis, qui viginti vel pluribus robas cum multis aliis impensis dare consueverunt'). One is reminded of Frederick II., who provided for all things, from the administration of justice to his maids' underclothing.

[45] *De Recuperatione*, passim, especially §§ 40–50.

[46] Ibid. § 116. Dubois says several things incidentally which show his interest in England. One of the most curious is his assertion in the *De Abreviatione* (*Bibliothèque*, 1846, p. 294) that when the King of England, as frequently happens, is condemned to satisfy one who pleads against him in his own court he has to pay 100 marks of silver, to be distributed in alms. This, which is supposed to prove the fact of papal supremacy, cannot of course be true as it stands. Cp. Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, i. 501.

He sums up the effect in a passage typical of his hortatory style (§ 46):

If this come to pass the whole republic of those who worship Christ will set up in their sight but one end; and that will they seek and direct all their energies to attain; thereto will they order and dispose themselves, fleeing all contrary things. All things shall be ordained which tend to the increase and exaltation of the Christian faith; and this accords with reason, 'for,' says the Philosopher, 'the world is one, as an army is one.' And an army is called one by the unity of its ranks, for the end which is sought, desired, and put forward by the captain is victory. And every man in the host should put this aim before him, and strive to gain this end with all his might; which if he do aright, he will scarce ever be robbed of that which he has willed and had in mind. In the same way should the world be ordained to one sole end—to Him who is the most high founder of heaven and earth and all that is therein. As Boethius says, all men seek this end, but many go astray and do ill, for they seek it in taverns and brothels, in theft and rapine, in simony and other forbidden things: they err as would those who sought fish on the mountain, or beasts in the sea. He finds this end, who seeks it where it is; therefore they who are perfect among men, or who ought to be, such as prelates, should seek it not in war and suits, least of all in civil wranglings, but in the word and doctrine of Holy Writ, in sermons and exercises which promote an active life, so that they may live the life of Mary and Martha. Let them seek after what the Philosopher calls the joy which is both of contemplation and service. And if they are inclined to return to worldly disputes and occupations, let them be met with the word which the Saviour spake for such: 'No man, having put his hand to the plough and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.'

Dubois used the recovery of the Holy Land as More used Utopia, as a means for giving many a shrewd blow and pointing out many a clever improvement. It is not necessary to believe in his ostensible ideal or exaggerate his moral purpose. But he saw at least the distinction between Catholicism and the Papacy, and discerned that the latter was best maintained by cleaving to the spirit of the former.

V. When every precaution has been taken against them, disputes will arise somehow, and some way of settling them must be found, which shall not interrupt the enterprises of Christendom. Dubois proposes arbitration, and his plan is worthy of our own day. A General Council, which then took the place of the modern system of nomination and representation, shall, by means of a board of arbitrators, set

up a tribunal of three prelates as judges. These, together with six advocates, three for each side, honourable and rich beyond probability of corruption, shall be solemnly sworn. They shall investigate the grounds of the petition and defence, lay aside what is not to the point, and examine depositions. At least two men, sworn and faithful and true, shall be present to hear witnesses. The depositions are to be strictly guarded; learned and skilful assessors are to be allowed at the time of judgment: and appeal may be made to the Supreme Pontiff for the time being (§ 12). This is not a bad forecast of clause 23 of the Hague Convention.

Dubois rapidly sketches his plans for the enterprise itself, the route to be followed by the expedition, the organisation of the forces into fixed divisions, centuries, and companies (§ 23), and so on. The Templars and Hospitalers, of course, must be despoiled—their great wealth will be most useful (§§ 14, 15). The chartered company has done its work now that a systematic imperial policy has been developed. Each contributor must be stirred up to provide more men and money, the former, it is curious to note, 'clothed with like garments, that is, horsemen after their fashion, and foot after theirs; armed also in the same way, and with the banner of the lord who sends them.'[47] Resting-places, with accommodation for the wounded and weary, must be set up in various parts of the Holy Land (§ 20).

When the men retire weak or wounded from the field of battle, they will quickly recover by the aid of the doctors and surgeons who tend them, through the watchful care which will be taken of them, the rest from pain, and other benefits. Through the hope inspired by the ease and nursing among their own people, they will get better much more quickly. And they will return strengthened to the ranks, nerved to greater confidence and courage by their escape.

There is not space in which to treat of the general characteristics of Dubois, his sublime ignorance of scholastic

[47] *De Recup.* § 16. Uniform was unknown in the mediæval world and till the seventeenth century. We read, however, that during the Flemish war (1302) Ypres sent to the battle of Courtrai 500 men-of arms clothed in red and 700 crossbowmen with black corselets. For a similar example on a larger scale, see the letter of Antonio Bavarin to the Pesari, April 1513, in Rawdon Brown, *State Papers, Venetian*, ii. 98.

differences, his credulity, his lack of poetic sense,[48] his commonplace quotations, drawn apparently from some book *ad usum pauperum*, like the 'Thousand and One Gems from the Poets,' or the 'Gleanings from Shakespeare,' familiar to us. All these traits and many more have been excellently dealt with by M. Langlois.[49] On the other hand, we may note his eagerness to learn, his interest in everything up to date, his sturdy common sense and legal analytical skill. His common sense, indeed, helps him to solve difficulties and ignore inconsistencies which would have baffled a more thoughtful man. We may take one or two examples.

It will be remembered how Dubois warned the mendicant orders against striving too much for poverty. In the same chapter and elsewhere[50] he addresses a similar warning to the celibate clergy. He dare not deny that celibacy is the perfect state, but he sees that it produces more harm than good. He suggests a compromise like the Stoic division of virtues and the Manichean gradations of holiness. We are good enough, he says, if we obey God's commands (*mandata*) creditably, but it is almost fatal to fail in obedience to his counsels (*consilia*). The more perfect state advised by God should not be chosen unless the candidate feels confident of success. He recommends the safer life, lest celibates be like sheep left by a wood, which enter during the shepherd's absence, and are devoured by the wolf. The timidity and caution of this doctrine would stir the hottest anger of such men as Browning and Robert Louis Stevenson, but the compromise in its frank utilitarianism is exquisitely modern.

Dubois' use of the theory of experience is more interesting. He got it from Roger Bacon and resorts to it in every difficulty.[51] He sees that a slavish adherence to the past makes us reluctant to see its faults, and suspicious of reforms.

[48] He quotes about five lines altogether in the *De Recup.*, and attributes some from Virgil and Ovid to the author he got them from (§ 59).

[49] *De Recup.* pp. xv–xx.

[50] § 132; cp. § 61 and note.

[51] It is instructive to note in this connection how he is influenced in his views by Aristotle's *Politics* (cp. especially § 132). This work was not taught only by Siger de Brabant. Gilles de Rome, a partisan of the Pope, and tutor to Philip the Fair, had prepared a book, *De Regimine Principum*, for his young charge, based on ancient ideas (*Hist. Litt.* xxiv. 462). And cp. Rashdall, op. cit. i. 440.

Experience teaches us to overcome this fault. We must remember the warning of the civil law: *Non est respiciendum quid Rome factum est, sed quid fieri debuisset.* Years later Guicciardini brought forward the same criticism against Machiavelli.[52] And although Dubois points out that in a well-governed State *non est exemplis sed legibus judicandum,* he defends his attack on Church lands against the example of 'many holy fathers' by showing that laws are not made to last for ever.

> Does not Averroes say that the Arabs have suffered many evils because of their belief that laws are laws always, and in no case to be abrogated? And was not the whole civil law determined with a view to the right and fitting? One could find hardly a thing in this world that should be right and fitting in all places, at all seasons, among all persons. And so the laws and statutes of men are changed as place, time, and persons change. That this should be so has been taught by many philosophers, since expediency plainly demands it; yea, the Lord and Master of all sciences, of the holy fathers, and of philosophers, that he might teach us to do likewise without fear, changed much in the New Testament which He had commanded in the Old.[53]

The full significance of such words was unfelt by the writer, but this, like many other passages, shows how open was his mind and how unbiassed his outlook. That it could be written by one who prided himself on his orthodoxy and obedience is a curious commentary on the usual conception of the Middle Ages.

We can, perhaps, best appreciate the freshness of this work by considering the chief topics of interest in Europe in our own day. We have lately been seeking for a means to procure universal peace. Different views are still held on the temporal power of the Papacy (though Dubois' vision has been realised); the debate on the relations between the spiritual and temporal powers is still going on. We have got far beyond the mediæval world in educational matters, but their problems are still unsolved, especially those of women's education. Many object to-day to the teaching of

[52] Guicciardini, *Opere inedite*, i. 61.

[53] *De Recup.* § 48, which cp. carefully with § 132. We are reminded of Mill's criticism of the philosophy of the eighteenth century, 'in which it was customary to claim representative democracy for England or France by arguments which would equally have proved it the only fit form of government for Bedouins or Malays.' (*Representative Government*, 1861, p. 36.)

medicine to the female sex. We have text-books, indeed, but how far from the ideal! There are still a few fanatics who clamour for abbreviated lawsuits; and there are few who do not hold favourite and original views on military tactics and organisation. The problems are slightly different, the subjects are the same. Dubois was interested in them all, though he lived six hundred years ago.

This imperfect sketch will have done its work if it should teach some of us to think of the Middle Ages a little more as we have begun to think of ancient times—as beset by the same difficulties as we are, seeking to meet them in the same spirit.

F. M. POWICKE.

APPENDIX

The following list of Dubois' writings is compiled merely to show in what diverse subjects the legist interested himself. Renan's is the best bibliography (*Histoire Littéraire*, xxvi.), and should be supplemented by Langlois' criticisms (*De Recup.* passim). It will be seen that some of the following topics have not even been mentioned in the foregoing essay.

1300.—Summaria brevis et compendiosa Doctrina felicis Expeditionis et Abreviationis Guerrarum ac Litium Regni Francorum. [Usually known as 'De Abreviatione.' It is analysed by Wailly in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1846 (2nd series, iii. pp. 273–315), and Langlois gives the most important passages of the original in his notes.]

1302, Jan.—Raciones inconvincibiles [*De Recuperatione*, § 111. It is identified by Renan with the *Deliberatio*, but is dismissed by Langlois (p. 100, note) as lost.]

April.—†Deliberatio super agendis a Philippo.

†Supplication du Peuple de France au Roi contre Boniface [French].

1304.—Libellus super Abreviatione. [*De Recup.* § 117. Langlois (p. 107, note) regards this as a lost *résumé* of the earlier work.]

1306 (?).—De Recuperatione Terre Sancte. [An enlarged edition in 1308: see Appendix to Langlois' edition, § 2.]

1308.—*Three popular invectives against the Templars.

*Memoir to Philip the Fair to induce him to be elected Emperor, by Clement V., entitled 'Pro Facto Sancte Terre.'

Memoir for foundation of an Eastern Empire. [Printed by Langlois—Appendix.]

1313.—De Torneamentis et Justis [summarised, with historical preface, in *Revue historique*, xli. pp. 84–91].

Two or three other pieces, printed by Dupuy and Boutaric, including †'Questio de Potestate Pape,' are attributed to Dubois by Renan, but rejected by Langlois.

* *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, xx., 2nd part.
† Dupuy, *Histoire du Différend*: Preuves.

VII

DID RICHARD II. MURDER THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER?

Duchess.—What shall I say? To safeguard thine own life,
The best way is to venge my Gloucester's death.
Gaunt.—God's is the quarrel; for God's substitute,
His deputy anointed in His sight,
Hath caused his death.
Richard II., Act i. Scene 2.

In the autumn of the year of grace 1397, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of Edward III., died in prison at Calais under circumstances, to say the least, highly suspicious. Unexpectedly arrested some two months before for offences ten years old, and closely interned in a fortress oversea, under the care of one openly identified with Richard's policy of vengeance, Gloucester vanished from the scene on the very eve of the Parliament in which he was to have been tried, and after manifestations of popular sympathy and indignation which would have made his appearance at Westminster to the last degree dangerous to the vengeful King. His removal fell too pat with the royal interests, its antecedents were too suggestive, not to throw the gravest doubt on the assertion of a natural death, and leave an impression upon men's minds that the unhappy Gloucester had been foully murdered by his nephew's orders. This impression seemed amply confirmed when two years later, after Richard's downfall and deposition, a certain John Hall, formerly in the service of the Earl Marshal, Gloucester's custodian at Calais, confessed to having been present at the murder of the duke, and gave a circumstantial account of the crime. Some time in September—he did not mention the exact day—his master informed him that he had instructions

from the King to murder Gloucester, and that he must take part. After some resistance, he alleged, Hall was taken to the church of Notre-Dame and sworn to secrecy along with certain of his fellow-servants and several members of the Earl of Rutland's household. From the church they went to a house called the Prince's Inn, whither Gloucester was presently brought, taken into an inner chamber, and smothered under a feather-bed. Hall declared that his part in the deed was confined to guarding the door of the house.

Hall's story, entered on the Rolls of Parliament and accepted without question by the Lancastrian chroniclers, formed the basis of Shakespeare's certitude on the subject of Richard's guilt. The majority of modern historians take the same view, but one or two more cautious than the rest have insisted that, however suspicious the circumstances, conclusive proof is wanting. Hall's confession, they urge, would be more convincing if its author had been publicly examined before he was hurried out of the world. More than one contemporary writer too, it is pointed out, in no way concerned to exculpate Richard, speaks of Gloucester as being very ill when arrested. Dr. Lingard doubted whether Henry IV. could really prove the charge,[1] and the late Bishop Stubbs came to the conclusion that 'it is not clear that Gloucester was murdered.'[2]

In the absence of any fresh document or chronicle it might appear rash to dispute so well weighed a judgment, and hopeless to attempt to throw further light upon this perplexing episode of a perplexing reign. There are, however, some curious particulars in the story of Gloucester's last days, as it may be deduced from the evidence long accessible to every student, which seem to have entirely escaped notice until the present writer briefly drew attention to them in a life of 'Thomas of Woodstock,' contributed to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Unless he is much mistaken, they furnish the missing clue, and put Richard's guilt beyond all reasonable doubt. The new and damning fact which it

[1] *History of England*, iii. 365.
[2] *Constitutional Hist. of England*, ii. 496.

is hoped to establish is that *Gloucester's death was publicly announced towards the end of August* 1397, although there is incontestable evidence that he was alive and in fair health a fortnight later, evidence which, we shall show, Richard carefully concealed. If this be proved it becomes clear (1) that the King had early decided that his uncle must die before the meeting of Parliament on September 17; and (2) that he was anxious to allay as far as possible the suspicions of foul play which the announcement of Gloucester's death could not fail to arouse. In the excited state of public feeling Richard dared not bring his prisoner before Parliament for trial by his peers. Yet, should Gloucester be alive when the Houses assembled, he could not be denied a privilege secured to every Englishman by the great charter of his liberties. From the horns of this dilemma there was but one way of escape unless Gloucester in the meantime died a natural death. But though he was, as has been seen, believed to have been seriously ill when thrown into prison, the possibility of a death from natural causes is practically excluded by the fact that he was living, and to all appearance well, a week before the meeting of the Parliament, in which his gaoler, the Earl Marshal, officially reported his death. It is rendered far more improbable by the discovery that he was given out to be dead at least a fortnight before the event actually happened. Even if Gloucester had been stricken with a mortal disease, how could Richard have been certain that he would die within the required time? That the duke was murdered seems, therefore, as certain as anything can be which depends upon indirect proof. Assuming that Richard did not shrink from violence, his motive for antedating the death is sufficiently obvious. He might commit murder, but he could not safely admit it. He was bound to suggest that his victim had died a natural death, a suggestion to which Gloucester's illness in July lent some colour. Who would have believed, however, that the duke died in the ordinary course of nature had the world been informed that his death took place a few days before Parliament met? Having been led to suppose that he had been dead nearly a month, its suspicions were to some extent disarmed, and it

was prevented from learning the truth by an unblushing manipulation of official records. But why, it may be asked, was this manipulation made necessary? If Richard burnt his boats by announcing the death at the end of August, should we not expect him to have had the deed done at once instead of leaving it until the eleventh hour? This is a real difficulty, but it will be well to defer the consideration of the probable reasons for the respite until we have proved that it was granted. The story of the deception practised upon Parliament and the nation to support the suggestion of a natural death is so extraordinary that it deserves to be told at length.

The prologue to the story passes at Gloucester's castle of Pleshy, in Essex, which had come to him with his wife, the elder coheiress of the ancient Norman family of Bohun. At daybreak on Wednesday, July 11, the duke was roused from his bed, and put under arrest by the King in person at the head of a large armed force with which he had made a night march from London. According to the St. Albans chronicler, who gives the fullest account of what happened, Gloucester, when the blow fell, was lying seriously ill[3] and suspecting no evil.[4] But, as his relations with the King had been strained of late, and he had excused himself from obeying a royal summons to London on the plea of ill-health,[5] it is possible that he scented danger and took refuge in a diplomatic illness.

Gloucester's arrest was the first step in Richard's belated revenge on the man who ten years before had played the part of Jeroboam to his nephew's Rehoboam. Gloucester it was who took the lead in withdrawing the reins of government from the spendthrift Richard's hands in the 'Wonderful Parliament' of 1386, raised an armed league against him when he resumed them in 1387, threatened him with the fate of his grandfather Edward II., drove his minister Suffolk and his favourite Vere into lifelong exile, and executed

[3] 'Graviter infirmatus,' *Annales Ricardi II.* p. 202; so too the Monk of Evesham, *Vita Regis Ricardi II.* p. 130.

[4] 'Eo tempore captus, arestatus, et abductus, quo Regem sibi amicissimum fuisse putabat,' *Annales*, p. 206.

[5] Monk of Evesham, p. 129.

his old tutor Sir Simon Burley with others of his friends in the 'Merciless Parliament' of 1388. The earls of Arundel and Warwick, who had been most closely associated with Gloucester as Lords Appellant in these proceedings, were already under arrest.

This old wound had indeed been long supposed to be closed. Richard, on recovering control of the executive in 1389, pardoned the Appellants and reformed his methods of government. The world believed him resolved to let bygones be bygones. If they were wholly mistaken, if Richard was playing a part all these long years and only biding his time until he could destroy his former opponents, the 'simulator callidissimus' of the chronicler [6] will but feebly express the depth of his perfidy. But in spite of much evidence to support this reading of his conduct, we ought not to exclude entirely the possibility that a series of new provocations culminating in a petition from the Parliament of January 1397, which seemed to foreshadow a repetition of the *coup d'état* of 1386, threw Richard's ill-balanced, perhaps diseased, mind into a state of fury and alarm, in which he determined, as he told the Emperor Manuel, 'to trample on their proud necks and crush them not merely in the bark but in the root.' He had never, indeed, concealed his dislike of the doings of the Wonderful and Merciless Parliaments, and had already made more than one attempt to undo part of their work. Reprisals so thorough-going as the arrest of the three lords portended were, however, calculated to cause such widespread alarm that on July 15, four days after Gloucester's incarceration, the King sought to allay it by issuing a proclamation in which he disclaimed any intention of raking up these old scores, and declared that they were arrested for their 'extortions and oppressions' and other proceedings against his 'regalia et regia majestas,' subsequent to the 'meetings and ridings' of ten years before.[7]

These assurances inspired no confidence, and a fortnight

[6] *Annales*, p. 202.

[7] *Foedera*, viii. 6; *Annales*, pp. 202, 206. The vagueness of the new offences attributed to them shows that nothing was known of the treasonable plot by which Richard's French apologists afterwards accounted for their arrest. See the *Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux*, pp. 3–7.

later orders had to be sent to the justices of the peace of Essex, Sussex, Kent, and Surrey, in which Gloucester's and Arundel's chief estates lay, to throw into prison all who criticised the arrests and endeavoured to rouse the people against the King.[8]

Alarmed by the storm he had raised, Richard now removed for greater security to Nottingham, where, on August 5, arrangements were made for the trial of the three lords in a Parliament which was summoned to meet on Monday, September 17.[9] In the meantime he took measures to pack the new House of Commons and get together an armed force sufficiently large to overawe London and the home counties. Yet public feeling was so excited that, with all these precautions, it would have been running a dangerous risk to have produced his uncle for trial; and if one may argue from the choice of Calais as a prison, he had never intended to incur it. With Arundel and Warwick the danger might be faced, but Gloucester, besides being the most popular man in England at the time, was of the blood royal. The feelings of his brother John of Gaunt, who was to preside over the trial, must be considered. On the other hand, to ask for judgment against Gloucester *in absentia* could only have been regarded as a damaging admission of weakness. There was but one way out of this *impasse*: to meet the demand for Gloucester's production by an intimation that he was no longer alive to be produced.

Assuming, for the reasons already referred to and to be presently discussed at greater length, that the duke did not extricate Richard from his difficulty by dying a natural death, there was no royal prison in which his removal by violence could be effected with greater secrecy than the castle at Calais. His gaoler, too, stood in a position which made it hard for him to resist the King's will. Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal of England and Earl of Nottingham, had himself been a Lord Appellant in 1388, and though he had since

[8] *Foedera*, viii. 7. The author of the *Annales* adds (p. 207) that throughout the kingdom processions were made and prayers offered on behalf of the three lords, and that Richard forbade the clergy to hold such processions.

[9] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 374.

risen high in the royal favour and drifted far apart from his old associates, his exemption from the fate Richard had prepared for them depended on his continued submission to the King's desires. There is some reason to believe, as will afterwards appear, that he did not yield without resistance, but he was between the devil and the deep sea.

As Richard intended to have sentence passed upon his uncle without presenting him for trial, Gloucester was induced to make a confession. Sir William Rickhill, a justice of the Common Pleas, was sent to Calais to receive it. Rickhill, an Irishman whom Richard raised to the bench in 1389 in place of one of the judges intruded by the Lords Appellant in the previous year, gave a very brief and colourless account of a remarkable experience to the Parliament of September 1397.[10] When afterwards called upon by the first Parliament of Henry IV. to explain his conduct, he was much more explicit.[11] He told the following story:

At midnight on Wednesday, September 5, he was roused from his slumbers at his house at Essingham in Kent by a royal messenger, one John Mulsho, who handed to him a mysterious order dated nearly three weeks before, instructing him, under pain of forfeiture, to accompany the Earl Marshal to Calais and do what he should tell him.[12]

Acting under verbal instructions from Mulsho, he went to Dover, and on the morning of Friday, the 7th, crossed to Calais, whither the Earl Marshal had preceded him. At the hour of vespers the same day he was taken from his lodging at the house of a Lombard woollen merchant to the earl's hostel. Up to this point he was absolutely in the dark as to what was required of him. This was the truth, he averred,

[10] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 378.

[11] Ibid. iii. 431.

[12] 'Ricardus, Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie, dilecto et fideli suo Willelmo Rikhyll, salutem. Quibusdam certis de causis Nos specialiter moventibus, vobis, in fide et ligeantia quibus Nobis tenemini et sub forisfactura omnium que Nobis forisfacere poteritis, injungimus et mandamus, quod vos in propria persona vestra versus Villam nostram Calesie, in comitiva carissimi consanguinei nostri Thome Comitis Marescall' et Notyngham, Capitanei Ville nostrae praedicte, divertatis, et ibidem faciatis et expleatis omnia et singula que vobis per praedictum Comitem ex parte nostra injungentur. Et hoc sub forisfactura antedicta nullatenus omittatis. Teste Meipso apud Wodestok, xvii. die Augusti anno regni nostri vicesimo primo.'—*Rot. Parl.* iii. 431.

'as he would answer to God.' Now, and now only, the Earl Marshal delivered to him a commission from the King, which bore the same date (August 17) as the order which had brought him to Calais, commanding him to hold an interview with the Duke of Gloucester and carefully report under his seal what he should say to him.[13] The perusal of this order filled Rickhill, so he declared, with astonishment, for a reason which will appear later. It contains the clue to the game that Richard was playing.

Between five and six o'clock on Saturday morning (September 8), Rickhill was admitted into the castle, and three hours later into Gloucester's presence. In the room were a number of the duke's attendants, of whom he was able to recall five by name. Realising the delicate nature of his commission, he had refused to see Gloucester without responsible witnesses, and Nottingham had assigned him two esquires, John Lovetot and John Lancaster, to act in this capacity. In their presence Rickhill read his instructions to the duke, deprecated his displeasure for his own agency in the affair, and begged him to put what he had to say in writing and keep a copy. He then went back to the town, but returning to the castle late in the evening was again given audience of the duke in the presence of Lovetot, Lancaster, and a clerk who had written the nine articles which Gloucester had ready to deliver to him. After reading the confession in the hearing of the three witnesses, the duke handed it to Rickhill to take to the King, keeping a copy for himself. He admitted in addition by word of mouth that, when Richard appealed to

[13] 'Ricardus, Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie, dilecto et fideli suo Willelmo Rikhyll, salutem. Sciatis, quod quibusdam certis de causis assignavimus vos, ad vos versus Villam nostram Calesii divertendum, et Colloquium cum Thoma Duce Gloucestrie ibidem existente habendum, ipsumque de omnibus et singulis quae vobis dicere sive exponere voluerit audiendum, et Nobis inde ac de toto facto vestro in hac parte, in propria persona nostra ubicumque Nos fore contigerit, sub sigillo vestro distincte et aperte certificandum, una cum hoc brevi. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod circa praemissa diligenter intendatis, et ea faciatis et exequamini in forma praedicta. Damus autem Capitaneo nostro Ville praedicte, necnon universis et singulis fidelibus et subditis nostris, tenore praesentium firmiter in mandatis quod vobis in executione praemissorum intendentes sint prout decet. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste Meipso apud Wodestok, xvii° die Augusti, anno regni nostri vicesimo primo. Per ipsum Regem.'—*Foedera*, viii. 13 (from *Rot. Pat.* 21 Ric. II. p. 2, m. 18 d); *Rot. Parl.* iii. 378.

him in 1388 to spare Sir Simon Burley's life, he had retorted that, if he wished to remain king, Burley must die. Finally he begged Rickhill to pay him another visit on the morrow, in case he should remember any omission. But on presenting himself at the castle gates next morning the judge was told that he could not be admitted. Two days later he recrossed the Channel, and, fearing that the documents might be tampered with, took the precaution of obtaining an exemplification under the Great Seal of the confession along with his commission to take it and his certificate of having done so.[14] He produced this exemplification in the Parliament of 1399, when it was no doubt compared with the originals under his own seal in the national archives. He himself urged that it should be confronted with the copy Gloucester had retained, which had passed into the custody of Peter de Courtenay, the Earl Marshal's successor as Captain of Calais.[15] Without, apparently, thinking it necessary to interrogate his witnesses,[16] the lords unanimously exonerated Rickhill from all blame.

Did they allow themselves to be hoodwinked by a plausible Irishman with a talent for mendacious invention? The genuineness of the confession, at all events, cannot be impugned. Though unattested by Gloucester's seal or signature, it is not at all the kind of thing that would have been invented for him. Richard was so far from dictating it that he gave, as we shall see, the most unequivocal proof of his dissatisfaction with its terms. Rickhill's account of his interview with Gloucester may also be accepted without demur; but was he such an unprepared and unwilling agent as he seeks to represent? On the face of it, his obvious anxiety to repel the suggestion that he had voluntarily accepted a commission to take Gloucester's confession may be thought a little suspicious. The fact that he apparently owed his elevation to the bench eight years before to the King might

[14] The exemplification is entered on the Patent Roll of the 21st year, part 1, membrane 3.

[15] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 432.

[16] Lovetot, according to Hall's confession, was implicated in Gloucester's murder (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 453). Lancaster seems to have been alive as late as 1408 (Wylie, *Hist. of Henry IV.* ii. 89, note).

raise a further doubt. The story of Mulsho's[17] midnight visit, again, presents some difficulties. The royal order instructing Rickhill to accompany the Earl Marshal to Calais which Mulsho is alleged to have brought to Essingham does not appear to have been enrolled, and in fact the sole authority for it is Rickhill's own statement. The only writ he produced in Parliament on his return from Calais was that ordering him to hold an interview with Gloucester (which is properly enrolled), and this alone appears in the exemplification which he obtained for his own protection. On these grounds, and because of the identity of date and the threat of forfeiture which the former contains, Mr. Hubert Hall, who has most kindly checked my examination of this and other documents in the Public Record Office and furnished valuable suggestions and corrections, would reject the first writ, and therewith the whole story that hangs upon it, as the invention of a man who found himself in a very tight corner.

But is one really bound to accept the conclusion that Rickhill was an ingenious liar and forger? True, the mystery and secrecy with which Rickhill's mission, if he is to be believed, was surrounded, all the business of midnight messengers and order within order would sound improbable enough if their only object was to overcome the scruples of an upright and cautious judge to 'hold a colloquy' with a prisoner of state and report 'what he chose to say or express,' —for the nature of the statement Gloucester was to make is not, be it remarked, precisely indicated in the order which Rickhill avers to have been so carefully held back until the last moment. Perhaps, however, the case is not so simple. What if Rickhill's errand involved the disclosure to him of a state secret which threw a lurid light upon the fate prepared for the unhappy Gloucester? If this were so it would surely be natural to defer imparting this secret to him until it was too late for him to refuse to mix himself up in so perilous an affair. When the Earl Marshal handed him the second

[17] A John Mulsho, of a Northamptonshire family, was knight of the shire for that county in 1388–90, and had just been returned in the same capacity to the packed House of Commons which was to meet in a few days (*Return of Members of Parliament*, i. 235–240, 256).

order at Calais, Rickhill, it will be remembered, was astounded by its contents. Why? The answer is that he had learnt from it the state secret of which he had hitherto been kept in ignorance. What this secret was will appear by-and-by.

Assuming that Rickhill could not be safely informed of the nature of his mission until he reached Calais, the first order—that conveyed by Mulsho—was necessary in order to get him there. The secrecy observed becomes intelligible if there were state reasons for not drawing public attention to his journey across the Channel. Similar considerations will perhaps sufficiently account for the non-enrolment of the first order. If, as seems possible, it was an after-thought, its absence from the rolls need not excite surprise.[18]

Rickhill's knowledge of the secret helps to explain the care he took to do everything in the presence of witnesses and to obtain an official sealed copy of the documents he put in. Again, if we have correctly divined what was going on behind the scenes, new light is thrown upon Rickhill's anxiety to convince his judges in 1399 that he reached Calais in ignorance of what was required of him. It was essential to show that it was without forewarning, and only under conditions amounting to restraint, that he had consented to take the confession of a man whom he knew to be already unjudicially sentenced to death. Lastly, if there was no such secret as we have supposed, the King's proceedings in the Parliament which met a week after Rickhill's return from Calais are totally unintelligible. The session opened on Monday, September 17; Arundel was condemned and executed for his share in the 'meetings and ridings' of ten years before; and then, on Friday, the 21st, a royal order commanded the Earl Marshal to produce his prisoner for trial by Parliament.[19] He returned answer that he was unable to produce the duke, as he was dead (*pro eo quod mortuus est*). He made no mention of the date of his death. Was Parliament left

[18] For anything suspicious in the coincidence of date of the two writs, Richard, not Rickhill, must probably be held responsible. See below, p. 213. As for the threats of forfeiture in case of non-compliance which the first writ contains, it was a common enough form in contemporary royal orders. Cf. e.g. *Foedera*, viii. 7.

[19] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 375.

entirely in the dark on this point, and if not, when did they suppose it to have occurred? Owing to the fact that Gloucester's confession is given in full with its date in the record of his subsequent condemnation contained in the printed Rolls of Parliament,[20] modern writers have always assumed that the Houses were quite aware that the duke had come by his end between the 8th and the 21st of September.

Had they been allowed to know this, however, they could hardly have come to any other conclusion than that he had been murdered. Richard took care not to make so damaging an admission. This can be proved from an official document whose real character has hitherto been misapprehended. It is well known that Rickhill's caution in obtaining an attested copy of Gloucester's confession was justified by the event. For, as he told his judges in 1399, 'part of the said articles which pleased the King were read (in Parliament), and part of them which were contrary to his intent and purpose were not read, nor known.'[21] But no one seems to have been aware that a record of the actual omissions has been preserved. The editors of the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* printed the confession, with Rickhill's commission and certificate of execution, not from the roll of the trial, but from the originals under his seal, 'placed improperly in one of the Rolls of Parliament of the eleventh of King Richard II.'[22] They noted, however, the existence among the rolls of the twenty-first year (1397) of 'another very faulty copy.'[23] On examination this proves to be something more than an imperfect copy,

[20] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 378. [21] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 432. Cf. *Annales*, p. 221.

[22] *Rot. Parl.* 11 Ric. II. pt. 2, dupl. (= *Rot. Parl.* No. 52, P.R.O.). The presence of these documents on this early roll is not so accidental as seems to be suggested. The body of the roll contains (*a*) the Bill of Appeal against Gloucester, Arundel, etc. in 1397 (printed in *Rot. Parl.* iii. 374–7); (*b*) a copy of the Bill of Appeal which they had brought against Robert de Vere and others in 1388 (ibid. iii. 229 sqq.). The roll was, I suggest, made up in 1397. The later appeal is carefully drawn up on the lines of the earlier. It affords a good illustration of Richard's determination to hoist the former appellants with their own petard. A possible explanation of its being placed among the rolls of the eleventh rather than those of the twenty-first year will be found in his natural desire to put out of the way the authentic form of a confession which he had not dared to publish in full. So long, indeed, as the original confession and three complete copies of it remained in existence, he ran the risk of its real date ultimately becoming known beyond the official circle. But his main concern was to tide over the immediate crisis without discovery.

[23] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 378, note.

no less indeed than the garbled version of which Rickhill afterwards complained.[24] Rickhill's commission, dated August 17, to 'hold a colloquy' with Gloucester is given in full; but his certificate of execution and the confession, which follow, are both mutilated. The character of the omissions will perhaps be most clearly conveyed by printing the original version [25] with the omitted passages in italics.

Thys is the answere of William Rikhill to the commission of hys liege loord.[26]

Thomas duk of Gloucestre, be the name Thomas of Wodestoke, *the viii day of Septembre*, the yer of the Kyng Richard on and twenty, in the Castel of Caleys be vertu of a Commission of the Kyng, as it is more pleynleche declaryd in the same Commission directyd to William Rikhill Justice, hathe iknowe and confessyd tofore the same William alle the matires and poyntz iwrete in thys grete roule annexid to this cedule, the wheche cedule and grete roule beth asselid undir the sele of the forseyd William. *Ande the same day of Septembre* alle the matires and poyntz before iknowe and confessid be the fforesayde duk in the Castel of Caleys the fforsaide duk be his owne honde [27] fully and pleynly iwrete, delyverid

[24] The Roll of the Placita Coronae (i.e. of the proceedings against Arundel, Gloucester, &c.) for this year in which it occurs is duplicated. Duplicate I is numbered in the Public Record Office as *Rot. Parl.* No. 66; Duplicate II as *Rot. Parl.* No. 65. In both rolls the title on the cover Duplicate I (and II) has been erased and rewritten, as if some confusion as to which was the primary roll existed in the minds of the seventeenth-century clerks. This hesitation (and the modern numbering) is readily explained. No. 66 is for the most part the primary roll, but one of its membranes has somehow changed places with the corresponding membrane of No. 65. This transference, for whose discovery I am indebted to Mr. Hall, is proved by their endorsements and contents. Membrane 4 of No. 65 (which contains the proceedings against Gloucester) has the original writ (cut for seal) of September 21, ordering the Earl Marshal to produce Gloucester, attached to it *in cedula* with remains of his seal *in dorso* below his certificate of execution. In it alone is found a remarkable interpolation in a later hand, barring the duke's issue from bearing the royal arms or inheriting the crown for evermore, a fuller account of which is given at the end of this article (Appendix A, p. 215).

[25] From *Rot. Parl.* iii. 378–9, collated with the originals under Rickhill's seal, attached to *Rot. Parl.* 11 Ric. II. pt. 2, dupl. (see above, p. 204, note 22). The writ (which, though not strictly the original, as it is not cut for the seal, is attached by a contemporary leathern thong) has already been given (above p. 200, note 13). The confession is written on a single membrane in a large clerkly hand. It is not sealed or signed by Gloucester. The certificate of execution is attached *in cedula*.

[26] In the original this rubric is written *under*, not *above* the certificate.

[27] This was understood by Adam of Usk (*Chronicon*, p. 15), who was present in Parliament when the document was read, as an assertion that the confession was a holograph. But Rickhill, as already stated, distinctly declares that it was written by a clerk, and the character of the handwriting supports his credibility. The sentence above is awkwardly expressed, and I am inclined to insert a comma after 'honde.' Rickhill, I think, means that Gloucester

it to the same William Rikhill, in presence of Johan Lancastre and Johan Lovetot. And al that evere the forseyde William dede touchynge thys matere, it was ado in the presence of the forseyde Johan, and Johan, and in none othere manere.

I, Thomas of Woodestoke, *the viii day of Septembre*, the yeer of my lord the Kyng on and twenty, be the vertu of a Commission of my lord the Kyng the same yeer directed to William Rykhyll Justice, the which is comprehended more pleynly in the forseid Commission, knowleche that I was on wyth steryng of other men to assente to the makyng of a Commission.[28] In the which Commission I amonges others restreyned my lord of hys fredom, and took upon me amange other power real (i.e. royal), trewly naght knowing ne wyting that tyme that I dede ayeyns his estate ne his realtie, as I dede after and do now. And forasmuch as I knew afterward that I hadde do wronge, and taken upon me more than I owght to do, I submettede me to my lord and cryed hym mercy and grace, and yet do als lowlych and as mekely as any man may, and putte me heygh and lowe in his mercy and in his grace, as he that always hath been ful of mercy and of grace to all other.

Also, in that tyme that I came armed into my lordes presence and into his Palais, howsoever that I dede it for drede of my lyf, I knowleche for certain that I dede evyll and ayeyns his regalie and his estate: wherfor I submett me lowly and mekely into his mercy and to his grace.

Also, in that, that I took my lordes lettres [lr̄es] of his Messagers and opened hem ayeyns his leve, I knowleche that I dede evyll: wherfor I putt me lowly in his grace.

Also, in that, that I sclaundred my loorde, I knowleche that I dede evyll and wykkedly, in that, that I spake it unto hym in sclaunderous wyse in audience of other folk. But, by the wey that my sowle schall to, I mente none evyll therein. Nevertheless I wote and I knowleche that I dede evyll and unkunnyngelych: wherefor I submett me heygh and lowe in his grace.

Also, in that, that I among other communed *for feer of my lyf to yive up myn hommage to my lord, I knowleche wel that for certain that I among other communed* and asked of certeins clercs, whethir that we myght yive up our homage for drede of our lyves or non; and whethir that we as-

personally delivered the written confession to him, not that the duke wrote it himself. Both in 1397 and 1399 he was careful to inform Parliament that he received the document from Gloucester's own hands. On the former occasion, for instance, he said: 'Lequel Duc de Gloucestre lisa en escript la dite confession par son bouche propre, and *mesme la Confession bailla en escript a dit William Rickhill ove sa mayn propre.*' (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 379.)

[28] The Commission of reform of November 1386. See Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 476.

sentyd thereto for to do it, trewlych and by my trowth I ne have now none full mynde thereof, bot I trowe rather ye than nay: wherefor I submit me heygh and lowe evermore in his grace.

Also, in that, that I was in place ther it was communed and spoken in manere of deposyl of my liege loord, trewly I knowlech wele that we were assented thereto for two dayes or three, and than we for to have done our homage and our oothes, and putt him as heyly in hys estate as ever he was. Bot forsothe ther I knowlech that I dede untrewely and unkyndely as to hym that is my lyege loord and hath bene so gode and kynde loord to me. Wherefor I besech to hym naghtwythstondyng myn unkyndenesse, I beseche hym evermore of his mercy and of his grace as lowly as any creature may beseche it unto his lyege loord.

And as of any newe thyng or ordenaunce that ever I shuld have wyten or knowen, ordeyned or assentyd, pryve or apert, that schuld have bene ayeyns my loordys estate or his luste or ony that longeth abowte hym, syth that day that I swore unto him at Langeley on Goddys body; trewly[29] *and be that oothe that I ther made, I never knew of gaderyng ayeyns hym, ne none other that longeth unto hym.*

And as touchyng all this poyntes[30] *that I have made Confession of tofore William Rykhyll Justyce, in the which I wot wele that I have offendyd my loord unkyndely and untrewly as I have seyde befor how that I have in all this poyntes offendid hym and done ayeyns hym; trewly and as I wyll answere before Godd it was my menyng and my wenyng for to have do the best for his persone* [p̄sone] *and for his estate. Nevertheles I wote wel and know wel nowe that my dedes and my werchynges were ayeyns myn entente. Bot, be the wey that my sowle schall to, of this poyntes and of all othir the which that I have done of neclygence and of unkunnyng, it was never* [nev'] *myn entent ne my wyll ne my thoght for to do thynge that schuld have been distresse or harmyng ayeyns the salvation of my lyege loordys persone* [p̄sone] *as I wyll answer tofor Godd at the day of Jugement.*

Andtherfor I beseche my lyege and souverayn loord the Kyng, that he wyll of his heygh grace and benyngnytee accepte me to his mercy and his grace, as I that putt my lyf, my body, and my goode holy at hys wyll as lowlych as mekelych as any creature kan do or may do to his lyege loord. Besechyng to hys heygh lordeschipp that he wyll, for the passion that God soffred for all mankynde and for the compassion that he hadde of hys moder on the cros and the pytee that he hadde

[29] On their reconciliation in 1389.

[30] Rickhill described the confession (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 431) as comprising nine articles. He obviously reckoned in the exculpatory and deprecatory clauses with which it closes. Hardyng, in his *Chronicle* (ed. Ellis, p. 345), seems to have overlooked the omissions in speaking of the 'ix poyntes' of the *published* confession.

of Marye Maudelyne, that he wyll vouchesauf for to have compassion and pytee; and to accepte me unto his mercy and to his grace, as he that hathe ever bene ful of mercy and of grace to all his lyeges and to all other that have naght bene so neygh unto him as I have bene, thogh I be unworthy.[31]

As to the authenticity of this interesting confession there can be no question, despite Hardyng's incredulity.[32] Neither Gloucester's plaintive insistence on the purity of his motives nor his impassioned appeal for mercy is likely to have been invented for him, and the editing to which Richard subjected the document puts the matter beyond doubt.[33] The motive for the omission of the final clauses needs no commentary. Unless they were suppressed the confession was useless for the purpose for which it had been procured. Instead of securing Gloucester's posthumous condemnation, it would have fanned public sympathy for him into flame. But why did Richard so carefully cut out the date of his confession? The answer seems obvious. Gloucester was to be supposed to have died a natural death. Who would have believed this for a moment had it become known that he had been alive and well as late as September 8? At this point, however, a difficulty presents itself. The Earl Marshal did not inform Parliament when his prisoner died. They were not told, we now know, when his confession was taken. The only information they could extract from the documents laid before them was that supplied by the date of Rickhill's commission. Gloucester's death must, it was clear, have been subsequent to August 17, but beyond that they were, to all appearance, left to conjecture. This surely is incredible. Richard might as well have admitted at once that Gloucester had been murdered. The explanation which we are able to offer is startling. Parliament was not specially informed of the date of his death because it had been led to suppose that it knew it already. *Gloucester's death had been publicly announced a month before the Earl Marshal*

[31] The confession in its mutilated form was published in every county. *Rot. Parl.* iii. 432.

[32] *Loc. cit.* He speaks of 'ix poyntes fayned.'

[33] An apocryphal confession in French, discovered by Mr. J. H. Round, will be discussed in a note at the end of this article (p. 216, Appendix B).

pleaded it as a bar to his production in Parliament. An assertion which implies that Richard declared his uncle to be dead at least a fortnight before he actually died demands the fullest proof. This is derived from three perfectly independent sources. The first is the evidence of Rickhill, who, in telling the whole story of his mission to Calais in the first Parliament of Henry IV., recorded his astonishment when on September 8 at Calais the Earl Marshal handed him the commission which ordered him to have an interview with the duke: 'The said William then said to the Earl Marshal that the Duke of Gloucester was dead, and marvelled greatly at the said commission, *because the death of the said duke had been announced to all the people both in Calais and in England.*' [34]

If this stood alone it might be said that Rickhill invented it in order to support his contention that until he reached Calais he was in a state of the blankest ignorance as to what was required of him. A curious confirmation is found, however, in the London annals which go under the name of *Gregory's Chronicle.* After recording Gloucester's arrest and imprisonment at Calais the writer adds: 'Ande at Saynt Bartholomewe ys tyde nexte aftyr the Erle Marchelle was sende unto Calys to hym. And on the morne hyt was Sunday, and that daye men sayde that he diede, but Gode wote howe, but dede he was.' [35]

He is a day out in his reckoning if by 'St. Bartholomew's tide' he meant St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24), for in 1397 it fell on a Friday. Still his expression might possibly include the morrow of the festival, or Sunday may be a slip for Saturday.

But it may be urged that his testimony proves no more than the existence of a popular rumour that Gloucester's death took place on Saturday, August 25, or Sunday, August 26. That it was more than this seems conclusively

[34] 'A cause que la mort le dit Duc feust notifié a tout le poeple si bien a Caleys come en Angleterre.'—*Rot. Parl.* iii. 431. Hall also declared that until called upon in September to take part in his murder he had 'supposed him dead.'—Ibid. iii. 452.

[35] *Collections of a London Citizen* (Camden Soc.), p. 95.

established, however, by the Escheat Roll,[36] in which the duke's decease is placed '*on Saturday next after the Feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle*,' i.e. on August 25.

Even supposing it possible that the jury of inquest adopted a date of death which had no official sanction, this last piece of evidence, in conjunction with the suppression of the date of the confession, would suffice to convict Richard not merely of allowing the public to remain under a mistaken impression that his uncle died at the beginning of the last week in August, but of deliberately taking advantage of the misapprehension. Such conduct would leave us in very little doubt that Gloucester was murdered. For had he died a natural death it would surely have been easy to establish the fact to the satisfaction of Parliament and so dispense with any need for deception. Should it be shown that this deception was no afterthought, but had been carefully prepared, the case against the King becomes black indeed. The evidence given above points to an official announcement that Gloucester died on August 25. If this be an erroneous conclusion there was no official announcement of any kind. Surely an inadmissible alternative? On the other hand, once that conclusion is accepted all the difficulties raised by Rickhill's mysterious mission and the suspicious way in which its results were laid before Parliament are satisfactorily resolved. The secrecy surrounding the judge's journey to Calais, the vagueness of the order which sent him thither, the care taken to withhold from him until he was out of England the order which betrayed the fact that Gloucester was still alive and to have it handed to him by the duke's gaoler, seem insufficiently motived if they have to be ascribed to a mere fear that he might refuse to undertake a somewhat delicate mission. Were there nothing behind all this mystery, one would suspect Rickhill of romancing. But if he, in common with the rest of the world, had been given to understand that Gloucester was already dead, had died ten days before Mulsho's midnight visit to Essingham, these elaborate precautions become perfectly intelligible.

[36] Dugdale, *Baronage*, ii. 172. Incidentally this entry makes it probable that the London chronicler was mistaken in the day of the week rather than the day of the month.

This hypothesis, too, and no other that we can perceive, affords an explanation of the date of the orders under which Rickhill acted. It is surely a most surprising circumstance that his instructions bore a date—August 17—nearly three weeks old. Assuming, however, that Gloucester was to be supposed to have died on August 25, it was obviously imperative to convey the impression that his confession had been made before that date. Now the interval of a week between the date of Rickhill's commission and the alleged day of death allowed ample time for a visit to Calais and the taking of the confession. The form in which Richard had the affair laid before Parliament on September 24 fits in admirably with the suggestion that this was exactly the impression he intended to convey. Rickhill's commission with its early date was read, the real date of the confession suppressed, no date of death mentioned. When did Parliament suppose Rickhill's visit to have occurred? We answer that, having been told a month before that Gloucester died on August 25, they naturally concluded that the confession had been taken between August 17 and August 25. If they did not, we are forced to believe that they were content to be left entirely in the dark as to the date of confession and death alike, beyond the fact that both were subsequent to August 17. The supposition is so palpably improbable that it may be safely rejected. The direct evidence which was adduced to show that Richard deliberately deceived the country as to the time of his uncle's death is thus indirectly confirmed, inasmuch as it furnishes the only rational explanation of (1) the secrecy surrounding Rickhill's visit to Calais; (2) the early date of his commission; (3) the form in which the King put the matter before Parliament. This conclusion, if accepted, raises further questions. Why, it may be asked, should Richard have allowed Gloucester to survive the announcement of his death? And granting that he did, why, in the name of common sense, should he have left the taking of the confession so late? By doing so he obviously involved himself in an elaborate course of concealment which vastly increased the chances of exposure. One answer to the first question that might possibly be suggested would be based

on the report that Gloucester was seriously ill when the prison doors closed upon him. Richard, it might be said, though determined that his uncle must die before Parliament met and that he should not be thought to have died suspiciously near its meeting, was willing to be saved the guilt of actual murder if he saw a prospect of the duke dying a natural death in time. Unfortunately for the King, there is nothing in Rickhill's account of his interview with Gloucester a fortnight later which lends the slightest support to the theory that he was suffering from a mortal disease. Unless we have utterly misinterpreted the facts, Richard from the outset meant murder. Then why, it may be objected, delay the deed so long? The author of the *Annales Ricardi II.*, writing in the next reign when the real date of Gloucester's confession had become known, is of opinion that the Earl Marshal's scruples prolonged his life.[37] It is conceivable that the earl shrank from the grisly task imposed upon him, but even supposing that his reluctance could have postponed the crime to so dangerously late a date, it will not account for the failure to take Gloucester's confession before the world was informed that he was dead. An omission which compelled Richard to resort to such embarrassing subterfuges can hardly have been a mere oversight. A more probable hypothesis would be that Gloucester at first declined to make any such confession, and only yielded at the eleventh hour, when he at last realised that there was no chance of his being allowed to stand his trial in Parliament. This in itself would supply an adequate reason for the respite he was allowed, since without a confession Richard's plan of securing his posthumous condemnation might break down. On this hypothesis it is not necessary to suppose that the King deliberately antedated Rickhill's commission to interview Gloucester in order to make it fit the published date of the duke's death. Richard was certainly at Woodstock on August 20,[38] and therefore

[37] 'Rex . . . mandavit Comiti Notynghamiae . . . ut occulte Ducem faceret jugulari. Ille vero, primo metuens tantum scelus committere, distulit perficere jussa Regis. Quamobrem fertur quod Rex tantum commovebatur contra dictum comitem ut juravit ipsum occidendum, nisi celerius Ducem perimere maturasset.'—*Annales*, p. 221.

[38] *Foedera*, viii. 13.

not improbably on the 17th. The commission, as we have seen, is properly enrolled. This being so, the course of events may be conjecturally outlined. At Woodstock on August 17 Richard decided that Gloucester must die not later than the 25th of the month if any credence was to be secured for the assertion of a natural death, and, with a view to his confession being taken immediately, had the commission empowering Rickhill to see him drawn up. Gloucester was sounded by the Earl Marshal, but as he proved recalcitrant the murder was postponed, and the commission to Rickhill was held back until the duke, a fortnight later, consented to make a confession. Meanwhile, however, the public announcement of his death had been made as originally arranged. This rendered it necessary to observe great secrecy about Rickhill's visit to Calais and not to reveal the real nature of his errand even to him until he was safely across the Channel. Hence, we would suggest, the issue of an entirely new writ which merely ordered him to accompany the Earl Marshal to Calais. This writ was given the same date as the commission in order to keep up the fiction that the confession had been taken between August 17 and 25, but for obvious reasons it was not enrolled.

All this is, no doubt, highly speculative. But it is the best suggestion we can offer to harmonise the new facts to which attention has been drawn with what was already known and with the probabilities of the case. The story of Gloucester's murder—for murder we feel sure it was—is indeed a singular one, but no student of the mind and conduct of Richard of Bordeaux will find in that matter for surprise.

To recapitulate the steps in our inquiry. A review of the whole story of Gloucester's confession, from the moment when Rickhill was first approached in the matter to the day when the document was read in Parliament, brought into prominence for the first time certain facts the clue to which appeared to be missing. The mystery thrown over the taking of the confession, Rickhill's utter surprise at his commission, seemed, if true, to point to some underhand work. The discovery of the real nature of the omissions in the confession as published strengthened this impression. A

conjectural explanation of these difficulties proved to be in accordance with direct testimony from three contemporary and independent sources. Confronted with the problems requiring solution, it provides a key to them all, and a key which fits them so neatly that we are forced to believe it to be the right one. If we have made out our case, there seems but one answer to the question which was propounded at the outset. It is no longer possible to maintain, with Bishop Stubbs, that the guilt of murder cannot be brought home to Richard. Thomas of Woodstock perished by violence. The piteous story of his suffocation in the Prince's Inn at Calais, as related by Hall, is probably no more than the bare truth.[39]

JAMES TAIT.

[39] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 452.

APPENDIX A (p. 205)

The sentence passed upon the dead Gloucester in Parliament, after declaring forfeit to the King all his lands and tenements 'si bien de fee-taille come de fee-symple,' ends in the printed copy (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 378) with the words 'et que toutz ses Biens et Chatelx soient forfaitz au Roy.' The editors did not observe, or if they observed did not trouble to note the fact, that in one of the two duplicate rolls of the proceedings in this Parliament (*Rot. Plac. Coron.*, Dupl. II. m. 4) there is an interpolation at this point. As it is of some interest, and, owing to their silence, seems to have hitherto remained unnoticed by historians, I give it here from a transcript made by Mr. Hubert Hall (who first drew my attention to it), which I have compared with the original. It is interlineated in a minute hand, so as to be comprised in the length of one line:—'Et que nul des issues ne des heirs de dit duc de son corps engendrez ne lours issues ne heirs en temps avenir james ne portent les armes roialx dengelterre entiers ne ove deference nen autre manere quiconque ne ne soient enheritez a la corone dengleterre mes dycest soient disheritez pur toutz [jours].'[40]

Now when and by whom was this disqualification inserted? Apart from the character of the hand, which Mr. Hall thinks to be considerably later, it is clearly not contemporary. Richard, indeed, would not have stuck at such a trifle. Not only did he mutilate Gloucester's confession, but there is reason to hold him guilty of interpolating the rolls of the next session of this very Parliament.[41] But he must be acquitted in this case. The succession of Gloucester's issue could not seem a likely contingency in 1397, when two of his elder brothers were represented by legitimate male heirs. But about a century later his descendants stood much nearer the throne. His great-great-grandson, the Duke of Buckingham of Richard III.'s reign, was, through his mother Margaret Beaufort, next heir to the House of Lancaster after Henry of Richmond. Abandoning his first idea of pushing his own claims to the crown, he perished in an attempt to put Henry on the throne. Nine years before, it is worth noting, Edward IV. had given him permission to use the coat of Thomas of Woodstock alone, instead of quartered, this coat being the royal arms with a bordure argent for difference (Doyle, *Official Baronage*, i. 255). The same fatal proximity to the crown brought his son, the third duke, to the scaffold in 1521. It seems a probable conjecture that on one or other of these occasions the interpolation in question was introduced into the roll of 1397 in order to bar this Stafford claim.

[40] This word is only partly legible.

[41] *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.* xlviii. 153.

APPENDIX B (p. 208)

In his *Commune of London* (p. 319) Mr. J. H. Round prints a document which evidently purports to be a confession of the Duke of Gloucester, but differs *toto caelo* from that given above. It is short, and may therefore be repeated here for purposes of comparison:

'Beaux seignors je vous prie a tous mercy et vous prie que vous veulliez dire a Mons^{r} le Roy que il pregne garde de mon filz, quar sil nest chastie tant quil est jeune il me resembleira, et je fiz faussete et traison a mons^{r} mon pere, et ai pense et eusse mis a execution contre mons^{r} le Roy contre mon neveu de Rottheland et mon cousin le mareschal et plus^{s} autres (;) dedens xv. jours ilz eussent este mors et madame la Royne envoiee arriere en France, et fait du royaume ce que nous eussions voulu. Et avions ordonne de rendre tous les hommages a ceulx qui eussent este de nostre part. Si preng en grace ce que Mons^{r} me fera, quar jai bien desire la mort.'

No reference is given, but Mr. Round informs me that he found the document, which also contains the bill of appeal against Gloucester, &c., and a version of the articles of accusation widely different from that on the Rolls of Parliament, among the transcripts from the French departmental archives in the Public Record Office, probably in the *Arras* volume.

He seems inclined to believe it genuine. But it bears its refutation on its face. The style and the insistence on an elaborate plot against the King in 1397, which Richard certainly never laid to his uncle's charge, prove it to be one of those French attempts to clear the fallen monarch of the guilt of destroying men for offences ten years old, of which the best known example is the *Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre*, published by the English Historical Society in 1846. The version of the articles of accusation betrays the same origin.

VIII

THE BOROUGH OF PRESTON AND ITS GILD MERCHANT[1]

IT is not here proposed to follow the example of those who have hitherto written on the history of the Borough of Preston and to commence the subject with an account of the state of England when it was populated by the Ancient Britons; nor, save for the respect which is due to those who have gone before, would it have been thought worth while to make any reference to the advent of the Romans. For, if we were to devote our attention exclusively to that locality which is now called Preston, we should scarcely learn that any such people as those last named had ever come to these shores. A Roman road is said to have crossed one of the main streets of the town,[2] but there is no trace of any walls, and, so far as is known, only one coin and no pottery has been found.[3] The Roman Station, which was discovered by Mr. Hardwick[4] on the south bank of the Ribble near Walton Bridge, and wrongly identified by him with Coccium (probably Wigan), is not and never has been in Preston, while it would appear to have been, at the most, merely a small fort to guard the passage of the river. The popular tradition, referred to by Camden, to the effect that Preston was formed from the ruins of Ribchester (Bremetennacum), has no warrant in history and would considerably overestimate what is known of the importance of that place. Lastly, as to the question whether the Belisama Aestuaria

[1] The next celebration of the Gild Merchant, which takes place at intervals of twenty years, will occur in the present year (1902).

[2] Hardwick, *History of the Borough of Preston*, p. 46.

[3] Fishwick, *History of the Parish of Preston*, p. 7.

[4] Hardwick, pp. 32 et seq.

mentioned by Ptolemy is the mouth of the River Ribble, let learned antiquaries wrangle; but that Rigodunum, forty degrees to the east, referred to by the same geographer, is not Preston, seems to be fairly certain.[5]

The history of Preston, therefore, commences not with the Ancient Britons or the Romans, but, as the name implies, with the Saxon tun or township of the Priest. But when we have mentioned this, and further stated that the Hundred of Amounderness belonged at one time to the Abbey of Ripon (705),[6] then to the Cathedral Church of St. Peter at York (930),[7] and at a later period to Tostig, son of Earl Godwin and Earl of Northumberland, we have said practically all that is known of the town and neighbourhood until after the arrival of the Normans.

In Domesday all modern Lancashire north of the Ribble, with parts of Cumberland and Westmoreland, is placed under the heading 'Agemundrenesse' and surveyed with Yorkshire. Like that county it was scantily populated, for the East and the South of England, then and for some centuries, occupied the position of pre-eminence, both in wealth and population, which has since passed to the North and the Midlands. Its poverty and insignificance can be best estimated by noticing the scanty details which are set forth in the Conqueror's rate-book. Under the head of 'Agemundrenesse,' we read, 'In Prestune Earl Tostig had 6 carucates rateable to the Geld. To it these lands belong.' And then follows a list of sixty-one townships situate in what is now the modern Hundred of Amounderness, but also including Ribchester, which has since become part of Blackburn Hundred, and rated in the aggregate at 168 carucates. The extract concludes with the following sentences: 'All these vills belong to Prestune. And (there are) 3 churches. In 16 of these there are but few inhabitants, but how many there are is not known. The rest are waste. Roger of Poitou had (the whole).'

[5] Watkin, *Roman Lancashire*, pp. 2, 3, 205; Hardwick, pp. 13–37.

[6] *The Historians of the Church of York* (Rolls series), i. 26.

[7] Ibid. ii. 339, 475, and Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, ii. 419, where the supposed gift of Athelstan is set forth. The charter may possibly not have been intended to prove anything more than that the district was included in the diocese of York, which was certainly the fact.

The words in this extract of which historians would most like to know the full meaning are the Latin terms 'pertinent' and 'jacent ad,' which have been translated as 'belong to.' In what sense can it be said that all these other vills and townships 'belonged to,' 'pertained to,' or 'lay in' Preston? Professor Maitland [8] would answer that they 'belonged to' Preston in the sense that they were 'geldable' or paid their danegeld there, defining the 'manerium' of Domesday not as the thirteenth-century manor with its courts leet and baron, its demesne lands and villeins, but as the place where danegeld was paid. The objections to this theory have been ably urged by Mr. James Tait[9] and Mr. J. H. Round,[10] who maintain that the words denote a 'tenurial' and not a 'fiscal' relationship, though they must not be understood, any more than Professor Maitland, to regard the 'manerium' of 1086 as anything like the definitely organised economic unit that it became in later times.[11] It is interesting to note that the townships of Halton and Whittington, further to the North, seem to have occupied a precisely similar position, with regard to certain surrounding townships, that Preston held in relation to its satellites, but, whereas Lancaster has increased and Halton has decreased, the Priest's town still maintains that position of pre-eminence in its neighbourhood that it held in 1086.

The statement that Roger of Poitou had been lord of Preston and its subsidiary townships is of considerable interest, for it is probable that to his influence must be attributed the customs or by-laws which, as expanded in later

[8] Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, passim.

[9] *Engl. Hist. Review*, xii. 768–777.

[10] Ibid. xv. 293.

[11] The following are the only references to the 'manor' of Preston that have been found:—In 1292 Edward I. claimed from his brother Edmund the manors of Preston, Rygeby, and Singleton (*Plac. de Quo Warr.* 20 Ed. I. Lanc. Rot. 13 *d*). In 1295 a 'nativus' of the King's, of his manor of Preston, is mentioned (*Mem. Scacc.* Trin. T. 23 Ed. I.). In the reign of Edward III. the manor of West Preston (*sic*) was taken into the hands of the King, 'occõne guerre int' dñum Regem et illum qui se dicit regem Franc.' (*Inquis. ad Quod Damnum*, 13 Ed. III., n. 49). Though this last extract is placed under the head of Lancashire, it seems doubtful whether it refers to Preston. The manor mentioned was evidently in the hands of an alien priory, and therefore taken into the King's hand during the war with France. There is an East Preston near Littlehampton in Sussex, and West Preston may possibly have been near there.

times, formed that ancient Custumal of Preston, the true significance of which has for the first time been set forth by Miss Bateson.[12] Roger of Poitou was a younger son of Roger of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, and obtained his distinguishing appellation from his marriage with a Poitevin heiress. He was given the Hundred of Amounderness and the land between the Ribble and the Mersey by William I., but was afterwards deprived of these possessions for some unknown cause. Restored by William II., he again lost his estates through his opposition to Henry I. His father, Roger of Montgomery, was a kinsman of William Fitz-Osbern, Earl of Hereford, the Seneschal of the Conqueror, and seems to have imitated his relative's practice of conferring upon townships, in his English demesnes, rights and privileges similar to those granted to his French *bourgs*. The customs of the little town of Breteuil in Normandy, which grew up round Fitz-Osbern's castle, served as a model for the grants made to those English towns which acknowledged Fitz-Osbern or his relatives as lords; so that we find that 'what a Lorris-en-Gâtinois or a Beaumont-en-Argonne was for the smaller boroughs of France, the distant and little-known Breteuil was for those of England.'[13] According to Miss Bateson, the aim of the lords who conferred the law of Breteuil upon the inhabitants of these favoured townships was to carry out a scheme of burghal colonisation, and by means thereof to establish points of order in troubled or thinly populated districts. This scheme was carried out by granting burgages of a fixed size, subject to a yearly rent of 12*d.*,[14] and by conferring upon the holders of these burgages certain rights and privileges, chief amongst which was the fixing of the 'mercy' (*misericordia*), or payment made to the lord for a breach of the law, at a definite amount, which was very generally a shilling.

By other clauses of this local law the townsfolk of Preston were granted the right of free marriage; the period of the lord's credit was limited; the duty of bearing arms with the

[12] *Engl. Hist. Review*, xv. passim.
[13] *Engl. Hist. Review*, xv. 74.
[14] The 12*d.* rent is not actually recorded in the Custumal, but a 12*d.* relief is mentioned.

lord was placed upon a moderate basis; a year and a day was fixed as a period of limitation for claims, and residence in the town by a villein for that length of time conferred freedom upon him; provision was made for the administration of the goods of an intestate; the townspeople were permitted to take a small toll from strangers frequenting their market; and a few other privileges were granted, all with the intention of making life more certain and less burdensome, and thus inducing people to settle in the town. And that Preston should be selected out of the townships of Amounderness need occasion no surprise; for though we have no knowledge of any castle ever having been erected, round which a borough and market might grow up for the profit of the lord, yet its geographical position, on rising ground close to the first ford of the Ribble above the sea, combined with the fact that it probably was the moot-stow for the Hundred, and was possessed of some indefinite superiority in 1086, easily marked it out as a suitable place for the establishment of a centre of law and order. Through the skilful work of Miss Bateson, Preston now stands revealed as the daughter of a small Norman town, though its resemblance to its parent in course of time became somewhat difficult of recognition through difference of environment and local circumstances.

Preston also possessed an adopted parent in the town of Newcastle-under-Lyme. What it was or who it was that induced the burgesses of Preston to select the customs of this town as those which they desired for themselves we know not, but we learn from Madox that the men of Preston gave Henry II. one hundred marks to have by charter the same liberties that the men of Newcastle had, and that charter forms one of the most cherished records of the borough.

Dr. Gross maintains that Preston also owed something to the City of London,[15] but he would seem to have misinterpreted the facts upon which he bases this statement. In 1628 the Town Council ordained that from thenceforth for ever there should be within the said town 'a Companie or ffraternitie called Wardens and Companie of Drapers,

[15] Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i. 251.

Mercers, Grocers, Salters, Ironmongers, and Haberdashers,' which should have power, with the consent of the Mayor and Common Council of the town, to make laws for the better ordering of the said trades, and for the government of the said Company.[16] In 1635 the Company of Salters of London certified to the Wardens of the Preston Company that traffic in flax and hemp properly pertained to the trade of a salter. It is plain from the full text of the order of the Town Council that this new company that was formed was to have no share in the government of the town, and the regulations contained in the order were, so far as can be gathered, framed by the Council and not imported from London or elsewhere. They are simply rules designed to prevent strangers carrying on any of these particular trades in the town, similar to but more limited in scope and more stringent in effect than some of the orders issued at the different Gild meetings, and, we can scarcely doubt, framed and published at the request of prominent members of these trades who obtained the sanction of the Council to form themselves into a company to enforce them.

But we have proceeded too rapidly, and must return from the reign of Charles I. to a much earlier time. In a lecture given three years ago in Preston by Professor Maitland, the lecturer urged that some effort should be made to discover its town fields, and pointed out their importance in the history of a town. The materials for their reconstruction are very slight indeed. The earliest map that shows the names of the fields is Lang's map of 1774. This map, which has recently been lost, is only known to us now by the reproductions of parts of it which appear in Hardwick's and Hewitson's histories, and these reproductions, unfortunately, do not cover the whole of the borough. The deeds which remain are few in number, and relate chiefly to the possessions of the Hoghtons,[17] and of the White Canons (of the Premonstratensian Order) of Cockersand Abbey.[18] These last-named

[16] Abram's *Memorials of Preston Guilds*, pp. 41, 42.

[17] For the Hoghton charters see notes in the *Preston Guardian* from July 3 to August 28, 1880.

[18] *Cockersand Chartulary* (Chetham Society Publications, No. 39, New Series), pp. 216–225.

deeds, of which there are twelve, all executed between the years 1230 and 1255, include conveyances of land situate both in the vill and in the 'territory,' or town fields, but unfortunately the names Oldfield, Newfield, Dustysargh, &c., are now quite lost, and convey no idea of locality to us. Vaguely, we may say that the meadow of the town was probably on the west and south, and the arable fields on the north, while the burgesses pastured their cattle on the Marsh and the Moor, and turned their swine loose to obtain pannage in the king's forest of Fulwood. We learn that the meadow was at the time of the deeds held in severalty, and we also notice that in one instance the grantee, Master William de Kirkham, had to pay to the township on the feast of St. Michael in respect of the land conveyed to him the third part of 7*d.*, a sum which begins to have a familiar ring when we come to talk of the Gild Merchant.

We next proceed from 'commonness' to 'corporateness,' and have to deal with Preston as a borough. What the different meanings of this word were until it finally settled down to signify a town with a corporate existence is very difficult to ascertain, nor does any test seem to be quite adequate. At the time of Domesday, however, it seems probable that the name 'burgus' was given to every place which enjoyed burgage tenure, though the township might be very small and subject to a lord. In 1086, Penwortham, just across the Ribble, with its six burgesses, three radmen, eight villeins, and four neatherds, grouped round the recently erected royal castle, was a 'burgus.' In the sense, therefore, in which the word was used at this period, Preston became a borough when the inhabitants obtained burgages under the provisions of the Law of Breteuil.

Subsequently, the granting of charters by the King or the local lords, which conferred various privileges, such as the commutation of the ferm,[19] and caused towns to become more independent and self-sufficing, combined with the appearance

[19] Preston was let to ferm by Henry II. for the sum of £15. It was purchased under the Commonwealth in 1650 and repurchased after the Restoration in 1676. See Baines, *History of Lancashire* (ed. by Croston), v. 301 n. and 309, and Hardwick, op. cit. p. 278.

of a mayor, due to the direct or indirect influence of the French communal movement, gradually differentiated the larger boroughs from the smaller ones. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the government began also to draw distinctions for the purposes of taxation and parliamentary representation, until the lawyer or the historian of later times finds it difficult to say at what precise point in its development a town became technically a borough.

At one time it was supposed that when a town received a charter from a monarch it thereby became a borough, and thus we find Madox[20] writing that Preston was made a borough by Henry II. in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, when the men thereof gave one hundred marks to have by charter the same liberties as the men of Newcastle-under-Lyme. And here it may be remarked that Preston is a well-chartered town. There is some evidence to support the belief that Henry I. granted it a charter,[21] while, in addition to the charter of Henry II. already referred to, it received a charter from John when Count of Mortain and another from him when king; two from Henry III.; one from each of the following kings: Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI.; one from Philip and Mary; one from Elizabeth; two from the second Charles; and finally one from George IV. It is probably the generally received belief in the lost charter of Henry I. that has caused the statement to be made that Preston is a borough by prescription.

If corporate action is to be taken as a test, we may infer that Preston was certainly a borough in the middle of the thirteenth century, for in the deeds of Cockersand Abbey the burgesses are represented as confirming certain conveyances by affixing the common seal of the town.

After all this, it comes somewhat as a shock to discover that, in 1292, Preston was decided not to be a borough. In that year the bailiffs and the community of the borough of Preston were summoned to answer the Lord King by what warrant they claimed to have a free borough, a market,

[20] *History of Exchequer*, p. 274. [21] Abram, p. 1.

a fair, and other privileges. The bailiffs replied that King John, when Count of Mortain, granted and confirmed to them all the liberties and customs which Henry II. had given and confirmed, and they produced the charter which John had given them before he became king. The counsel for the King replied that Richard I. had been in possession of the liberties, to which the bailiffs answered by putting in the charter of John when king. Asked if Richard had been in possession of the liberties, they did not reply. Further asked if they paid anything for these customs, they replied that they used to pay the King 15*l.*, which then they paid to Edmund, brother of the King, by the direction of the lord King Henry his father. Eventually the liberties were declared to be in possession of the King, because Henry II.'s charter to Preston did not set out the privileges granted, and the bailiffs were unable to show that the borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme had liberties of this nature. However, a payment of ten marks for a delay of execution seems to have set the matter right.[22]

Three years later Preston was represented in Parliament by William Fitz-Paul and Adam Russell, and thus fulfilled another definition of a borough, as a place which returned burgesses to Parliament.

Lastly, when in 1332 Parliament drew a distinction between boroughs and counties, and granted the King a tenth from the former and a fifteenth from the latter, Preston was differentiated from the wapentake of Amounderness and paid as a borough,[23] the record also showing that it was the wealthiest place in the county, and that it still retained the position which it held in 1227, when it paid in tallage fifteen marks, while Lancaster paid fourteen marks, Liverpool eleven marks seven shillings and eightpence, and the 'town' of West Derby seven marks four shillings and fourpence.[24]

In the Custumal we find mention made of a 'prefectus'

[22] *Plac. coram Rege*, an. 20 incipiente 21 Ed. I., Rot. 59 *a*. See also Hardwick, p. 122, and Fishwick, p. 23.

[23] *Exchequer Lay Subsidy Roll*, Lanc. and Cheshire Rec. Soc.'s Publications, Miscellanies (1895), vol. ii. pp. 54, 72. Cf. also, for 1342, Smith's *Records of Preston Parish Church*, p. 8.

[24] Hardwick, p. 353.

or 'prepositus,' two 'pretors,' and a 'justiciar' or 'justiciars.' By what we can gather from the slight indications in the text, we may perhaps lay down with some hesitation that these different officials represented the three diverse elements that went to the formation of the borough. The prefect or reeve, who presided in the Portmoot or Borough Court, summoned the burgesses before him and granted burgages, standing for the burgess element, the pretors, who collected the ferm, representing the King's influence, and the justiciar or justiciars, who led the inhabitants in forays and expeditions, probably personifying the power of the lord.

In the years 1274 and 1275 the bailiffs and commonalty were plaintiffs in an action against Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, to try the right to a fishery in the Ribble,[25] and when some eighteen years later the writ of *Quo warranto* was issued against the burgesses, to try the issues previously mentioned, we find that the bailiffs, Adam, son of Ralph, and Robert, son of Roger, appeared to defend their town. We have also a deed executed in 1313[26] conveying certain land on the New Moor, and at the head of the list of witnesses appear the bailiffs of Preston. If it were safe to infer from these three facts that the bailiffs were the chief officers of the town at this period, we should be able to fix, within fifteen years, the institution of the office of mayor. For in the next glimpse we get of the government of the town (obtained from certain orders published in 1328[27]) we see a mayor, two bailiffs, and a body referred to as 'the Twelve of the Commonalty whose names are in the previous Gild.' Aldermen also we find, for one order is to the effect that all manner of burgesses that have been mayors or bailiffs beforetime shall not tamper with the Twenty-four that elect the mayor, but shall sit upon the bench with the mayor as aldermen. Here it would seem that the town was ruled by the mayor and the bailiffs with the assistance of the Twelve of the Commonalty, who would appear to have been a sort of jury to determine the right of admission to the freedom of the borough. If this body be the same as

[25] Hardwick, p. 123; Fishwick, p. 22.
[26] Abram, p. 5.
[27] Ibid. p. 8.

that referred to in the orders of the Gild of 1397,[28] its powers are either more fully expressed or they have grown in the interval, for in addition to their position as guardians of that exclusive privilege, the freedom of the borough, the Twelve are there stated to be ordained, with the mayor, for the governing of the liberties and customs of the town. When, in the rolls of the Gilds of the sixteenth century, orders of previous Gilds are recited, we notice that wherever the phrase defining the Twelve appears in the orders of the earliest Gilds the word 'Council' is substituted in the recitation.[29] This, of course, is not proof positive that the later Town Council was the lineal descendant of the earlier Twelve, but it at least shows that that was the opinion held at a period less than two centuries removed from the time when such a body existed. In 1566 Queen Elizabeth graciously granted that there might and should be 'Twenty-four men of the more discreet and worthy men of the said borough of Preston, who shall be assisting and aiding the said Mayor and Bailiffs,' and who were to be called the Principal Burgesses of the same borough and to be the common council of the said borough,[30] but whether this charter caused the doubling of the number of the Council or merely confirmed an increase previously made we have no means of ascertaining. The charters of Charles II. continued the existence of this body under the name of Capital Burgesses,[31] and it was, like most borough councils until the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act, a self-chosen co-optative body, appointing and removing its members as it deemed fit.

From the order quoted above we have seen that aldermen were in existence in 1328, and that they sat on the bench with the mayor when the Election Court was in session. The Gild Courts also are always held before the mayor, three stewards, and a varying number of aldermen. When the number of the Council was increased to twenty-four some of the members possessed this title, though it is curious to note that the existence of any such persons or of the name itself is quite

[28] Abram, p. 11. [29] Ibid. p. 21. [30] Ibid. p. 25.
[31] Ibid. pp. 56, 68.

unrecognised by any of the charters until Charles II., in his second charter to the borough (1685), directed that seven members of the Council should be aldermen.[32] They are generally referred to as 'the Benchers commonly called Aldermen,' and an interesting account by Dr. Kuerden of the Gild of 1682 (held three years before the second charter of Charles II.) contains a few particulars concerning them. In describing the Town Hall, he says: 'It hath a decent cheq, and above an elevated bench where, at the three Portmotes or the two leet days and the Grand Leet or Court of Election for new magistrates, sitts the Mayor, Aldermen, and such gentry as attend these meetings, and likewise at their Court of Common Pleas, held each three weeks for deciding suites and controversies.'[33] Again, under the head of 'The Method of Solemnization of a Guild Merchant,' he states that at a Council meeting held immediately after the Easter Court the Grand Seneschal or Clerk of the Gild is appointed, the three high stewards are chosen out of the aldermen, and then twelve of the principal burgesses are elected out of the Council 'to be Aldermen of the Guild, and to sit as Benchers with the Gyld Mayor.'[34] In another place, this historian of the borough lays down that it is the duty of the third steward and the benchers to appoint a fine for any new compounder, or court-roll burgess, or admitted apprentice, who required confirmation of his freedom at the Gild.[35]

From these references, and from analogy with what we know of the constitutions of other towns, it is possible to formulate a theory as to the origin and subsequent history of the Council. The Twelve of the Commonalty seem to correspond to the Four-and-twenty brethren of the bench or Jurats of Leicester,[36] and to have been a jury of the Portmoot or Borough Court and as such possessed of both judicial and administrative functions. They represent the oldest form of local government known, the court at whose sittings 'all the

[32] Abram, p. 69.

[33] Kuerden, *Brief Description*, p. 5. With the grand leet or court of election compare the Michaelmas sitting of the Manchester Court Leet. *Manchester Court Leet Records*, edit. by Earwaker, i. Introd. p. xx.

[34] Kuerden, p. 48. [35] Ibid. p. 63.

[36] Bateson, *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, II. xlv. The number twelve is somewhat unusual, but occurs at Ipswich. Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i. 23.

hole comonalte '[37] were present and shouted their consent to the dooms uttered by the benchers.[38]

Further, it is tempting to suggest that the Twelve who sat on the bench of the Portmoot are identical with the aldermen who sat there when the election court was conducting the business of appointing the town's officers. When in Leicester the burgesses lost the right of electing the brethren of the bench, these last-named became a close body, receiving accessions to their numbers only from those who had held office either as mayors, sergeants, or chamberlains.[39] A similar state of affairs seems to have come about in Preston, and we see ex-mayors or ex-bailiffs becoming benchers automatically. This identification is supported when we find, in 1682,[40] the 'benchers commonly called aldermen' performing the duty which had been carried out by the Twelve in 1328, viz., fining those 'that no freedome have be Gyld Marchand.'[41] The supposition would also serve to explain the fluctuation in the numbers of the aldermen, which would increase or decrease as new men were admitted or excluded from holding office.[42]

The increase in the numbers of the Council may also be paralleled in the history of Leicester. There to the Four-and-twenty were added a further number of Forty-eight who took the place of the commons who lost their right to attend the 'common halls' and share in the government of the borough.[43] Is it not possible that that ousting of the commonalty which was accomplished at Leicester by statute in 1489 was completed at Preston by charter in 1566, and that the increase in the number of the Council, whenever accomplished, which would appear at first glance to be a concession to democracy, really marks the complete political death of those who formerly elected their governors in the Portmoot?

[37] Abram, p. 8.

[38] For the Four Benches and the Doomsmen, see Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, i. 643; *Engl. Hist. Review*, x. 732.

[39] Bateson, *Leicester*, II. li.

[40] See note 35 on preceding page.

[41] Abram, p. 8.

[42] There appear to have been as many as seventeen at the Gild of 1415, and so few as ten at that of 1662. The number of the aldermen seems to have been a matter of dispute in 1598. Ibid. p. 34.

[43] Bateson, *Leicester*, II. xlvii.

The mayor was selected and appointed by a body of twenty-four who were annually elected for the purpose.[44] These twenty-four, who must not be confused with the twenty-four Capital Burgesses, were precluded from holding any office for the next year and were chosen from amongst the burgesses by 'twoe auncyent, discrete, and honest burgesses, inhabitants of the town,' who were denominated 'elisors.' Both these 'elisors,' according to the orders of the Gild of 1500, were chosen in open court by the mayor himself.[45] But some objection seems to have been taken to the nomination of both the 'elisors' by the mayor, for we find interlined in the orders of the Gild of 1562 the following words: 'Excepted always and foreprysed that it shall be lawful to the Comonaltie, being Burgesses of the said town or the more part of them, to elect and chuse the one of the two Ancient Burgesses from tyme to tyme for the choice of the said Twenty-four Burgesses yearly as is aforesaid.'[46]

These orders seem clear enough, but they are not easily reconcilable with the statements appearing in the pleadings of two important cases which were tried in 1527 and 1528,[47] in both of which James Walton, an ex-mayor, was plaintiff, and Sir Richard Hoghton, of Hoghton, near Preston, and John A' Powell, were respectively defendants. From these cases we gather that the general body of burgesses was possessed of some share in the election of the mayor, and that it was customary to appoint two impartial persons out of the clergy resident in the town to take the examination of the burgesses 'for the gift of their voices.' According to the plaintiff, Sir Richard came to the Court Leet or Court of Election held at the Moot Hall, and with a 'heygh voice and angry countenance' declared that his chaplain, Thomas Bostocke, should be one of the priests to examine the voters. The plaintiff, 'for fear of murder,' so runs the record, called upon Sir Richard in the King's name not to meddle or

[44] The Mayor of Exeter was chosen by a similar body: Freeman, *Exeter*, p. 146. See also for Coventry, Dormer Harris, *Life in an Old English Town*, p. 98.

[45] Abram, p. 21. [46] Ibid. p. 24.

[47] This account is taken from Fishwick, pp. 38-44.

interrupt; but he answered 'scornfully and yn derysion,' 'Commandest thou me in the Kinges name? Get the hom to thy soper;' and then he called him a 'falles knave.' The plaintiff, in fear of his life, left the Moot Hall with about sixty burgesses, and afterwards fled from the town. Sir Richard and his following then elected Nicholas Banaster to be mayor, appointed a bailiff and a sergeant, removed the town-clerk from his office and appointed John A' Powell in his place, which, the pleadings say, 'was contrary to the law, he being a Welshman born.' The reply of A'Powell charges the plaintiff with wishing to appoint his own nominee, a William Wall, 'a man who had got many into trouble,' and goes on to state that when Walton had left the Moot Hall a certain John Hoghton, who had previously been mayor, sat on the bench and conducted the election; that priests were sent for from the church to act as 'markers,' but that they dare not come, some for fear of the vicar, who was brother to Wall's wife, and others because they were commanded in the name of the Earl of Derby, by whose gift they occupied their chantries, not to come; and that the ex-bailiffs and one 'Henry Clyfton, a gentleman of sadde and good conversation,' were consequently appointed in their place. The last item is of some interest, for it contains a possible explanation of the dispute, which may have been either a quarrel between the in-burgesses in the person of the mayor and the out-burgesses as represented by the knight of Hoghton, or a dispute between an oligarchic governing clique and the general body of burgesses, or a fight for influence between the waning power of the old-established family of the Hoghtons and the growing power of the upstart Stanleys.

In the result, the election of Banaster was declared void, as being contrary to the ancient usages and customs of the town, and it was ordained that Christopher Haydock should occupy the 'Rome of Mayraltie' by the name of Governor appointed by His Majesty for that year until the feast of St. Wilfrid. Sir Richard Hoghton's interference was declared to have been wrongful,[48] and certain articles and ordinances were drawn up for 'the good rule, tranquility, and restfulness

[48] For other instances of interference in municipal affairs by neighbouring lords and landowners, see Freeman, *Exeter*, p. 164, and Hunt, *Bristol*, p. 61.

of the Kinges town of Preston.' These articles forbade foreign burgesses to meddle in the election of the mayor or bailiff, re-enacted the old rule that no person should be mayor who had not previously been bailiff, and laid down that the mayor and his successors should every year appoint a day in the week preceding the feast of St. Wilfrid, and should warn the burgesses to assemble in the common hall to appoint a new mayor, bailiff, and sergeant. When this was done the mayor and those who had previously been mayors should appoint an honest, sad, and discreet burgess living in the town, and the residue of the burgesses assembled should appoint another; that these two persons should receive the votes of the burgesses for the candidates for the offices of mayor, bailiff, and sergeant. No mention is made of the 'elisors,' for the two persons who were to be appointed, one by the mayor and the ex-mayors, and the other by the other burgesses, seem to have occupied a position differing but little from that held by a presiding officer at modern elections. No reference is made to the Twenty-four, either in the account of the voided election set forth in the pleadings or in the articles that were drawn up for future guidance. A possible explanation of this may be obtained by supposing that this body acted in a similar capacity to those which formerly existed in many boroughs,[49] and merely presented the person who had the majority of votes. Their written presentation would form the title of the new mayor, and it would probably be in accordance with legal phraseology to say that the mayor was elected and chosen by them, though as a matter of fact their duties would be purely ministerial.

In the charter of Queen Elizabeth, the method prescribed is similar to that which prevailed under the orders of the Gild of 1500, except that, instead of the mayor choosing both 'elisors,' he selected one, and the Council the other.[50]

But even such a sacred document as a charter could not bring peace, for in 1598 a series of orders was adopted, the

[49] E.g. Holt in Denbigh. See R. *v.* Rowland, 3 Barn. and Ald. p. 130.

[50] This method of procedure is also authorised by the two charters granted by Charles II.

first of which stated that 'great variance, stryffe, and contencon' had arisen over the question of the selection of officers, for the avoiding whereof it was 'ordered, agreed, and concluded' that in future the senior alderman should be mayor, and that succeeding mayors should be chosen from the aldermen according to their seniority.[51] This decree, though undoubtedly unconstitutional, was not, however, in all probability as revolutionary as might be imagined, for a glance at the names of the mayors of the sixteenth century shows that that position had become the monopoly of the members of a few families, such as the Waltons, the Walls, the Banasters, the Hodgkinsons, and the Catteralls, from whose ranks the aldermen were drawn. On many occasions some member of these families was mayor for several years in succession, and it does not seem unlikely that this order was intended as a direction to the Twenty-four to parcel out the sweets of office amongst the leading families with some degree of equality, and thus prevent one man, or one family, occupying the mayoralty for an undue length of time. But whatever was the intention of the order, it undoubtedly marks the total decay of the powers of the Twenty-four, if they ever possessed any real powers; for, though they continued to meet from year to year and to go through certain formalities, this order, after being confirmed at the Gild of 1602, remained in force till modern times.

In 1642, Adam Mort, a strong Royalist, was elected mayor for the ensuing year, but refused to act, either because he was too busy serving the King's interests, or because the sympathies of a majority of the corporation were with the Parliament. The Council, 'having maturely considered of the indignitie and disgrace' put upon them by this refusal, fined the recalcitrant burgess 100 marks, and, having taken counsel's opinion, continued Edmund Werden in that office for another year.[52]

The salary attached to the office was the sum of five nobles, which was increased in 1703 to ten pounds.[53]

[51] Abram, pp. 33, 34
[52] Ibid. pp. 46, 47. Cf. Orders of Gild of 1397, ibid. p. 11.
[53] Ibid. p. 75.

The bailiffs are the pretors of the Custumal under another name. They collected the revenues of the town and rendered their accounts yearly, under the penalty of the loss of their freedom. One of them was elected or presented by the Twenty-four at the same time as the mayor and called town's bailiff, the other was appointed by the new mayor and called the mayor's bailiff. Prior to 1612, it was their duty to provide 'wine, beare, breade, cheese, ayle, and other bankettinge stuff and provisions' for the entertainment of the Mayor, the Common Council, the Burgesses, and even 'strangers, passengers, and neighbours,' at Easter. But in that year they were relieved of this heavy charge and directed instead to pay the sum of twenty marks to the schoolmaster in part payment of his salary. However, in 1650, William Curtis, one of the bailiffs, refused to pay his share of this sum, and two years later the previous orders respecting the schoolmaster were rescinded, because some of them 'were dissonant to ye laws of this nacon.'[54]

Of the sergeants, like the bailiffs, one was appointed by the Twenty-four and called the town's sergeant or sub-bailiff, and the other by the mayor and called the mayor's sergeant or the sergeant at mace.[55]

There was also an alnager,[56] and references are to be found to standers for toll, ale-founders, and other inferior officials. By the second charter of Charles II., a recorder was also appointed for the borough.

Lastly we come to the crowning glory of Preston, its Gild Merchant. In Preston, the early charters that we know of are silent on the subject,[57] but a grant of a Gild Merchant, with Hanse and other customs and liberties belonging to such a Gild, appears in those clauses of the Custumal which Miss Bateson refuses to regard as part of

[54] Hardwick, pp. 274, 279; Hewitson, *History of Preston*, p. 56.

[55] The mayor's sergeant took an oath to make arrests and proclamations, and serve all manner of process, and do all manner of executions, and all other things which should appertain to his office, in such manner and form as the 'Sarjeant of the Kay of the Citty of London' did and executed. Kuerden, p. 40.

[56] Abram, pp. 26–28; Hardwick, p. 47.

[57] But the charter granted by Henry II. to Newcastle-under-Lyme, whose privileges were bestowed upon the men of Preston, conferred the right to have a Gild Merchant.

the law of Breteuil, but conjectures to have been added from some charter. The earliest Gild of which we have any record was held in 1397, though among the orders of 1328 [58] are some which are referred to a precedent Gild of which we have no knowledge.

In perusing the orders of 1328, the first thing that strikes us is that the qualification for burgess-ship was passing from the original one of holding a burgage to membership of the Gild Merchant, for we notice that the only classes of burgesses mentioned are those made so by court roll, and those whose names were in the previous Gild. Still, it is probable that at this period members of the Gild Merchant were also burgage-holders. We have seen that in the middle of the thirteenth century the curious sum of one-third of sevenpence was the rent payable in respect of some land in the borough, and it is surely not altogether without significance that all through the history of the Gild those whose names appeared in the rolls of the previous Gild were entitled to be admitted on payment of sevenpence. But be that as it may, when we get our first glimpse of mediæval Preston it has already gone a considerable distance in its career of development from a community of landholders to a town of traders, though the transition was far from being complete, for the twelfth order shows that it was customary still for burgesses to be employed at the plough.

Nothing is stated in these orders as to the difference between in-burgesses and out-burgesses, a distinction which became most important in later times, when the right to vote in the election of parliamentary representatives was a burning question; but in the rolls of the Gild of 1397 there appear the names of thirty-three persons who had been out-burgesses or foreign burgesses in the previous Gild. They were nearly all neighbouring local magnates, such as the Banasters of Walton-le-Dale, the Hoghtons of Hoghton,

[58] It has been generally assumed, following Dr. Kuerden, that there was a Gild in 1328. The orders of that year, however, if carefully read, will not be found to furnish any evidence that they were passed on the holding of a Gild, but will rather lead us to believe that they were orders passed by the Portmoot. Possibly the error has arisen through supposing that the words 'in the tyme of our last Gyld Marchand had' implied that a Gild was being held at the time when the orders were passed.

and the Elstons of Elston, who, in all likelihood, attended the borough to join in the festivities, and were granted the freedom as a mark of respect. They were probably, in reality as well as in name, out or foreign burgesses, *i.e.* they were not habitually resident within the town, as many of the foreign burgesses were in later days. In the oaths administered to the burgesses residing within and without the borough, the only difference observable between the two classes consists in this, that the former were 'contributory to all manner of charges within this town, as Sumons, Watchs, Contributions, Taskes, Tallages, Scott and Lott, and all other charges,' while the latter were exempt.[59] But their privileges were invaded by several orders of the Gild of 1500, which, after laying down that no person who dwelt outside the liberties of the town, and lived 'upon biying and sellyng,' should be made a burgess, and limiting the privilege of obtaining a lease of the lands belonging to the town to the in-burgesses, enacted 'that no forreyn or out-burges shall have any libertie but for his own howse,'[60] which, as explained by the orders of the Gild of 1562, evidently meant that they who lived outside the town were not to be at liberty to buy goods without paying toll on them, except 'thynges necessarye for maynteynynge of their howses.'[61] The justice of these orders can hardly be impugned. While a burgess lived out of the town he escaped those taxes out of which the ferm was paid, and by means of which the business of the borough was carried on; it was consequently scarcely fair that he should be allowed the same rights of trade that the in-burgesses possessed. The privilege of buying the articles necessary for his household, and of selling the produce which he had raised, was probably considered to be a fair equivalent for the fee which he paid on his admission to the Gild.

In a similar way is probably to be explained the refusal to allow the foreign burgesses any share in the government or franchises of the borough. When the Tory corporation fell

[59] Kuerden, pp. 55–58.

[60] Abram, p. 22.

[61] By an order of the Gild of 1582 they were allowed to *sell* victuals without paying toll (Abram, p. 32).

foul of the Whig families of Stanley and Hoghton, about the middle of the eighteenth century, it was claimed by them that the foreign burgesses, whether resident or non-resident in the borough, had not, and never had, any right to take part in elections. But the judgment of the Court in the dispute referred to above, between James Walton and Sir Richard Hoghton, by implication, if not in express words, recognised the right of foreign burgesses dwelling in the town to take part in the election of the mayor, and the Gild Rolls show that, in 1582, the right of voting in the election of officers of the town, and even the privilege of holding office itself, were obtainable by those foreign burgesses who had lived in the town for a year, a period which was subsequently extended to seven years.[62] However, these rights would appear to have been lost, for we find that in 1661 it was the in-burgesses only who successfully claimed against the mayor and the Principal Burgesses to elect Members of Parliament, and by an order of the Gild held the next year it was declared that no foreign burgess should have any vote in any court of election within the town concerning the electing of any officers or of any burgess to serve in Parliament, without any such proviso as was attached to the order passed in 1582.[63] From this period to 1768, the time of what was locally known as 'The Great Election,' when the House of Commons declared that all the inhabitants of the borough had voices in the election of Members of Parliament, and that the word 'inhabitants' was to be taken in its ordinary signification, and not to be confined to the meaning of in-burgesses, the foreign burgesses who lived in the borough were treated as outlanders, and not permitted to vote at elections.

The stallengers or stallagers of Preston have hitherto been treated with less attention than their importance seems to deserve. It has been too hastily assumed that they were merely persons who paid stallage, a rent for stalls in the market, or those who collected it. That the first stallagers were simple stallholders is quite possible, but it is very evident that in later times the word 'stallager' had a much wider meaning. They are first referred to in the orders of the Gild of 1397,

[62] Abram, pp. 32, 36. [63] Ibid. p. 54.

where the bailiffs are instructed to make up their accounts 'by the burgage roll . . . and by the chief of those who are stallagers.'[64] By an order of the next Gild, no stranger was to be stallaged by an officer of the town, under a penalty of 3*s.* 4*d.*[65] At the Gild of 1582 their rights of pasture were restricted, and it was also enacted that if any persons who had been mayors or members of the Common Council evil intreated or misused the mayor for the time being they should be 'disfranchised of their ffredome, and so to stand and be as stallingers only.'[66] There is also a by-law of the Gild of 1602 prohibiting the stallagers from making malt in the town.[67] Further, they appear three times, and only three times, on the rolls, viz. on those of the Gilds of 1562, 1582, and 1602, where they are treated as a separate class, and in the last-mentioned Gild numbered 248, out of a total of 1,400 or thereabouts.

Amongst the stallagers of 1602 there are to be found a William Willson, musician, a William Gilibrand, 'ludi-magister,' and a George Warren, 'miles.'[68] In the proceedings of the Court Leet of the borough there are frequent presentations of persons for residing in the borough and not being burgesses. The return to these presentations is generally that the guilty individuals have entered into bonds, been stallaged, and paid fines. From these entries, it is possible to state in a few words what the probable position of these people was. Originally they would be townsmen who either did not hold burgages or were not members of the Gild and paid for their stalls in the market, while the burgesses had theirs free. But that the term received an extended meaning is obvious from the above extracts, and in later times it was presumably applied to all those who were not burgesses, but who had obtained a license to reside within the town.

There were two methods of obtaining the freedom of Preston: firstly, admission at the Gild; and secondly, admission by court roll. Applicants for admission by the

[64] Abram, p. 11.
[65] Ibid. p. 14.
[66] Ibid. p. 32.
[67] Ibid. p. 36.
[68] He was probably a representative of another branch of the family of Warrens who appear amongst the foreign burgesses of the same Gild. See *Preston Gild Rolls*, Lanc. and Cheshire Rec. Soc.'s Publications, vol. ix. (1884) p. 54.

latter method—which gave a sort of interim possession of the privileges of a burgess until the holding of the next Gild—could be admitted either as in-burgesses or foreign burgesses, but the privilege was a personal one and conferred no right to claim admission upon the children of the person so admitted. Burgesses by court roll do not seem to have been full burgesses, for in 1328 'the Maire, bailiffes, and Burges, with all the comonalte,' ordered 'be a hole assent and consent that all manner of burges the which is made burges be court roll and oute of the Gyld Marchand shall never be Maire, ne Bale, ne Serjeand, but onlie the burges the which the name be in the Gyld Marchand last made before; for the King gyves the freedom to the burges which arne in the Gyld and to none other.'[69] Those who were admitted by court roll, on appearing at the next Gild, were entitled to be admitted either as in-burgesses or foreign burgesses (according to their admission by court roll), but they were required to pay again the same fine that they paid on their former admission.[70]

The right of admitting burgesses by this method was exercised by the Council, but the Mayor for the time being had also the right to make three burgesses and no more, 'unless they be some of the Nobility or other persons of honour and distinction.'[71]

But the really important time for obtaining admission to the roll of burgesses was on the occasion of the celebration of the Gild Merchant. So early as 1328 it was ordered that it should be 'lefull to the sayd Maior, baliffes, and burges, there heyres and successors to sett a Gyld Marchand at every XX yere end or ever if they have nede to conferme chayrters or other distres that longis to oure Francis' (franchise). But no Gild ever seems to have been held for the purpose or on the occasion of the confirming of their charters. The twenty-year rule also was for a long time in little better case, for the Gilds were never held with any regularity until 1542, from which date onwards to the present day they have been celebrated every twenty years.

[69] Abram, p. 8.

[70] *Preston Gild Rolls*, Introd. p. xiii.

[71] Ibid. Introd. p. xii; Abram, p. 82.

A similar irregularity is to be observed in the day upon which the celebration commenced, for down to and including the celebration of the year 1562 the days varied greatly. However, from that Gild onwards there has been no departure from the rule that the Gild Merchant shall commence upon the Monday following the feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist (August 29).[72] The day of the celebration would lend some colour to the statement, which is to be found in the histories of the town, that the patron saint of the Gild was St. John the Baptist; and the probability of this being so is confirmed by the fact that the lamb and crosslet, which form the borough coat of arms, are the sacred emblem of this saint.[73]

During the celebration of the Gild the mayor and stewards had the right to admit any person or persons whatever to be in-burgesses or out-burgesses on payment of such fines and subject to such conditions as they thought proper, or in consideration of their performing services for the benefit of the town, as, for instance, ringing the day-bell and curfew, wintering the town's bull, &c., or even without any payment or consideration at all.[74] As has been already said, those whose names appeared in the rolls of previous Gilds were entitled to be admitted on payment of 7*d.*, as also were their sons, unless the admission of the father had been for himself alone. Those who were admitted for the first time at the Gild paid sums varying generally from three to forty shillings, according to the probability of their coming to reside in the town and infringing upon that jealously guarded monopoly, the trade of the borough.

In early times women apparently were entitled to be members of the Gild. On the back of the roll of the Gild of 1397 there are the names of sixteen women; the names of six others appear in the roll of the Gild of 1415, another in that of 1459, and another in that of 1542.[75] An order of the Gild of 1562 lays down that 'all and any Widowes hereafter beyng late Burgesses Wiffes of this Gild or that hereafter shall be

[72] Abram, pp. 22, 23.

[73] Husenbeth's *Emblems of Saints.*

[74] Abram, p. 32.

[75] *Preston Gild Rolls*, pp. 6, 8, 9, 11, and 19. Of the sixteen women whose names are given in the Roll of 1397, eleven are stated to be widows; of the six admitted in 1415, four were widows; and 'Elizabeth Clayton,' the woman admitted in 1542, was a widow and a foreign burgess.

made by Gild Merchaunt or by Court Roole shall have and enjoy such liberties and ffredomes during their Widowheade as their husbondes in liff tyme had and enjoyed by reason of their Burgesshippe.'[76] The exact meaning of this order is not perfectly clear, but it is certain that the name of a woman never appears in the rolls of burgesses after the Gild of 1542.

In addition to the preparation of the new burgess roll, another important work was also performed. All the by-laws that had been passed at previous Gilds and were still in force were confirmed together with those passed in the interval by the Council, and occasionally the whole body of by-laws or orders were revised and re-promulgated, as for instance at the Gild of 1662.[77] On the last day of the celebration, the burgesses being summoned, the Gild Book of Orders was held up before them, and, it being demanded by the mayor whether they approved of what was done, 'they with loud acclamation do cry consent.' 'Then doth the Clerk of the Gyld draw back the Book, and affixes the Holy Lamb, &c., the Burrough Seal unto the same, in presence of them all; and then the Mayor and Steward, holding up the Book, say "Here is your Lawe. God bless the King."'[78]

H. W. CLEMESHA.

[76] Abram, p. 22.

[77] Ibid. p. 51.

[78] Kuerden, p. 88.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The Corporation of Preston has hardly yet awakened to a sense of its duty as the possessor of the records of the borough. In the past it even failed to recognise adequately its position as guardian thereof, and consequently we nowadays have to mourn the loss of many documents bearing on local history. The action of the municipalities of Leicester, Nottingham, and other towns has failed to excite any spirit of emulation in the breasts of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors, and it has to be regretfully stated that no steps have been taken by the Corporation to make public the records of a borough which has an interesting and, in one respect, an almost unique history. The translation of the borough charters by Dr. Lingard we owe to the private enterprise of a body of freemen, and its publication to the speculative spirit of a bookseller. The orders passed at the different celebrations of the Gild Merchant have never been transcribed in their entirety, and the general knowledge of them is confined to the excerpts which have appeared in the various works of those who have at different times written upon the subject. The lists of the names of those who obtained the freedom at the different Gilds were copied by the late Mr. Abram, but the work has not been carried further than the year 1682, and for their publication we are indebted to the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. The records of the Court Leet prior to 1653 have been lost or destroyed, and the White Book, or Book of Orders of the Council, contains no entries before 1608. Those Court Leet records which do exist shared—until recently—with the White Book the secret security and obscurity of the Muniment Room, but extracts from the first-named are now appearing in the *Preston Guardian* with notes by Mr. Hewitson.

The earliest history of the town is the *Brief Description* of Dr. Richard Kuerden, which, the internal evidence shows, must have been composed between the years 1682 and 1686. The manuscript came into the hands of a Mr. John Taylor, and was printed by him in 1818, with a somewhat fulsome dedication to the memory of John Horrocks. It contains a good description of the size and appearance of the town about the year 1682, and has also preserved for us an excellent account of the ceremonial with which the Gild of that year was celebrated.

The next historian of the borough was Peter Whittle, a bookseller, who published his *History of Preston* in 1837. The style is ornate and rhetorical, and little confidence can be placed in the subject-matter. The author's autobiography, which appears in the second volume, forms such a combination of simple and unaffected egotism with didactic moralising as can surely never have been surpassed.

Twenty years later appeared Hardwick's *History of Preston and its Environs*. Mr. Hardwick was an antiquary rather than an historian, and preferred 'remains' to records. The word 'environs' also enabled him to go far afield, and his work is consequently somewhat diffuse, while it abounds with the most obvious mistakes.

Mr. Hewitson's history (1883) is a model of industry and a mine of information, being especially strong in topography and recent history.

The latest work that has appeared is Mr. Fishwick's *History of the Parish of Preston*, which was published so recently as 1900. It contains a considerable amount of new information, but it is handicapped by a most inadequate index, and is full of errors and misprints which more careful proof-reading would have obviated.

It will only be necessary to mention two books dealing with the Gild Merchant: *A History of Preston Guild*, by William Dobson and John Harland (1862), and *Memorials of Preston Guild*, by the late Mr. Abram (1882). The latter, being the later in point of time, is the better work, and contains (p. 148) a good list of books and tracts relating to the Gilds. The extracts from the Orders of the Gilds, of which both are largely composed, appear to have been selected without much system.

Mention must also be made of Mr. Tom C. Smith's *Records of Preston Parish Church*, which contains the best account of the ecclesiastical history of the parish, and also includes a transcript of the Registers.

The parliamentary representation was most fully treated by Mr. Abram in the *Preston Guardian* between the years 1878 and 1881, but these articles should be corrected in places by a comparison with Pink and Beaven's *Lancashire Parliamentary Representation*.

IX

THE SUMPTUARY LAWS OF VENICE IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

Moda: Madama Morte, Madama Morte!
Morte: Aspetta che sia l' ora, e verrò senza che tu mi chiami.
Moda: Madama Morte!
Morte: Vattene col diavolo. Verrò quando tu non vorrai.
Moda: Come se io non fossi immortale!

GIACOMO LEOPARDI.

I

IN the court of the Ducal Palace at Venice, on the wall in the lower arcade, to the right of the entrance from the Piazzetta, there are six inscriptions carved in stone, and amongst them the following:

DENONTIE SECRETE
IN MATERIA DOGNI
SORTE DI POMPE CONTRA
CADAUNA PERSONA
CON BENEFICI DE D^TI 42 PER
CENTO GIUSTO ALLE LEGGI

and immediately afterwards:

DENONTIE SECRETE CONTRO MINISTRI
DELE POMPE CON L'IMPUNITÀ
SECRETEZA E BENEFITIJ GIUSTO
ALLE LEGI.

'In Venice it was the custom to accuse secretly by slipping a note into one of the boxes fixed in various parts of the city, and which were known as "Denoncie segrete." A lion's mouth was the aperture through which the notes were thrown into the boxes, the keys of which were in the hands of the magistrates. All the principal magistrates, whether

charged with the guardianship of the public order, or with the punishment of crime, or with the supervision of the finances, had their own "Denoncie segrete."'[1] Outside the church of San Martino, near the Arsenal, there may still be seen the box for

Denoncie secrete contro i Bestemmiatori, e Irriverenti alle chiese.

The lion's head below is intact, but the mouth has long been closed and useless.

The inscriptions referring to the sumptuary legislation, together with passages in Romanin, Sansovino, Gallicciolli, Veccellio, and other writers who have treated the manners and customs of Republican Venice, led me to examine the records of the 'Provveditori sopra le Pompe' preserved in the State archives. I found that the laws are older by nearly two centuries than the special magistracy appointed, in consequence of the growing mania for display, to watch over their execution, and I determined to begin at the beginning, tracing the development from the earliest known statute, that of 1299, to the downfall of the Republic.

It was only in the second half of the quattrocento that the Government, profoundly impressed with the necessity of stemming the ever-rising tide of extravagance and luxury, appointed the magistrates known as the 'Provveditori sopra le Pompe.' At first they were nominated and acted very irregularly; and the college did not become permanent until the early part of the sixteenth century. In 1562 two Sopraprovveditori were elected in addition to the existing three Provveditori, and the office was regulated by very definite rules of procedure.

Apart from the special magistrates appointed in later times, the sumptuary laws are full of interest from the beginning, for the light they throw on the manners and customs of one of the most important cities of mediæval Europe; on the occupations and amusements of the inhabitants; on institutions and magistrates now almost forgotten; on modes of thought expressed with quaint ingenuity; and on principles and methods of government.

[1] *Venezia e le sue Lagune*, i. 152.

The present paper aims at giving some idea of these laws and their operation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, leaving them as much as may be to tell their own story.

The fashions changed slowly before the fifteenth century, and men and women dressed much alike, as may be seen from a study of the oldest mosaics inside and outside of San Marco. The dress—as it may be called—was long, sometimes trailing on the ground, decorated by the wealthy with gold and silver embroidery, pearls, and precious stones, and confined at the waist by a girdle, from which depended the purse, knife, and other articles. The latter offered an extensive field for the operations of the pickpocket or 'tagliaborsa,' as may be read in the records of the 'Signori di Notte.' If the sleeves were tight the robe was called 'Dogalina;' if they were large and open it was known as 'Ducale.' The long and flowing coat or mantello was often ornamented with a rich border. It was lined, for the rich, with silk in summer-time, and with more or less valuable furs in the autumn and winter. It was secured at the neck with clasps and chains, frequently of great value. In this period the love of display found vent rather in extravagant richness of material and decoration than in changes of form. If they cost enormous sums the garments lasted long, and were frequently bequeathed by will.

In the fifteenth century the mode began to change with increasing rapidity, and the costumes of men and women were differentiated more and more, until the century closes with the bewildering variety of style, of colour, and of ornament immortalised by Carpaccio in the legend of Saint Ursula, and by Gentile Bellini in the miracles of the Holy Cross. And on October 15, 1504, the Senate solemnly declared that

among all the superfluous and useless expenditure for the purpose of ostentation made by the women of this our city, the most injurious to the substance of the gentlemen and citizens is the constant change made by the women in the form of their clothes. For example, whereas formerly they wore trains to the dresses, the fashion was introduced of wearing the dresses round and without any trains. But in the last few months certain women have begun again to use large and ample trains, trailing on the ground, and without doubt all others will desire to follow their example,

if measures be not taken, and very great harm would be wrought to the fortunes of our said gentlemen and citizens, as every member of this Council, in his prudence, very well understands. For the aforesaid dresses which have been cut short would be thrown away, and it would be necessary to make new dresses, which would lead to great expense. Further, it is convenient that what the aforesaid women have once desired, with the same they should be obliged to be content.[2]

The length of the trains was limited to one braccio for 'Veste,' and half a braccio for the 'Investidure.' Certain 'dishonest fashions' in sleeves 'not suitable for females' were prohibited. Above all it was resolved 'that for the future no new style may be adopted in the garments of the women, save those in use at present.'

In the matter of sleeves, the fancy of the tailors and dressmakers seems to have run riot. The sleeves were often separate from the dresses, and were slashed and tied in every possible way to show the costly materials and expensive linings. Later will be found the text of a decree of 1400 which legislated on the length of the sleeves. A statute of October 25, 1505, began: 'Some women of this city have begun lately to adopt certain new fashions which are uglier and more dishonest than any fashions ever used in this city, that is to say, certain robes and sleeves, cut in several pieces, and of divers colours, bordered with cloths of other colours, with fringes, with embroideries, &c.,' and went on to banish these 'foze et habiti nuovj, bruti, et deshonesti.'[3] The task of the legislators was made harder by the foreign influences against which they had to struggle. French tailors were established in Venice in 1400. Priuli wrote in his diary, May 1512, that it was very difficult to eradicate two things in Venice: namely, blasphemy and French fashions in dress, though the French nation was cordially hated by all Italy.[4] The Senate, in October 1504, also forbade garments made after the German fashion.

At the close of the sixteenth century, Sansovino lamented 'that a great number of the Italians, forgetting that they have been born in Italy and following the ultramontane fashions,' wish to appear 'now French, and now Spanish,

[2] *Senato, Terra*, Regist. xv. p. 38. [3] Ib. xv. p. 77.
[4] Gallicciolli, *Delle Memorie Venete Antiche*, lib. i. cap. x.

certainly to their own injury and shame, showing how little they possess stability and constancy.'[5] He added: 'This city alone (Venice) has preserved itself, in general, less corrupt than many others.' But the virtue was only relative. If Venice was not the chief sinner, no doubt the credit must be given to the persevering efforts of the Government.

The decrees against all kinds of luxury are worthy of a republic in their tone of equality. No distinctive dress was prescribed by law to any one class of society. The same stuffs, the same jewels, the same gorgeous trimmings, the same house decorations, the same feasts, were permitted or denied to all persons, of whatsoever social condition. Almost the only trace of difference is to be found in the penalties inflicted; the gentleman being often mulcted more heavily than the plebeian, while more summary justice was meted out to the non-noble than to the patrician.

The love of bright colours and jewels which even to-day, when sumptuary laws have no more force, strikes a traveller from the greyer and more sober North, was firmly rooted in the character of the people, and in a certain degree was shared by the Government. This is clearly shown in some measures of the fifteenth century. It had long been the law that none of the six councillors who sat on the bench, so to speak, 'ad bancham,' with the Doge should be allowed to wear sad-coloured vestments while discharging their official duties, except when in mourning for near kinsmen. It was found, however, that councillors who were wearing mourning for relatives, not within the prescribed limits, were in the habit of diminishing the glory of their country and office by donning lugubrious garb as soon as they quitted the palace. On October 30, 1433, the Senate voted a statute to put an end to such unbecoming practices.[6]

[5] Sansovino, *Venezia descritta*, p. 267 (1604).

[6] *Cum alias et bene provisum fuerit* pro honore regiminis et terre nostre quod consiliarij Venetiarum qui sunt et erunt pro tempore non possent ad bancham et in alijs locis ubi representant dominium vestire vestes lugubres, nisi solum pro morte patris, fratris, et filij &c., sicut in parte cavetur, et occurrat quod ipsi consiliarij, licet non portent vestes lugubres ad bancham, et ubi representant dominium pro alijs affinibus non comprehensis in parte, tamen *quam cito recedunt a palatio* induunt vestes lugubres, et sic induti vadunt per civitatem, *quod est in diminutionem honoris Consiliarie et Regiminis*

In 1536, December 21, the Maggior Consiglio registered a decree compelling the councillors to wear their scarlet robes. No one might wear a black toga without a formal license, given for a definite period. I quote the opening paragraph:

> The councillors of this our city used to go about clothed in scarlet and silk, the which custom is very suitable to the position they occupy in this republic, being the principal members, and the persons who immediately represent our dominion. And the said good and laudable custom having been for some time broken through, it is convenient to restore it and establish it firmly by law, in order that it may be observed perpetually, as is fitting for the honour and dignity of our State.[7]

The desire to impress the French ambassadors with the splendour and wealth of the city inspired the act passed by the Senate, October 25, 1459, on the proposal of all the Councillors, and carried with only three negative votes. By it all ladies, who attended the feast given in the ambassadors' honour, were required to come in bright garments, even if wearing mourning. They were also permitted to impress the foreigners by adorning themselves with jewels and ornaments generally prohibited by law.[8] A similar dispensation had been issued in June for one day only.[9]

The passion for jewels was fostered by the excellence and cheapness of the goldsmith's work—which still deservedly maintains its reputation, encouraged by the taste of the

nostri, et sit superinde debite providendum: Vadit pars quod decetero consiliarij Venetiarum qui sunt et erunt pro tempore, sicut non possunt ubi representant dominium portare vestes lugubres, nisi pro patre, fratre, et filijs &c., sicut in parte cavetur, sic *non possint pro attinentibus non comprehensis in parte ipsa ferre seu vestire vestes lugubres per totum tempus consiliarie sue, tam in locis ubi representant dominium quam alibi, sub pena ducatorum centum.* (*Senato, Delib. Miste*, Reg. lix. p. 12.]

[7] *Maggior Consiglio*, Reg. Diana No. 33, p. 199.

[8] Quoniam per dominium ordinatum est fieri die dominica proxima *unum solemne festum in sala nova magna, pro honorando hos solemnes oratores serenissimi regis Francie*: Vadit pars quod omnes domine que invitabuntur et venient ad dictum festum deponere debeant vestes lugubres si illas portarent. Omnesque dicte domine que venient ad festum possint *pro illa die* portare colanas [i.e. neck ornaments], fermaleos [i.e. ornaments for the head or shoulder], perlas, et omnia alia jocalia et ornamenta que sibi videbuntur, ut sint bene ornate. Item omnes juvenes qui venient ad ipsum festum possint pro illa die vestire vestes [i.e. the togas] et duploides [probably doublets] argenteas, et alterius maneriei, sicut eis videbitur, *pro honore tam nostri dominij, quam festi et oratorum predictorum.* (*Senato, Terra*, Reg. iv. p. 126.)

[9] *Maggior Consiglio*. Reg. Regina No. 30, p. 23.

people—and by the 'conteria,' the beautiful glass beads, 'perle' and 'margarite,' as they are called, and the imitation precious stones produced at Murano. Even the poorer nobles and others could 'save their face' by hiring ornaments, for a special occasion or for a lengthened period.

In the Senate, December 7, 1453, 'Ser Nicolaus Bernardo, sapiens consilij,' moved that all who have jewels and ornaments on loan should be bound under heavy penalties to send in to the treasurers within eight days a list of these objects with the names of their owners and their value. The possessors of such articles were mulcted of half the proceeds of the hiring.[10] The proposal was accepted by 107 votes.

On another occasion women were forbidden to pay more than twenty-five ducats a year for the hire of a necklace, or more than the same sum for the hire of their rings.[11]

Pietro Casola of Milan, who visited Venice in 1494, on his way to and from the Holy Land, and who recorded his impressions with much vivacity and most satisfactory fulness of detail, alludes to this practice. He says, speaking of the women:

> Those who can and *those who cannot* are very magnificent in their dresses, and have large and costly jewels and pearl ornaments for the head and neck; they wear many rings on their fingers, with carbuncles and rubies and diamonds. I said *those who cannot* because I was told that many hire these things.[12]

Until the second half of the fifteenth century, the execution of the 'leggi sopra le pompe,' passed from time to time by the Senate, the Great Council, and latterly even by the Council of Ten, was distributed amongst existing boards,

[10] Quod publice proclametur, quod omnes qui in hac nostra civitate habuerunt et habent usque in presenti hora formaietos [probably the same as 'fermaleos] tam a dricia [i.e. for the hair] quam a spalle, colanas, annulos, et quecumque alia jocalia, et perlas, ad affictum [i.e. on hire], teneantur et debeant, infra terminum dierum octo, dare in nota nostris thesaurarijs novis omnia que tenent et habent de predictis, et quorum sunt, et quo pretio talia tenent. Et siquis non obedierit, transacto ipso termino, cadat de quarto valoris rei, que in scriptis non dederit. Et ex nunc captum sit, quod omnes illi qui dant de predictis ad affictum solvere teneantur, pro una vice tantum nostris thesaurarijs suprascriptis, medietatem affictus quem de predictis habent. (*Senato, Terra*, Reg. III. p. 91.)

[11] Ib. Reg. IV. p. 146, 14 June, 1460.

[12] P. Casola, *Viaggio a Gerusalemme*, p. 15.

no doubt partly from motives of economy, and partly to avoid swelling the numbers in the Senate. Moreover, the Spartan simplicity of early Venice only disappeared by degrees, so that special magistrates were at first unnecessary. The work was divided mainly between the Quarantia, or Council of Forty—the chief criminal and civil court, which frequently framed the sumptuary laws, sanctioned afterwards by the Senate or the Maggior Consiglio—the Avvocatori di Comune; the Signori di Notte; the Procuratori di Comune; the Signori or Ufficiali di Levante; the Capi dei Sestieri; the Capi delle Contrade; and the Giustizieri Vecchi.

The Avvocatori di Comune have a very ancient origin, preceding the reform of the Grand Council in 1297.

They were so called because, as advocates and judges of matters relating to the public treasury, they safeguarded and defended the rights of the Commune. They resembled the tribunes of the plebs in the Roman Republic. They judged summarily certain small offences, and in the graver they were the public prosecutors.[13]

Book A of the Avvogaria, or Court of the Avvocatori, records two prosecutions for violation of the Sumptuary Law of the Senate of the year 1400.[14] This enacted that, to avoid

[13] *Venezia e le sue Lagune*, i. Append. p. 54.

[14] *Avvogaria del Comune. Maggior Consiglio*, Deliberazioni, 1309–1417 A, No. 10, p. 4. The text of the law is as follows:

Pro Manicis et Pellandis.—Quia quando cognoscimus quod per cives nostros fiat aliqua expensa que sit Deo displicibilis, damnosa sibi et filijs suis, nos debemus providere, et dicte expense remedium invenire, et *tam ut faciamus rem ipsi Deo gratam*, quam bonam et honorabilem toti terre, et accommodam civibus antedictis: Vadit pars, quod a prima die mensis Augusti proximi in antea aliqua persona, *cuiuscumque etatis et conditionis existat, et tam masculus quam femina, nobis subiecta*, et que habeat domicilium in Venetiis, et in aliis terris nostris, non audeat nec presumat portare nec habere in domo vel extra domum aliquam socham neque aliud indumentum, manichas habens, que vel quod habeat ipsas manichas largas seu quo volvant in aliqua parte, plus quam quartas octo pro qualibet manicha, nec habeat colaria alta nisi usque ad mentum, nec de cetero facere sibi de novo fieri aliquod tale indumentum quod sit largum a pede plus quam brachijs octo, sub pena perdendi dictam socham vel indumentum quod esset contra istum ordinem, cum omnibus fulcimentis [i.e. trimming, especially lining] que reperientur esse dictis indumentis, et ultra hoc ducatos decem . . . *quam penam exigant advocatores Comunis et omnes alij officiales contrabannorum* . . . declarando quod mariti pro uxoribus suis, et patres pro filijs et filiabus familias, et similiter quilibet et quelibet, qui et que teneret aliquem vel aliquam in domo sua, qui vel que non haberet de suo unde solvere, solvere teneantur. *Salvo* si, per denunciam et manifestationem factam advocatoribus Communis per ipsos patres, vel tenentes aliquem de predictis in domo foret manifestatum quod ipsi filij vel filie vel stantes secum

expenses displeasing to God and damnable to the individual and his family, no man or woman residing within the Venetian dominions should wear a 'socha,' or other garment having wide sleeves, or a collar reaching above the chin, or trimmed or lined in an unlawful fashion. Heads of households were responsible for their wives, children, and dependents carrying out the law, save that they were permitted to report cases which they were unable to control to the Avvocatori, who then carried out the ordinance themselves by exacting fines, or, if no fine could be got, imprisonment. Tailors who made garments contrary to the statute were liable to a month's imprisonment. Du Cange explains 'socca' or 'socha' as 'vestis muliebris species.' In the condemnation of Ser Pietro Contareno, it is evident that it was worn also by men. The 'socha' of the body of the statute and the 'pellanda' mentioned in the title are clearly one and the same: an outer garment with sleeves that tended to become exorbitantly large. The pellanda probably took its name from the fur with which it was sometimes, though not necessarily, edged or lined. The prosecutions show that the law did not remain a dead letter.[15]

in domo nolint obedire parti predicte. In quo casu dicti advocatores partem ipsam [i.e. the statute] per tales inobedientes debeant facere observari, auferendo ab eis penam ut superius dictum est. *Et si non possent tantum de suo reperire, quod dictam penam possent auferre, poni illos faciant in carceribus*, de quibus exire non valeant nisi solverint ut est dictum . . . *Insuper ordinetur quod aliquis magister sartor nec magistra sarta*, neque aliqua alia persona, audeat vel presumat incidere decetero aliquam socham vel aliud indumentum manichas habens contra partem predictam, sub pena standi uno mense in uno carcerum inferiorum, et ducatorum decem pro quolibet indumento quod incideret contra id quod dictum est et qualibet vice. (*Senato, Delib. Miste*, Reg. XLV. p. 19.)

[15] In one of them we encounter 'Anechinus *de Frantia* sartor condanatus per offitium dominorum advocatorum Comunis propter pellandas repertas contra formam partis fuisse factas, prout hic inferius notabitur.—M°CCCC° (more Veneto), die xviiii. Februarij. Cum viris egregijs et nobilibus dominis Philipo Corario, Thoma Mozenigo, et Nicolao Foscari, honorabilibus advocatoribus Comunis, *facta fuerit consciencia* quod uxor viri nobilis Ser Johannis Georgio, quondam Ser Bertucij, habuerat die domenico Carnis privij prox. pret. in dorso quandam pelandam albam de sirico, habentem manicas et colare contra formam partis capte in Rogatis [i.e. in the Senate], et propterea prefati domini advocatores Comunis ex offitio suo, non valentes, ex debito juramenti sui, aliter pertransire, *habita dicta pelanda alba uxoris prelibati Ser Johannis Georgio, et ipsa mensurata*, habentes dictam pelandam fuisse factam contra formam partis capte in Rogatis M°CCCC° die xxi. Junij, terminaverunt et habuerunt ipsam fore perditam, et prefatum Ser Johannem incurrisse penam contentam in

The epoch of the institution of the Signori di Notte is uncertain, but probably earlier than 1250. According to Marino Sanudo, there were at first two, who divided between them the inspection of the city; after 1262, six, one for each sestiere. They were entrusted with the maintenance of order, especially by night, and were aided by the Capi Sestieri, the heads of the six divisions of the city, and the Capi delle Contrade, the chief men of each parish, responsible for the public quiet in their district. The Signori di Notte held also a criminal court, and were empowered to judge murder, theft, and similar crimes. A liberal and systematic use of torture was part of their procedure. Casola (page 6), in describing the upper colonnade of the Ducal Palace, wrote:

> Many offices are arranged under the porticoes, each with its bench. On every bench there are at least three assessors . . . and there at the hour of the audience many cries may be heard, as is also the case at Milan at the Broletto, at the time of the trials. Amongst the Courts is that of the Signori di Notte, who use the torment, . . . in our tongue, 'el curlo.'

With regard to the Leggi sopra le Pompe, the Signori di Notte and their coadjutors had special facilities for discovering offenders, from the nature of their duties, and they were generally charged with the exaction of the penalties.

The Procuratori di Comune had the supervision of the streets, bridges, and buildings of the city; and were also empowered to inspect the confraternities of the arti, scuole, &c. The latter functions they shared with the Giustizieri Vecchi. As the law attacked the *makers* as well as the wearers of forbidden articles of luxury, it was natural to make use of the two magistracies last named. The arts

ipsa parte . . . Et supra scripti domini advocatores Comunis, *habito a supra-scripto viro nobili Ser Johanne* Georgio, quod Johannes Mesier *sartor fecerat dictam pelandam albam*, et dato sacramento dicto Ser Johanni, si prefatus sartor scinderat manicas dicte pelande, et ipso jurante quod sic, terminaverunt dictum Johannem Mesier sartorem contrafecisse dicte parti et incurrisse penam contentam in ipsa parte.' There follows the condemnation of Ser Petrus Contareno because he was found to possess 'unam pelandam nigram de veluto habentem manicas et colare' contrary to the law. Finding from Ser Pietro that *Anechinus de Frantia sartor* had cut out and made the offending garment, the Avvocatori sent Master Anechino to join Master Giovanni in the prisons below—no doubt after paying his 10 ducats of a fine. (*Avvogaria del Comune*, Reg. A, p. 4.)

chiefly affected were those of the 'sartori,' the tailors and dressmakers, and the 'orefici,' the goldsmiths and jewellers.

The Officers of the Levant watched the contraband traffic with the eastern Mediterranean, from whence came magnificent stuffs prized in mediæval Venice. The Office of the Levant was in existence in the thirteenth century, and in all probability did not survive the fifteenth, its functions being absorbed by other councils.

It has been said that on June 21, 1400, the 'Advocatores Comunis et omnes alij officiales Contrabannorum' were charged with the carrying out of the law. A note appended to the copy in Book A of the Avvogaria gives a list of the officers of the contraband trade.[16]

On May 15, 1356, the decree forbidding feasts of any kind late at night during the winter provided that the execution be committed to all officials having license to carry arms.[17] Unfortunately the list of the officers having this right is not given. Amongst them would certainly be the Signori di Notte, Capi Sestieri, and Capi delle Contrade.

There is evidence that offenders did not always tamely submit to the interference of the authorities. In 1441, September 25, the Comune of Verona secured the sanction of the Senate to a sumptuary law which imposed fines on recalcitrant ladies and their husbands in cases where they abused or assaulted the police.[18]

In 1512, May 8, after minute regulations concerning the kind and number of viands to be offered at any banquet, it was decreed that

> the waiters and cooks who serve at the said feasts are compelled, the waiters under pain of 20 ducats, and the cooks under pain of 10 ducats and four months' imprisonment, to come to our office (Provveditori sopra le

[16] Nomina offitialium quibus hec pars commissa est: Dominis advocatoribus Comunis, Dominis de Nocte, Cathavere, Capitibus Postarum, Capitibus Sexteriorum, Offitialibus Levantis, Provisoribus Comunis, Offitialibus Tabularum, Offitialibus Datij Vini.

[17] *Maggior Consiglio*, Reg. Novella, p. 44.

[18] Si qua mulier fuerit inobediens alicui de officialibus deputatis, volenti mensurare caudam vestis vel aliter inquirere de vetitis, habeatur pro culpabili et rea rei vetite et condemnari debeat de commisso. *Mares [i.e. mariti] vero qui pro muliere inobediente se interponerent contra aliquem de dictis officialibus inquirere volentem, cadant in eandem penam pro quoque eorum. Et si ipsi*

Pompe) and declare the time and place of any banquet for which they have been engaged, in order that our officers may be sent to inspect, and find out if in any respect the law will be violated. And the waiters, under the aforesaid penalty, are under obligation to lead the officers through the halls and smaller rooms, in order that they may perform their duty. *And if any person of the house where they happen to be, or any other person, should interfere with our officers, and forbid them to do their duty, or should molest them in any way by making use of injurious epithets, or throwing bread or oranges at their heads, as certain presumptuous persons have done,* or should be guilty of any insolent act, it will be the duty of the waiters to leave the house immediately, and not to wait nor be present at the banquet, under the aforesaid penalty. And nevertheless they shall have their salary, as if they had served.[19]

The 'presumptuous person,' if a noble, was liable to a fine of 100 ducats; if a plebeian, of 50 ducats. Much instructive information with regard to the violence of the times, and the necessity of permitting certain officers to carry arms for defence, is afforded by the 'Raspe,' containing the records of trials before the Avvocatori, and by the registers of the Signori di Notte.

The fines and articles confiscated were divided between the officers carrying out the law; the Comune; the secret accusers, who were to be held 'in credentia'—that is, their names were not to be revealed—and later, the Arsenal, which was always in need of funds. As has been seen, servants were encouraged, even compelled, to accuse their masters and mistresses, and for this the male and female slaves were promised freedom in addition to the pecuniary reward. Slavery was an institution in Venice, not singular in this respect among the other States of Italy.

The criminal calendar records quarrels of bands of slaves at the Rialto. The Capi Sestieri, the Signori di Notte, the Officers of the Peace are empowered to put them in chains, to beat and otherwise correct them. . . . If a slave had been freed (and that used to happen frequently, and almost always at the death of his master), the law was ready to defend him. . . . Slavery existed certainly in the 16th century, and continued as a trade in a product of the soil well into the succeeding century.

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mares dicerent vel facerent iniuriam dicto officiali, cadant pro quoque eorum in *penam xxv ducatorum pro verbis iniuriosis, et quinquaginta ducatorum pro factis.* (*Senato, Terra*, Reg. i. p. 42.)

[19] Ib. Reg. XVIII. p. 11.

Amongst so much fervour of religious practices . . . . a second family was tolerated within the legal family; and besides many free illegitimate children, it was not uncommon for the masters of the female slaves to sell into slavery the children of these women of whom they themselves were the fathers.[20]

The 'gerenti responsabili,' as one may call the husbands and fathers who were responsible for the conduct of their wives, daughters, &c., were not only fined for infringement of the statutes, but were occasionally called on to contribute to the treasury, in the form of an extra loan, the luxury of their women being taken as a proof of their ability to contribute more than others.

The three chiefs of the Council of Forty proposed on March 4, 1442, that the Grand Council should systematise this practice.[21] A good many councillors seem to have taken fright, thinking of their purses, probably, and what they had left at home. The measure was rejected, after being balloted twice.

A year later, however (March 20, 1443), the Senate, sanctioned an analogous but less complicated proposal,[22] brought

[20] Cecchetti, *La Donna nel Medio Evo a Venezia*, in *Archivio Veneto*, xxxi. 324.

[21] Si quid esse potest quod a nobis benignitatem omnipotentis Dei removere possit, contra omnes bonos et laudabiles mores progenitorum nostrorum, et inducere confusionem et scandalum inter nobiles nostros, *qui debent uno honore et una dignitate gaudere*, est cum totis conatibus providere, quod excessive expense, que quotidie augentur in malum, ad vestitum inutilem mulierum, et consumptionem virorum eorum ac filiorum suorum, penitus auferantur. Sed quoniam, in premissis diligentius exequendis, *pauci sunt qui timorem et reverentiam Dei curent*, expedit pro honore et bono huius rei publice *ut saltem terrore pene* et incursu maioris damni tales presumptuosi se abstineant a premissis: Vadit pars, ad honorem et laudem Dei et commune bonum omnium, quod omnes illi quorum uxores ab hodierna die in antea portaverint aliquam vestem laboratam de auro . . . valoris ducatorum ducentorum usque ad quadringentos, statim et incontinenti poni debeat *ad faciendum de imprestitis pro dicta veste, ultra id quod facit vel facere deberet pro alijs suis bonis de libris* iii^{c}. Et si dicta vestis erit maioris precij ducatorum iiii^{c} vel abinde supra, ponatur pro ea ut dictum *est de libris* v^{c}, qui vero vestiri et portari permitteret per aliquam eius uxorem ultra unam vestem valoris et condicionis supradicte, in quolibet casu, *debeat poni pro tot vestibus quas haberet, et portari permitteret*, ad faciendum de imprestitis ut supradictum est. (*Maggior Consiglio*, Reg. Ursa, p. 134.)

[22] Cum introducta sit consuetudo, a parvo tempore tamen citra, quod quicunque, qui uxoratur, *cuiuscunque sit condictionis*, vult facere uxori sue vestem panni aurj, et quemadmodum prius consueverunt expendi in una veste ducati cl usque ii^{c}, nunc expendunt ducatos sexcentos, et omni anno augmentantur huiusmodi expense, quod est consumptio nostrorum civium, et quod peius est, provocatur ira summi Creatoris nostri, et ad hoc nullatenus provideri valeat, nisi omnino obvietur quod deferri nequeat: Vadit pars quod de cetero domina aliqua, cuiuscumque condictionis existat, non possit portare

forward by 'Ser Marcus Foscarj, procurator,' and the 'Sapientes Consilij.'

The attention paid to religious observance in Venice struck Pietro Casola as it had impressed Comines, and the former wrote in his journal, in terms curiously similar to Comines' well-known words:

> I have been to Rome, the chief city of the world, and in other parts of Italy, and even in places far from Italy—I do not say this to detract from any one, but to speak the truth—I have not found anywhere so many beautiful churches, and so well adorned, as there are in Venice . . . . and this makes me think very strongly that the Venetians must be so well protected by God in all their affairs, because they are very solicitous concerning divine worship in all their churches.[23]

The religious sentiment went deeper than outward form. The spirit of devotion pervading the antique phraseology of the whole series of sumptuary laws is a running comment on the familiar passage from *The Stones of Venice*:

> We find . . . . a deep and constant tone of individual religion characterising the lives of the citizens of Venice in her greatness; we find this spirit influencing them in all the familiar and immediate concerns of life, giving a peculiar dignity to the conduct even of their commercial transactions, and confessed by them with a simplicity of faith that may well put to shame the hesitation with which a man of the world at present admits (even if it be so in reality) that religious feeling has any influence over the minor branches of his conduct.[24]

The form in which the feeling found expression may sometimes excite a smile, when, for example, the Deity was presumed to interest Himself in the fashion of dress, or the number of viands offered at a feast; but the underlying principle and the sincerity cannot be doubted. As in prophetic vision, the wise Venetian statesmen foresaw the terrible, inexorable sequence chanted by the great prophet and moralist who loved and mourned over their city, fallen from her high estate:

vestem, investituram vel zornetam, panni auri vel argenti aut sirici brocati, sive recamati de auro vel argento. Et siquis tam presumptuosus erit, quod faciat sive permittat uxorem suam sive etiam filiam non nuptam ferre tales vestes, investituras vel zornetas, *ipse talis illico ponatur ob hanc causam ad faciendum de imprestitis de libris mille*, and, if a noble, was to be excluded from the Maggior Consiglio and all office for five years. (*Senato, Terra*, Reg. I. p. 91.)

[23] Casola, loc. cit. p. 11.

[24] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, i. 8.

From pride to infidelity, from infidelity to the unscrupulous and insatiable pursuit of pleasure, and from this to irremediable degradation the transitions were swift like the falling of a star.[25]

And they did what in them lay, according to the light they had, to arrest the people on the first step of the decline.

Sometimes the Church was called upon to help the State, and this in turn provoked appeals to Rome.

Gallicciolli quotes from a chronicler who wrote in 1437:

The war with the Duke of Milan being continued, and the Duke having good fortune owing to much treachery, the Commune of Venice appealed to God, and ordered many sermons to be preached and alms to be given, with devout processions. And Lorenzo Zustignan, a man of saintly life, made provision with regard to the sumptuousness of the women, and commanded that after the first day of August, under pain of excommunication, no woman might wear silk, or false hair, or trains to her dresses, nor adorn her head with gold or silver or pearls, nor wear long sleeves, nor ornament her sleeves with pearls.

As Gallicciolli says, 'the zeal of that saintly man must have remained inflexible,' for the writer continues:

In a short time, and on account of this matter, Zaccaria Zen and Francesco Loredan were sent by the Commune of Venice ambassadors to the Pope to seek permission for the women of Venice to wear the forbidden articles, and they obtained a good license.[26]

With the fear of so many excommunications, the Government relented for a moment. Nevertheless, on August 2, 1438, the Senate had recourse to their bishop, feeling unable to struggle alone against the costly ornaments and trailing skirts of their women.[27] He was entreated to condemn these excesses, and the Council declared that it would strictly carry out his condemnation.

This appeal to spiritual authority throws light on two quaint petitions presented to the Pope by Venetian ladies of the quattrocento. The first is the supplication of Cristina Correr, who sought license to wear the clothes and ornaments she possessed yet dared not use, but whose use she felt was due to the position of her family and to her own beauty.[28]

[25] Ib. iii. 109. [26] Gallicciolli, *Memorie Venete Antiche*, lib. i. cap. x.

[27] *Senato, Delib. Miste*, Reg. LX. p. 100.

[28] Beatissime Pater: Cum in civitate Venetiarum sit ab antiquo per illius tunc ordinarium edita constitutio, seu statutum, in qua seu quo cavetur quod mulieres eiusdem civitatis capillos, circulos, annulos, monilia, vestimenta,

The permission was given for three years. The cost was 4 ducats and 1 grosso. The second petition is similar in tenor, and was addressed to the Holy Father by Felix and Benedicta Donata, and other 'Nobiles Venetiarum.' It was granted with the same form.

I do not know whether these dispensations were recognised by the secular power in Venice, always more or less restive at any appearance of Papal interference. It was certainly possible in later times for the rich to override the law, if, as Boerio tells us, 'pagar le pompe' was a well-known phrase, meaning 'to pay the fine or penalty established by the sumptuary laws, in order to be able to disregard these laws, and do what they prohibited.'[29]

It is no matter for surprise that Venetian statesmen knew so well, and to the smallest detail, the varieties and prices of all kinds of dress, and household goods and ornaments. Venice in the Middle Ages, like ancient Tyre

zonas, manuquetos auri et argenti, lapides preciosos, choculos seu planellas, ac alia preciosa iocalia et ornamenta publice deferre, sub certa pena non debeant; et propterea devota vestra Cristina, filia quondam Andreae Correr de Veneciis, *licet pluribus iocalibus et ornamentis habundare noscatur, illa deferre non audet.* Quare supplicat Sanctitati vestrae prefata, quae de nobili genere procreata existit, quatenus sibi de cetero in antea circulos, annulos, monilia, vestimenta, zonas, manuquetos auri et argenti, margaritas, lapides preciosos, choculos seu planellas, ac alia iocalia et preciosa ornamenta predicta *in parentum suorum honorem, et ipsius venustate,* publice deferre, et illis, iuxta morem et consuetudinem in dicta civitate, ante huiusmodi constitutionem observatam, quoad vixerit libere ac licite uti possit et valeat, concedere et indulgere dignemini, de gracia speciali, non obstantibus constitutione et statuto predictis ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque.—C. Foucard, *Lo Statuto inedito delle Nozze Veneziane nell' 1299* (1858).

[29] Boerio, *Dizionario del Dialetto Veneziano.* The measures of length which regulated the length of a train or the height of the zoccoli or shoes, or the circumference of a sleeve, are the braccio and the quarta or quarto. The braccio is still sometimes used in the Veneto and in Tuscany, and it may be in other parts of Italy. It corresponds to 68 centimetres, rather more than two feet. The quarta was the fourth part of the braccio.

A brief note will suffice to give some idea of the money used and its value. According to Gallicciolli (*Delle Mem. Ven. Ant.* lib. i. cap. xii.), the zecchino d'oro or ducato, when it was first coined in 1284, was equivalent to 3 lire di'piccoli, 2 lire di grossi, 18 grossi (money of account only), 60 soldi di piccoli, 40 soldi di grossi. The lira, whether large or small, always consisted of 20 soldi, and the soldo was subdivided into denari, grossi or piccoli. In 1450 the ducat was reckoned at 6 lire di piccoli and 4 soldi, and so remained for nearly fifty years. As an example of the change brought by the centuries, Gallicciolli gives the following:—In 1335 Pietro Baccari left 50 lire di piccoli for a certain 'mansionario.' In 1758, taking into consideration the change in the value of money, the magistrates in charge of the Scuole Grandi ordered L366 15 *s.* to be paid to the 'mansionario' as an equivalent.

and modern England, was pre-eminently a State whose prosperity was based on a flourishing commerce, and whose navy was developed to protect her trade, and the possessions it brought her, beyond her own shores. The nobles were great wholesale merchants. The watergates of their palaces opened into great warehouses filled with goods brought by the fleets from the ends of the earth, from north and south, from east and west. Though their blood was kept fairly pure from contamination with the plebeian herd, they were necessarily in intimate daily communication with the shopkeepers of the Rialto and the Merceria.

II

In the fourteenth century legislation concerned itself chiefly with checking extravagance in dress in all classes of society: in regulating the ceremonies at weddings, in reducing the expenses on these occasions and at the festival 'Delle Marie,' held in January each year to commemorate the rape of the Venetian brides by the Illyrian pirates, and the ancient marriage customs, but discontinued after 1378–80.

The earliest law known to exist was framed by two patrician councils, one of twenty and one of seven, and was sanctioned by the Maggior Consiglio, May 2, 1299.[30] Part I. refers to weddings. It forbade the giving or receiving of presents, save 'pladenate' or goblets. These might be sent to the house of the bride and bridegroom, and to the priest of the parish. It may be assumed that they were not sent empty.

The bride might not be accompanied by more than eight women. The number of guests at a wedding feast was limited to forty—twenty men and twenty women. A male below the age of twenty was not considered a man, and a girl under thirteen was not considered a woman unless married or a widow. Any person going to a feast uninvited was liable to a penalty. The fine for offenders against the above was twenty soldi grossi, and the law was entrusted for

[30] Foucard, loc. cit., published the Statute from *Maggior Consiglio*, Reg. Fractus, XL. 94, with useful explanations, largely adopted in the text.

execution to the Avvocatori di Comune and the Signori di Notte.

Part II. deals with dress in general, and of a bride in particular. The bride was permitted to have a 'zoia' or ornament for the head or neck. She might have a pearl-embroidered border, 'frexatura perlarum,' on her wedding dress. These borders were forbidden to other women. She was to have only four new dresses. No man or woman might have more than two fur cloaks, or a woman more than one cloak lined with silk, unless she was obliged to wear mourning ('corrotto'), in which case she might have a second. Border ornaments to the cloaks were forbidden. The train of a woman's tunic might not exceed one braccio, or that of the underdress half a braccio. A bride might exceptionally have as long a train as she liked on her nuptial dress. Existing garments might keep whatever length of train they had. But none were to be made contrary to the law under penalty of twenty great shillings.[31]

'Drezadori' or 'drezatores perlarum'—i.e. probably strings of pearls to be woven amongst the hair—were absolutely prohibited. One 'cavezatura,' or row of gold or amber buttons, costing at most ten soldi di grossi, might be worn at the neck of the dress; and also one 'drezeria perlarum' (probably an ornament for the hair which could be transferred to the collar of the dress), costing at most one hundred soldi. The penalty attached was one hundred soldi.

The Giustizieri Vecchi were required to take an oath from tailors, dressmakers, &c., to obey the law, and refrain from making illegal garments and ornaments. The ladies of the palace, i.e. the relatives of the Doge, were exempted, as usual in later statutes, from the operation of the law, which the Signori di Notte alone were to carry out as regards Part II.

The statute evidently did not work well, and was repealed

[31] Salvo quod sponsa possit habere ad tunicam sponsalem solummodo qualem caudam voluerit. Et panni [i.e. all garments] qui hodie sunt remaneant quantum in caudis sicut sunt, et decetero non possit fieri facere nisi sicut dictum est, sub pena solidorum xx grossorum.'

by the Great Council, February 8, 1306 (*more Veneto*), with one exception.[32] The 'drezatores perlarum' were still rigorously forbidden.

A few years later, in 1304, Frate Paolino wrote in his book on *The Government of the Family*:

> The wife interferes with the study of wisdom, nor is there anyone who can attend properly to wisdom and to the wife at the same time. While the husband takes trouble to satisfy her with everything in fashion, as costly garments, gold, precious stones, servants, and household goods, she is still full of lamentations, and says, 'That woman is better dressed than I am—that other woman is more honoured than I am—and I, unhappy woman! am despised by all. What have you brought me from the Rialto?'

And again:

> Sometimes the man follows too much the will of the woman in buying her ornaments, and this gives rise to much evil, excessive expenditure, and the woman is more than ever filled with pride, and for vainglory desires still more to go out and show herself. Therefore the man should dress his wife as he thinks right, and according to the manner which prevails among his equals. And if the custom of the city in this respect is extravagant, it should be regulated by laws after the manner of the Romans.[33]

Frate Paolino may have helped in forming public opinion. At any rate, in May 1334, ten 'Sapientes' were elected, including two procuratori di San Marco, to make investigations and report to the Senate.[34] The result was the voluminous act of June 20, 1334.[35] It is often very far from clear in the wording, and was vitiated by exceptions, no doubt dictated by a laudable desire for economy, but which opened the door to unlimited evasion. New dresses, for example, were to be made according to the law; but dresses already made were left in nearly every case to be worn out as they were.

It prohibited to women dresses of cloth of gold,[36] and costly trimmings on the cloaks. The bride alone might wear a train and have *two* wedding dresses of velvet or silk

[32] *Maggior Consiglio*, Reg. Capricornus, xv. 32.
[33] Foucard, loc. cit. Appendix.
[34] *Senato, Delib. Miste*, Reg. 1333–4, p. 65. [35] Ib. p. 69.
[36] Vestes vel varnimenta aliqua de panno ad aurum, laborato ad acum, nec de *nassiccio* [?].

Males above ten years old might not wear silk or velvet, or cloth of gold, and their ornaments were limited to the 'peroli' and 'asoleti'—buttons and fastenings of silver and gold.

A woman might have one gold ornament for the hair or neck, of the maximum value of fifteen soldi di grossi. All her other ornaments together, including pearls, were not to exceed in value seven lire di grossi. Girls under ten years must not possess or wear pearls or precious stones. Brides under ten were excepted from this rule. A woman's girdle must not cost more than twelve soldi di grossi, and she might not have little knives, a needle-case or a purse, or anything else hanging from her girdle which was valued at more than ten soldi grossi.

The bride might now be accompanied by twenty married women or widows, and by ten unmarried girls. The bridegroom might have forty women—married or widows—to receive the bride, and fifteen girls. A woman at a banquet, given on the occasion of a wedding or of the 'festa delle Marie,' must not be accompanied by her maid.

Banquets of men only were prohibited on the day of a wedding and fifteen days before or after; and the festivities called 'tornate,' to celebrate the first visit of a bride to her relatives, were abolished. A corpse was not to be carried to the tomb, or buried, in any secular habit,[37] save a shirt of hair or rough wool, or other cheap stuff, under penalty of fifty lire di piccoli, which was to be exacted from the heirs or executors. Doctors, lawyers, knights and physicians were excepted from this ordinance.

The persons responsible for carrying these provisions into effect were the Officers of the Levant. For this purpose, they were required to attend at their office every morning in the week except Saturday, and they each received for the extra work an addition to their salary of thirty soldi di grossi

[37] 'Scilicet seculari, alio scilicet quam de cilicio seu stamegna, vel alio habitu minoris valoris, sub pena librarum 50 parvarum . . . quam penam solvere teneantur heredes vel commissarij . . . Exceptis tamen ab hac strictura et ordinatione *doctoribus, iuristis, militibus, et medicis.*' The *stamegna* was a coarse shirt of wool worn by monks who were not austere enough to torture themselves with the *cilicium.*

a year. They were to have special servants, and 'extimatores'—persons whose duty was to estimate the value of jewels and dresses suspected to be in contravention of the law. They might imprison an offender until the fine was paid. The fines were to be divided in two parts; one half for the Officers of the Levant—which was to be shared with the servants, if through the energy of one or more a guilty person was condemned—the other half for the Commune. If there was an accuser outside the office 'per cuius accusationem veritas habeatur,' he was to receive a third of the fines and be held 'de credentia'; another third went to the officers, and a third to the Commune. Every six months, and oftener if necessary, the Officers of the Levant were ordered to appear before the Senate and explain how much such legislation profited the honour and welfare of the State, and also to propose further changes if it seemed advisable, on which the Senate would deliberate.

The law was to be proclaimed every six months, by the public criers on the Piazza and the Rialto, and was to come into operation on the succeeding July 1.

An inquisition so intimate into the life of the family could hardly remain long unattacked. Within two years Ser Ziani Baduario proposed the repeal of the law; but he had to wait three years more before his point was carried.

Meanwhile, in 1336, on February 15, a curious provision received the sanction of a majority of the Senate. It ordained that, since many follies were daily committed at wedding feasts and elsewhere, no person should be allowed to ask ladies to supper, save his near kinswomen, between Michaelmas and Easter. Both the host and his lady guests were fined if they broke this law.[38]

[38] *Cum multa inepta committantur cotidie de sero ad nuptias*, et in conspectu dominarum ibi existencium, et aliter, in minus honoris dominationis, et nisi in hoc provideatur opportune, multa scandala possent oriri, ut precidatur materia tanti mali: Vadit pars quod nunc et decetero a festo Sancti Michaelis de mense Septembris, usque per totum carnis privium, aliqua persona, cuiuscunque condicionis existat, non audeat nec propter nuptias, nec propter Marias, nec aliqua alia occasione, in domo sua facere cenam vel convivium dominarum, exceptis sororibus, nuribus, neptibus, et cognatis sponsi, et ex parte sponsi seu illius, qui eas haberet in convivio, vel in cena, intelligendo neptes, filias filiorum vel filiarum, fratrum vel sororum, sub pena librarum decem parvarum pro qualibet domina quam haberet ad convivium vel ad cenam contra predicta, et in

The evil must have been serious, for on February 13, 1339, the Maggior Consiglio re-enacted the decree of the Senate in almost the same terms.[39] The execution, however, was handed to three bodies reinforcing each other—the Signori di Notte, the Capi Sestieri, and the Ufficiali di Levante. A third of the fines went to the secret accuser.

A few days later, February 22, 1339, another glimpse is afforded of the nocturnal disorders of the time. The Maggior Consiglio forbade any persons to walk about the city so disguised 'as not to be recognisable,' and especially from the third hour after sunset until the first bell rang from the belfry of St. Mark's in the morning.[40] In August 1443, every man found wearing a woman's dress or other 'habito desconveniente' was liable to lose the garment, pay a fine of 100 lire, and go to prison for six months.[41]

Again in 1356, May 15, the Great Council decreed 'that inasmuch as many foolish things were done on the evening of wedding festivities,' no one might keep any person, male or female, at a wedding supper, or even in the house without supper, after the third hour of the night, save their accustomed servitors.[42] Again both host and guest were fined if they contravened the statute. The work of bringing offenders to justice was entrusted to the officers having license to carry arms. I do not know that the act was ever formally rescinded; probably, with the softening of manners and customs, it passed into oblivion.

Meanwhile, in 1339, five councillors and a majority of the

similem penam cadant ille domine, que remanerent contra premissa. (*Senato, Delib. Miste*, Reg. 1335–8, p. 71.)

[39] *Maggior Consiglio, Delib. Spiritus*, p. 109.

[40] Ib. p. 109.

[41] *Senato, Terra*, Reg. I. p. 105.

[42] 'Exceptis servitoribus consuetis et opportunis, sub pena librarum cc *cuilibet nobili* retinenti personas predictas, et librarum l cuilibet nobili, masculo vel femine, stanti ad ipsam cenam . . . et *librarum* c *cuilibet alterius condicionis*, retinenti personas predictas, et librarum xxv. cuilibet alterius condicionis, masculo vel femine, stanti ad dictam cenam.' A clause was inserted this time which throws light on the 'multa inepta et vana' perpetrated on such occasions. 'Insuper, ad aliquas nuptias que *fient aliquo tempore anni*, nullus debeat *molestare, auferre, vel retinere* sponsam sive noviciam sub pena librarum l pro quolibet et qualibet vice. Si quis autem contrafacientium non posset solvere condemnationes predictas, stet loco condemnationis, *si fuerit nobilis, sex mensibus in carcere*; *et si fuerit alterius condicionis, mensibus tribus*.' (*Maggior Consiglio*, Novella, p. 44.)

Great Council had come round to the opinion of Ser Ziani Baduario—that the extraordinarily detailed measure of 1334 did more harm than good, and it was repealed.[43]

Certain clauses were re-enacted: (1) limiting the length of trains of dresses; (2) forbidding mistresses to take their maids to wedding and other feasts; (3) forbidding 'drezatores perlarum' and pearl ornaments or borders for dresses, 'frexatura de perlis.'

Save in these points, and the matter of late suppers, the city was free for a while to do as it pleased.

The great plague of 1347 and 1348, which depopulated Venice in common with the rest of Europe, found an echo in the Sumptuary Laws. There could not have been a house which did not number one or more among the dead. The air of sorrow and mourning was heart-breaking, and injuriously depressing to the survivors. On August 7, 1348,[44] when it may be assumed that the fury of the plague had diminished, the Senate was preoccupied by the necessity of diverting the attention of the people from past suffering, and enacted that, 'since an infinite number of men and women, both of great and of low estate, are wearing mourning[45] in the city, whereby grief and affliction are induced to the beholder, and since it is more useful for the State to remove such sorrow and put in its stead mirth and rejoicing,' neither men nor women might go about in black, dark green, or dark blue clothes, and no woman might wear a dark or mourning veil over the head.

The act did not apply to women over fifty years old, nor to the very poor, who by reason of their poverty had no other clothes. This law was rescinded by the Senate February 1365 (*more Veneto*).[46]

The mourning costume was very curious. It consisted of a kind of toga of black cloth, with a very long train, and

[43] Cum ordines facti occasione nuptiarum et ordinatarum expensarum, que fiebant tam in pannis, quam ornamentis et aliis, *inducant confusionem et impedimentum civitati, sicut est omnibus manifestum, et sicut etiam officiales ad hoc constituti asserunt.* (*Maggior Consiglio, Delib. Spiritus*, Reg. XXIV. p. 97.)

[44] *Senato, Delib. Miste*, Reg. XXIV. p. 91.

[45] *Pannos de corocio.*

[46] *Senato, Delib. Miste*, Reg. XXXI. p. 131.

a berretta or head-covering resembling a mitre. The toga was left trailing the ground even in the rain and mud. At intervals a piece was cut off the bottom, and it became decidedly short before the period of mourning ended.

It is worthy of note that in early days the Government sought to brighten the city by the costumes, within limits of reasonable expenditure. It was only as the struggle between simplicity and extravagance became more acute that the gondola was shorn of its gay trappings, and the women went abroad in sober dresses and with their heads shrouded in black veils.

Even in August 1443, the Senate accepted the proposal of Ser Bartholomeo Marcello one of the heads of the Quarantia. It is in the Venetian dialect, and reads:

> Whereas, for some time, an abominable fashion has been introduced among our ladies and other females of every condition, who go about with the head and face covered, contrary to the ancient and good custom; under which dishonest mode various dishonest acts have been and every day are committed, against the honour of God and of our dominion. . . . It is decreed that for the future no lady or other woman or girl, of any condition whatsoever, may go abroad with the head and face covered beyond what has been the custom, by land or by water, except those ladies and other good persons who desire to hear mass, and sermons, and divine service, and attend confession. . . . To such it is conceded, when they enter any church for the said reasons, to remain covered as it shall please them. Further, all ladies and other females may go covered to the earliest communions in their parish churches, or in the convent churches near, but only on Sundays and the prescribed festivals, and they may return home covered: . . . it being understood that the earliest communions are those before high mass.[47]

The policy of *laissez faire* being evidently as little satisfactory as had been the previous attempts at interference, the Senate, May 21, 1360, undertook once more to legislate on the subject of weddings and wedding customs, dresses, ornaments, and luxury generally.

The preamble is eminently characteristic of the spirit in which Venetian statesmen went about their work.[48] The

[47] *Senato, Terra*, Reg. I. p. 105.

[48] Quia inicium omnis sapientie, et fondamentum cuiuscumque regiminis, est timor Dei, in quo qui ambulaverit multiplicatur, et qui ab ipso diverterit est quasi impossibile prosperari; et sicut notum est in civitate nostra hodie,

mixture of religious sentiment with the commercial instinct is worthy of note. No bride might receive, beyond her dowry including a trousseau and other gifts, more than 40 lire di grossi. Any person giving a dowry of 30 lire di grossi and upwards was to present himself before the Avvocatori di Comune and swear to observe the law. Any notary drawing up a will must remind the testator that it was illegal to bequeath to the daughters beyond the value named. No husband, at the time of the marriage or within four years after, might give his wife dress or jewels exceeding in value thirty lire di grossi.

Girls under eight might have solely an ornament for the hair worth ten ducats, and fastenings ('maspilli') of silver and gold for the dress, of which fifteen or more went to the ounce. Boys under twelve might only have the 'maspilli' of which twelve or more went to the ounce. Above twelve they were permitted to have 'maspillos ad omne suum beneplacitum.' The costly furs, such as ermine, were denied to men under twenty-five years old.

The maximum value of the girdle was fixed at twenty-five ducats for a man, twenty ducats for a woman. The clothes and jewels of an unmarried woman must not exceed in value thirty lire di grossi, of a married woman seventy lire di grossi.

Boys and girls under eight years old might not attend any wedding feast, save of a brother or sister. The jewel called 'bocheta' and the 'drezatores perlarum' were absolutely forbidden.

The 'bochete,' however, seem to have flourished in spite of the prohibition, as is shown by the measures brought

plusquam in aliqua alia parte mundi, *fiunt multe vanitates et expense inordinate, circa sponsas et alias mulieres et dominas, in quibus pro certo Deus graviter offenditur, et multis illicitis lucris et pravis aperitur via*, et etiam status noster proinde redditur minus fortis, *quia pecunia que deberet navigare et multiplicare* de tempore in tempore iacet mortua, et convertitur in vanitatibus et expensis predictis; et etiam sicut de facto visum est et videtur multas adversitates et angustias ab aliquibus temporibus citra Deus nobis permisit, a quibus si voluerimus nostros defectus cognoscere ipse per suam misericordiam et pietatem preservabit et defendet imposterum: Vadit pars, invocata Christi gratia, a quo omne donum perfectum est, quod super vanitatibus et expensis predictis provideatur prout inferius declaratur, &c. (*Senato, Delib. Miste*, Reg. XXIX. p. 64.)

forward by a couple of Catos in December 1389.[49] Ser Pietro Pisani, a councillor, proposed to forbid not only the offending 'bochete,' but every kind of precious stones worn on the head. Ser Michael Contareno, more thorough-going still, would have prohibited the wearing of pearls and precious stones, not on the head only, but 'in aliqua parte persone.' They did not carry the majority with them. But in 1403, March 31, the Senate enacted 'quod a modo in antea non possit nec debeat portari per aliquam nostram nobilem vel popularem extra domum . . . aliquam bochetam, fermalium, collanam vel aliud simile, in quo sint iaspides vel perle valoris in totum a ducatis xxx supra.'[50]

The gold and silver ornaments, pearls and precious stones, were not only bought and sold in the shops near the Rialto, in the Ruga degli Orefici, where the working jewellers congregate still; but also in the fairs and markets held in the Piazza San Marco, or in the Campo San Polo, on the other side of the Grand Canal. This was convenient for the women, who could attend the markets and make their purchases; while custom prevented them from going to the Rialto, if they regarded their good name. For the Rialto was the business centre, where the men gathered to transact their affairs; it was also the quarter in which the State had fixed the residence of women of more than doubtful reputation. The competition of the market trade roused the jealousy of the goldsmiths' gild, and influence being brought to bear on the Giustizieri Vecchi, it was prohibited. But the merchants of the markets petitioned the Government. And by a special decree of the Great Council, April 13, 1394, the decision of the magistrates was set aside.[51] Thus the markets were not deprived of one of their most picturesque and characteristic features.

[49] *Senato, Delib. Miste*, Reg. XLI. p. 56. [50] Ib. Reg. XLVI. p. 72.

[51] Cum *ab antiquo* fuerit permissum, et consuetum, quod in diebus mercati quod fit in platea Sancti Marci et Sancti Pauli, venditores maspillorum et perlarum, iocalium, ac mercium auri et argenti, possent libere vendere de dictis mercibus. . . . et nuper *per Iusticiarios Veteres* mandatum fuerit dictis venditoribus, quod nullo modo vendant de dictis rebus in dictis mercatis, *ex quo domine Veneciarum, tam nobiles quam populares, passe sunt magnum incommodum et sinistrum, quia nunquam ibunt in Rivoaltum, ad emendum de talibus mercibus*; et propterea supplicaverunt dicti venditores humiliter sibi concedi quod possint vendere in diebus mercati de dictis suis iocalibus et mercibus;

III

THE statutes in the fifteenth century contained several new features. In the first place, a salutary effort was made to check hurried changes in the law. On August 27, 1403, the Senate enacted that, considering the desirability of avoiding hasty or ill-considered legislation, especially on subjects of such peculiar difficulty as sumptuary enactments, no proposition for further legislation on such matters could be put to the vote, unless it had been read in the Council eight days before.[52]

The love of display was like the air. Repressed in one direction, it found vent in another. Wedding presents on the part of friends had been restricted, and parents could not legally bestow more than a limited sum on their daughters, in clothes, jewels, and money, in addition to the dowry. Apart from the fact which the following statute reveals—that the law, in these respects, had not attained its object—there was a growing tendency to increase the amount of the dower; with the result that many parents, in order to marry one or more of their daughters with grand *éclat*, were obliged to place others in the convents, where they were received with a modest settlement, without considering whether the girls had any religious vocation.

The Senate dealt with the evil by the 'Pars Nuptiarum' August 22, 1420. The dowry of patrician maidens was

cumque predicti iustitiarij dixerint quod per matriculam [i.e. constitution] *aurificum prohibitum est*, quod tales venditores non possint vendere in dictis mercatis, *sed dominatio ducalis nichilominus providere potest sicut placet*: Vadit pars, predictis consideratis, quod *concedatur dictis venditoribus* quod de dictis iocalibus, rebus, et mercibus auri et argenti possint vendere in dictis mercatis Sancti Marci et Sancti Pauli, sicut petunt. (*Maggior Consiglio, Delib. Leona*, Reg. XXVIII. p. 71.)

[52] Cum sit habenda bona consideratio et matura deliberatio quando fieri volunt decreta, que generaliter et indifferenter *tangunt omnes cives, subditos, et habitatores, et specialiter in rebus super quibus semper fuit vel sit difficile dari ordo qui sit cum contentamento omnium*, sicut sunt vestimenta, iocalia, et alia ornamenta, tam de perlis, quam de auro et argento et lapidibus preciosis, et similiter de dotibus sive repromissis, aut coredis, vel donis; et propterea, consideratis predictis, et quod sepe posite sunt partes ab improviso ad Consilia Venetiarum super quibus non est habitum pensamentum, et non redundarunt nec redundant nostro communi et nostris civibus et subditis in illam utilitatem et commodum que putantur, &c. (*Senato, Delib. Miste*, Reg. XLVI. p. 99.)

fixed at 1,600 ducats, of which one third was to be for the trousseau; for daughters of the people, who were sometimes by special dispensation permitted to marry into noble families, the sum was 2,000 ducats. The children of a mixed marriage, not recognised by the Government, belonged to the class of their mother.[53]

It was confirmed by the Senate, March 22, 1425, and the Avvocatori di Comune were required to send for the bridegroom, father, or other person making the arrangements, within eight days of a marriage, and exact from them an oath to obey the law. Whatever was accepted above the legal amount in the dower, trousseau &c. was to be restored, and as much more paid as a fine. There was added the curious clause that men who married women who were lame or blind of one eye should be rewarded for their boldness by being exempted from this law.[54]

The laws which limited expenditure at the feasts were now directed particularly against the gay *Clubs of the Hose*, or '*Compagnie delle Calze*,' which took their rise about the year 1400, and enlivened the city for two centuries with their costumes, their banquets and other entertainments, especially on the occasion of the presence of any distinguished foreigner.

[53] The decree begins: 'Cum inter cives nostros pessima consuetudo orta sit, et quotidie augeatur in matrimonijs fiendis, propter importabiles sumptus dotium, corredum, donorum, atque rerum inutilium, que omnia ascendunt ad tantum numerum quod non est possibile quod multi nobiles nostri possunt eorum filias maritare ac etiam divitum substantia attenuatur et aliqui eorum filias coguntur in monasterijs carcerare cum dignis lacrimis et planctibus ipsarum, aliqui tenent ipsas innuptas cum rubore et periculo, nec in aliqua parte mundi talis est consuetudo, nec spes aliqua est ut corrigatur *propter emulationem ipsorum*, qui quotidie conantur alios vincere in expensis, quasi reputando se victores *quo magis tribuunt vel potius abjiciunt* in simili causa.' (*Senato, Delib. Miste*, Reg. LV. p. 70.) Ser Albano Capello suggested 'quod virgines populares parentelam contrahentes cum nobilibus sint in sua libertate dandi pro dote *illud quod eis placuerit*.' The amendment was rejected. A vain attempt was made at repeal in 1420, Dec. 30, when Ser Leonardo Aiuto asked the Senate to agree that 'illi ordines fuerunt et sunt absque aliqua utilitate, et cum diminutione honoris et libertatis huius civitatis, ac producunt tot confusiones et dubietates in mentibus quorumque, *quod hactenus non sunt facte alique nuptie*, et de die in diem res ibunt de malo in peius, quia omnes videntes se sua libertate privatos stant dubij et nichil faciunt.' The Senate was of the opinion of Ser Johannes de Garzonibus, who asserted that the law 'fuit et est utilis et fructuosa, *et reddet optimum fructum per tempora futura*, si observabitur.' (Ib. Reg. LIII. p. 953.)

[54] Mariti vero dominarum que essent claude atque de uno oculo non viderent, si per virum et proximiorem parentem per sacramentum affirmatum fuerit ita esse, non subiaceant presenti parti. (Ib. Reg. LV. p. 101.)

The members were rich young patricians who styled themselves by such names as the 'Pavoni,' 'Cortesi,' 'Reali,' 'Floridi' and 'Sempiterni.'[55] They were known by their fantastic hose or 'calze.' At first these differed only in colour, one leg being of one colour, and one of another. Later the 'calze' had stripes of different colours decorated with gold and silver and precious stones, and distinctive emblems were adopted in other parts of the dress.

On January 14, 1459 (*m.V.*) the Senate declared that, as the high-born youth gave entertainments and banquets so sumptuous as to be abominable to God and man, expenditure on such feasts must be limited to half a ducat a head per guest, under pain of two ducats for each offence. The offender, if noble, was to be excluded from all councils and offices for two years; if plebeian, to be refused access for two years to the Piazza di San Marco and the Rialto, the chief haunts of pleasure and business.[56] This was re-enacted in 1465 (*m.V.* January 27), and the Avvocatori were called on to apply the law more severely. The secret accuser was invited, and it was added: 'If perchance the accuser be a slave, let him from that moment be free.'[57] On January 12, 1472 (*m.V.*), the Senate limited the number of viands which might be offered at a feast to three, beside the sweets; these latter were to be small confetti only. Pheasants, peacocks, partridges, and doves were banned. The 'torcie,' or 'candles' of wax, were not to weigh more than four pounds.[58]

A very strange fashion indeed found its devotees in Venice in this century. It had its origin in necessity. For a long time the narrow streets were not paved, and in consequence were thick with dust and mud, especially in wet weather. The bridges were of wood, and the men avoided the discomforts of the pedestrian by going about on horseback. The women, before the gondola was extensively used, had to go on foot, and to keep themselves clear of the dirt they

[55] They may be seen in the street scenes painted by Gentile Bellini and Carpaccio.

[56] *Senato, Terra*, Reg. iv. p. 133.

[57] Ib. Reg. v. p. 149.

[58] Ib. Reg. vi. p. 193.

placed a kind of platform under their 'zoccoli' or shoes. This by degrees was increased in height till it became ridiculous and dangerous, and the law interfered, in order to reduce the foot-gear to more reasonable proportions.[59]

A shoemaker was forbidden to make or sell any kind of shoe higher at the heel than half a 'quarta,' under a fine of 25 lire and three months in prison. Any women wearing 'zoccoli' higher than half a 'quarta' were liable to be fined 100 lire.

Cav. Urbani de Gheltof, in a pamphlet entitled *Di una singolare Calzatura già usata dalle Donne Veneziane*, remarks:

> This decree, however, was so little observed that even Carpaccio, painting the women in the costume of his time, that is to say towards the end of the fifteenth century, ventured to immortalise on his canvas certain 'zoccoli' that, considering the proportions, must be at least *two* 'quarte' in height, and therefore exceeding the established measure. Contemporary with Carpaccio, or perhaps a little earlier, are two pairs of 'zoccoli' of chamois leather, which may be seen in the Civic Museum of Venice. One pair measures 51 centimetres from the ground; the other 43 centimetres.

In his note-book, Casola (page 14) recorded his impression of Venetian women. In one passage he remarks that they 'seemed to me for the most part small, because if they were not they would not use the zibre, otherwise pianelle, so high as they do. In truth I have seen several pairs sold, and for sale, which measure in height at least half a Milanese braccio, and are so high that in wearing them certain women seem giants. And also some, when they walk, are not secure from falling

[59] This is the preamble of the Statute of the Maggior Consiglio of March 2, 1430:—'Quoniam introducta est quedam inhonesta consuetudo in hac civitate nostra, quod domine seu mulieres *portant zocholos aut alia calciamenta alta, et difformia ultra modum*, ex quibus, *ultra expensam et infamiam, secuta sunt multocies plurima mala et inconvenientia*, quoniam aliquotiens est occursum quod alique domine seu mulieres pregnantes euntes per viam cum zocholis ita altis, non valentes se sustentare, ceciderunt, et in tali casu reciperunt tantum sinistrum quod disperdiderunt seu fecerunt filios abortivos, in perditionem corporis et anime sue, *quamobrem, tam pro honore Domini Nostri Jeshu Christi, quam pro honestate, et ad vitanda huiusmodi pericula et inconvenientia, ac pro aleviatione expensarum*, quoniam omnes intelligant quod propter altitudinem zocholorum oportet facere vestes multo longiores, et in longitudine vestium maxime a parte inferiori ubi consistit amplitudo earum, intrant magne et excessive expense, omnino providendum est.' (*Mag. Cons.* Reg. Ursa xxix.) These 'zoccoli' are the 'chopines' of *Hamlet*, act ii. scene 2.

unless they are well supported by their slaves.' This was in 1494, when the law had been on the Statute Book sixty-four years!

Frate Marino Baldo, in his manual *Modo generale di Confessarsi*—a guide to confession, published in the early sixteenth century, directs the Confessor to ask:

An accuser, 'if he has brought an accusation against anyone wrongfully, and with evil intention; if he has made any accusation principally for the sake of the reward; if he has accepted money or presents to refrain from accusing anyone.'

The father of a family, 'if he has put any of his daughters in convents against their will, or if he has permitted his daughters to wear superfluous ornaments.'

The tailor, 'if he has cut out garments badly, through ignorance, or consumed the cloth without necessity . . . . if he has invented new fashions,' &c.

And the shoemaker,' if he has found new fashions for men and women; if he has made zoccoli for women high beyond the measure,' &c.

The most suitable penance would have been to compel the shoemaker to wear his own shoes. The war waged against extravagance in dress and ornament had not ceased.

The dimensions of the 'sochae' had been prescribed in 1400, and the prosecutions which followed indicated that the legislators were very much in earnest. The linings were dealt with next. In 1403, March 31 the Senate declared that no woman might have for her upper garment any socha lined with ermine or marten or similar expensive furs.[60]

Stuffs woven and embroidered with silk and gold seem to have flourished in spite of the law. Once again (March 20, 1443) the Senate forbade women to make or wear any garment of cloth or silk of gold or silver.[61] The material had attractions for the dandies of the 'Compagnie delle Calze,' and in consequence on February 23, 1455 (*m.V.*), the prohibition was extended to men, save the 'knights, who by reason of their distinction can wear what they like.'[62]

As usual, human ingenuity was equal to evading the statutes. What might not be worn as a garment was used as a lining, especially for the sleeves. These were then

[60] *Senato, Delib. Miste*, Reg. XLVI. p. 72.
[61] Ib. *Terra*, Reg. I. p. 91.
[62] Ib. Reg. III., p. 194.

lengthened and cut and slashed in the fantastic fashions already alluded to, in order to show the rich materials below.

The Senate took up the gauntlet and in 1472 (*m.V.* Feb. 20) passed a new law[63] prohibiting all gold and silver cloths for the purpose of lining sleeves. Any garments containing them were to be destroyed, 'ita ut id quod in vestibus portari per formam legum non potest, non possit etiam portari in fodris aut aliter ullo modo.'

With regard to ornaments, there were efforts such as those already noted to limit the number and value. In February 1454 (*m.V.*) the Senate provided that no woman might wear, all together, an ornament for the hair, a necklace, and a jewelled collar to her dress, but only one at a time.[64] The pearls were limited to one row round the collar of the dress, and costing not more than 60 ducats.

It seems that the growth of new wants, and the increase of luxury generally, had diminished the number of marriages: a serious matter, when for the daughters two vocations only were open, marriage and the convent. Young men were scared by the expense and the responsibilities of housekeeping. Probably now their personal expenditure was too heavy to allow them to undertake those responsibilities so early as had been the custom in simpler and more primitive times. The Senate was alarmed, and on June 14, 1460, passed a statute against such practices.[65] It was then enacted that a bride might have two silk dresses only; the maximum cost of one was not to exceed 200 ducats, and of the other 120 ducats. No new dress made afterwards was to cost more than 120 ducats. The train of any dress must not exceed one braccio. The ornament of a dress must not cost more than

[63] Incipitur per mulieres introduci una sumptuosa et damnosa consuetudo suffulciendi sive foderandi manicas vestium brochato et alio panno aureo, quod si tolerabitur, procedetur ad ditiores fodras, cum singulari damno civitatis et offensione Dei. (*Senato, Terra*, Reg. VI. p. 199.)

[64] Si qua earum ferre inceperit aliquod dictorum trium, non possit infra annum ferre reliqua duo, vel aliquod ipsorum. (Ib. Reg. III. p. 146.)

[65] The preamble runs thus: 'Convenit reverentie et honori quem civitas nostra erga Deum Creatorem nostrum semper habuit impresentiarumque habet, ut expensis superfluis . . . que per cives huius nostre civitatis in vestibus, fodris, iocalibusque dominarum quotidie fiunt . . . salubri consilio provideatur. Et presertim quod quam plures nostri iuvenes, hac de causa, nuptias recusant, et puellarum parentes non sine magnis et excessivis dotibus eas maritare possunt: Vadit pars,' &c. (Ib. Reg. IV. p. 146.)

70 ducats. Marten, sable, and other costly furs were again prohibited to women. The jewelled collar or necklace must not cost more than 500 ducats. The rings were limited to two, one valued at not more than 200 ducats, the other at less. No woman might hire a jewelled collar costing her over 25 ducats a year; for her hired rings she might pay not more than 25 ducats.

The effect of all the above legislation was not very encouraging. Many reasons may be suggested for the comparative failure. Not the least effective, was no doubt the fact that the magistrates charged with the execution of the sumptuary laws were loaded with work in connection with their offices, and could not dedicate themselves with wholehearted devotion to tracking down offenders. The zeal on the part of the legislators was not cooled. And in 1466 (July 1st) the Maggior Consiglio empowered the Senate to take any measure thought necessary in the matter of the dowries, the dresses, and the ornaments of the women.[66]

In December 1472 the Senate ordered the election of *tre nostri solenni zintilhomeni* as *provveditori sopra le pompe*.[67]

Here we may leave the three 'serious-minded gentlemen' and their long line of successors to their labours, auguring them a very good courage. For they waged war against the Mode, and the Mode is immortal.

M. MARGARET NEWETT.

[66] *Mag. Cons., Delib. Regina*, Reg. xxx. p. 65.

[67] The law runs thus: 'Perchè el ne constrenze le infinite gratie le qual nostro Signor Dio ne conferisse ognohora mazore, in suo honore immitando exempi di precessori nostri, et de li altri luogi ben regulati quali se hano governati cum prudentia, et timor de Dio, regular la superfluità de le pompe e spexe superflue et inutile, meritamente da [esser] correcte. Da le quale non e da dubitar la divina bontà turbata gravarne de molte guerre e tribulatione, le qual saria da sperare de non le patire, si da dicte superfluità meritamente la divina Maiestà non fusse inducta a corezerne per la dicta via. Landera parte chel siano electi per scruptinio in questo Conseio tre nostri solenni zintilhomeni, provedadori, i quali possino esser electi de ogni luogo et officio continuo, i quali facti che serano sia chiamado questo Conseio, al qual i sia tegnudi de vegnir soto debito de sagramento fra zorni xv. chon tute soe opinion e provision, si circa el regular de dicte spexe e pompe, come circa la execution de quelle, ne possano refudar soto pena de ducati mille, da esser scossa senza altro Conseio.' The three elected on this first occasion were: 'Ser Lucas de Lege, procurator; Ser Andreas Vendramino, procurator; Ser Triadanus Griti, quondam Ser Homboni.'

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X

SOME ASPECTS OF HENRY VIII'S IRISH POLICY

THE execution of Thomas Fitzgerald, tenth Earl of Kildare, and his five uncles, at Tyburn in February 1537, marks a turning-point in the history of Ireland. Though in itself an event which it is impossible to contemplate without a feeling of horror, it is one which a dispassionate critic may well allow to have been unavoidable, if Henry was to achieve his purpose of restoring the Crown to its legitimate authority in Ireland. For how utterly futile it was to look for any co-operation on the part of the Geraldines in this direction experience had sufficiently proved. Already in 1520, when, becoming for the first time alive to the importance of Ireland, Henry had taken in hand to reform it 'by sober ways, politic drifts, and amiable persuasions,' the passive resistance of Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, had compelled him to desist from his experiment as a mere 'consumption of treasure in vain.' Twelve years elapsed, and it seemed as if the days of the English rule in Ireland were numbered. 'You are to inform the King's highness,' so the Irish Council instructed the Master of the Rolls, John Alen, sent over to England expressly for that purpose in 1533;—

> Of the great decay of this land, which is so far fallen into misery and brought into such ruin, that neither the English order, tongue, nor habit be used, neither the King's laws obeyed above twenty miles in compass, so as . . . . except it shall please the King's highness to redress the same, the little place (being now obedient) shall be shortly brought to the same case as the residue is.

Everybody agreed in attributing the 'decay of Ireland' to the Earl of Kildare, and the misuse by him of the powers

intrusted to him as Deputy. Accordingly Henry, whose breach with the Papacy rendered it impossible for him any longer to regard the unprotected state of his own dominions with indifference, summoned him over to England to answer for the misconduct laid to his charge. It was not the first time that Kildare had put his head in the lion's mouth, to withdraw it afterwards in safety; but his experience had made him by no means anxious to renew his acquaintance with the inside of the Tower, and he begged to be excused on the ground of ill-health. Matters were, however, too serious for such a plea to avail with Henry, and being unwilling to risk the only other alternative, of open rebellion, he quitted Ireland, for the last time, as it proved, early in 1534, having previously taken the precaution to commit the sword of state to the keeping of his eldest son and heir, Thomas. A month or two later it was rumoured that he had paid, or was likely to pay, for his temerity with his head. At once, either without much reflecting on the consequences of his action, or more probably in accordance with a private understanding between him and his father, Thomas renounced his allegiance and raised the standard of rebellion. Time was when such tactics had availed to frighten Henry, and secure Kildare's restoration. They might even now have proved successful, had not the earl actually died in September. Room for compromise there was now none, and towards the latter end of October Sir William Skeffington and Sir William Brereton landed at Dublin with reinforcements and a train of artillery.

The result is well known. After holding out till the middle of August 1535, Earl Thomas, as he now was, seized the opportunity presented by the arrival of his uncle, Lord Leonard Grey, as marshal of the army, to surrender on conditions which were generally interpreted as a promise that, whatever punishment was meted out to him, his life at any rate would be spared. But this was not Henry's intention, and though, in order to save Grey's credit, it was agreed to postpone his execution to a more convenient season, his fate was sealed.

Skeffington died on the last day of the year, and Grey,

having been elected Lord Justice, was made Lord Deputy. In the interval he had displayed his energy and zeal by arresting Thomas's five uncles, Sir James, Oliver, Richard, Sir John, and Walter Fitzgerald. No one dreamed of the fate that awaited them as they left Ireland in February 1536, under the charge of John Alen, Master of the Rolls, and Gerald Aylmer, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. But their arrest, and the punishment administered to their retainers, produced a profound effect on the Irish generally. 'Irishmen,' wrote the Lord Deputy and Council to Henry on June 26, 'are at this season in such extreme fear, by the example of the repressing of the Geraldines, as they never were hitherto within any remembrance, expecting daily either that your Grace will exile them, or compel them to a due obedience as your other subjects be.' Now was the time, they urged, to effect a thorough reformation of the country, lest the Irish, recovering from their fright, should 'take new courage unto them, thinking that either your Grace could not endure the charge, or else there were perceived an impossibility in the winning of any of their lands.'

But with the best will in the world to profit by their advice, Henry was in no position to carry out their suggestions. The suppression of the rebellion alone had cost him nearly half a million sterling (in modern currency), at a time when the total revenue of Ireland amounted to hardly a tenth of that sum. Besides, despite all his exertions, large arrears of pay were due to the army—a fact which not only crippled its efficiency, but on several occasions led to open mutiny on the part of the soldiers. How, after all the treasure he had expended, and the expectation of an increased revenue constantly held out to him, he should be still as poor as ever, was, he candidly informed his advisers, a mystery to him, unless, indeed, he was to suppose that those who ought to have been looking after his interests were too much occupied in feathering their own nests. Quite apart, however, from the question of ways and means, there were other considerations which prevented him at the time from actively interfering in Ireland, arising out of the widespread discontent which his arbitrary conduct had created in

England, and his inability to form any clear idea as to the exact nature of the problem that confronted him in Ireland. With the causes which led at this moment to the Pilgrimage of Grace and other kindred movements we are not here directly concerned; but a passing word seems needful in regard to the obstacles which the prevailing ignorance respecting Ireland and its inhabitants threw in Henry's way.

Perhaps nothing will help us better to realise his difficulty in this respect than to recall the fact that at the time in question no map, however rough, of the country was in existence. Incredible though it may appear, it is evident that, beyond the vague notion that Ireland somewhat resembled an egg in shape, no one seems to have had any definite idea of its approximate form and size, speaking of it sometimes as if it were as large as England, sometimes as if little bigger than Yorkshire or Wales. Until Grey, about this time, penetrated at the peril of his life so far west as Galway, no Englishman had been seen in those parts for centuries, and years were still to elapse before anyone could be found hardy enough to adventure his neck in the wilds of Northern Ulster. Naturally under the circumstances, it is impossible to offer any accurate estimate of the size of the population; but there are reasons for believing it not to have exceeded a million souls, of whom perhaps about a tenth part were concentrated in the seaport towns of Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Galway, &c., the rest being scattered up and down the island either as inhabitants of the district forming the English Pale, roughly corresponding to the counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin, and Kildare, or as members of different clans, of which in many instances little more than the mere names were known to Government. For the rest let us imagine a country devoid of almost every means of communication, covered with immense tracts of bog and forest land, of rich pasturage, broad rivers and innumerable lakes, inhabited by a half-civilised warlike race of people, split up into numerous clans of various sizes and importance, dependent for their subsistence on their herds of cattle and the spoils of the chase, whose only commerce with the outside world consisted

in bartering raw hides for the wines of France and Spain, and we shall have a fairly accurate picture of the state of Ireland as it presented itself to Henry.

When all was so vague and uncertain, when the reports of his Council served rather to perplex than to enlighten him, when every effort to reform seemed only to be attended with waste of treasure, and when the state of England demanded his undivided attention, perhaps the wisest course Henry could pursue was that actually adopted by him in appointing a Commission, presided over by Anthony St. Leger, 'for the order and establishment to be taken and made touching the whole state of our land of Ireland, and all and every our affairs within the same, both for the reduction of the said land to a due civility and obedience, and the advancement of the public weal of the same.' Nevertheless the consequences of his inability to strike while the iron was still hot were precisely what the Council had predicted. The Irish, imagining him unable to subdue them, began to take new courage to themselves. A conspiracy comprising the most diverse elements and embracing nearly every family of importance in the island was set on foot, nominally to secure the restoration by force of the heir to the earldom of Kildare, but really, as we shall see, from a variety of motives.

The history of a country standing so remote from the general currents of European progress as Ireland did at the middle of the sixteenth century, lying adrift in the western ocean, as Campion expresses it, is a subject which presents peculiar difficulties to the historian who has any regard for the patience of his reader. But these difficulties are enormously increased when, through the absence of any idea of national unity, it becomes necessary to study each part of it locally and in detail. Nevertheless, wearisome though the process is, it is only by carefully picking up the unravelled strands of the rope that we can hope eventually to grasp the rope itself. For the history of Ireland in the sixteenth century is so much the history of the individual clans composing it that it is useless trying to write it as one would write the history of either England or France at the same time. In the case of the latter the history of any particular

locality is in large measure merely the abstract of its general history in somewhat greater detail: in the case of Ireland local history is the backbone and foundation of its general history. Hence it comes that, though we possess several elaborate and well-written so-called general histories, we are still without a history of Ireland that answers the requirements of scientific study. What we want, and for lack of which Irish history in the sixteenth century must continue the lifeless and uninteresting thing it is, is a series of scientifically written family or local histories—of the English Pale, of the clan O'Neill, the clan O'Donnell, the O'Byrnes, of the great Anglo-Norman families of the Butlers, Fitzgeralds, Burkes, Powers, &c. When we have got these, then, but not till then, can we begin to think of writing a general history. Meanwhile, with the help of such materials as we possess, let us turn to the consideration of a movement which has hardly attracted the attention it deserves.

Curiously enough, after the arrest of Thomas Fitzgerald and his five uncles, Government seems to have paid little or no attention to the remaining members of the family. Young Gerald, Thomas's half-brother and the heir to the earldom, a boy of about twelve years of age, after recovering from a severe attack of smallpox, while at Donore, under the guardianship of his father's foster-brother, Thomas Leverous, was allowed to grow up in unmolested liberty with his relatives in the Pale, and afterwards with his brother-in-law, Brian O'Conor of Offaly. His mother, Elizabeth Grey, the second wife of Earl Gerald, whom she apparently accompanied to England in 1534, with her three little daughters, retired after his death to Beaumanoir in Leicestershire, the seat of her brother, Lord Leonard Grey. Here, in the summer of 1536, she was joined by her younger son Edward, a mere child, eight years of age, for whose safety she was indebted to the kindness of some unknown friend. In notifying the fact to Henry she promised, if she might have the custody of him, 'to see him brought up in virtue,' and easily obtained her request. Of the daughters of Earl Gerald by his first wife, the eldest, Catherine, had married Jenico Preston, Viscount Gormanston; the second, Alice, had

married her first cousin, James Fleming, Lord Slane; the third, Mary, was the wife of Brian O'Conor of Offaly; while the youngest, Ellen apparently by name, had married Fergananym O'Carroll, who had recently made good his claim to the lordship of Ely O'Carroll by the murder of his nephew, the eldest son of his brother Donough. But the real head of the family was Eleanor, the eldest surviving sister of Earl Gerald, recently left a widow by the death of her husband, Donough MacCarthy Reagh, son of Fynin MacCarthy and Katherine, daughter of Thomas Fitzgerald, eighth earl of Desmond. Being a woman of great ambition, she had seen with sorrow and indignation the downfall of her house, and was resolved to leave no stone unturned in order, if possible, to secure the restoration of her nephew to his ancestral honours. Circumstances and her own determination raised up many friends for her in the Pale and the South of Ireland; but her chief hope of success rested in her power of attracting the northern Irish into the confederacy by consenting to a marriage with Manus O'Donnell, lord of Tyrconnell.

The incentive to action was given by the Act for the attainder of Earl Gerald, his son Thomas, and other members of the family, which passed the Irish Parliament in May 1536 (28 Henry VIII c. 1.). Hitherto there had been some expectation, shared also in government circles, that Henry would in the end relent and restore the Geraldines, if not to their estates, at least to their personal liberty. This hope had now to be abandoned; but there was still a chance of forcing him to come to terms by a successful rebellion. Necessarily the first step to be taken was to bring the young heir to the earldom into a place of safety. The laxity with which he was guarded rendered this easy of accomplishment and in the summer of this same year Leverous managed with the help of James de la Hide to remove him beyond the Shannon and place him under the protection of Conor O'Brien of Thomond. When it was too late, Government recognised the importance of keeping a tight hold of him and brought influence to bear on O'Brien to induce him to surrender him. This, to his credit, O'Brien refused to do;

but foreseeing that force would be substituted for menaces, and not wishing to embroil himself, he quietly removed Gerald to Kilbrittain Castle in county Cork, where, under the protection of his aunt Eleanor and her son the ruling MacCarthy Reagh, he would be out of harm's way. At the same time he took precautions to draw closer his alliance with James Fitzjohn of Desmond.

To the latter, in his character of unrecognised claimant to the earldom of Desmond, O'Brien's friendship was a matter of considerable moment. His father, Sir John of Desmond, fourth son of Thomas the eighth earl, had on the death of his elder brother, Thomas the twelfth earl, in 1534, seized the earldom, to the exclusion of his grand-nephew James, son of Maurice, son of Thomas, on the ground of his alleged illegitimate birth. But Government, being fully alive to the importance of having a rival to him in reserve, removed young James to England for safety, and Sir John, though as absolute master of Munster from the confines of Tipperary to Dinglecush as any of his predecessors had ever been, died in 1536 without having realised his object of being recognised earl *de jure*. The uncertainty of his position, accordingly, and the knowledge that any open act of rebellion would be instantly followed by the recognition of his rival, while it constrained James Fitzjohn to play the part of a loyal subject, urged him to neglect no opportunity of secretly strengthening himself.

Quite apart from the interest he took in the Geraldine cause, an alliance with James Fitzjohn was no less welcome to O'Brien, owing to complications that had arisen in his own family in consequence of his attempt to divert the succession away from his children by his first wife in favour of those by his second, Ellen, daughter of Maurice, tenth earl of Desmond. The attempt to dispossess them of their inheritance was naturally fiercely resented by Conor's elder sons, Donough and Donnell, the former especially, who, having married a daughter of Piers, Earl of Ormonde, found ample opportunity, with the assistance of his father-in-law, of revenging himself on his father by openly siding with Government against him.

O'Brien and James of Desmond being thus prevented from making any open demonstration in favour of Gerald, though willing enough to render him any underhand support, his friends directed their efforts with greater hope of success to enlisting the co-operation of the northern Irish, to which end they brought pressure to bear on the lady Eleanor to consent to a marriage with Manus O'Donnell.

Ulster (excluding county Louth, which then formed part of it, and county Cavan forming part of Connaught) was, roughly speaking, in the possession of the two great clans the O'Neills and the O'Donnells. The former, spreading over what are now the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, and a considerable part of Londonderry, with an offshoot in the counties of Antrim and Down, claimed a sort of supremacy, more or less acknowledged, over the MacMahons of county Monaghan, the O'Hanlons in the south of county Armagh, the Magennisses in the south of county Down, and the O'Cahans in the north of county Londonderry, with pretensions, leading to bloody feuds with their neighbours the O'Donnells, over the O'Dogherties of Innishowen. Their head at this time, Con O'Neill, surnamed 'the Lame,' a man already well advanced in years, was a chief of the stamp that had ruled them for centuries—a semi-savage warrior, with a score or more of illegitimate children, absolutely free from any taint of learning or morality, to whom a thin veneering of superstition served in the place of religion, but withal astute enough to recognise from which side the danger that menaced him was likely to come, leaving, it is said, a curse to any of his posterity who should either learn English, sow wheat, or make any building in Ulster, saying that language bred conversation and consequently their confusion, that wheat gave sustenance with like effect, and in building they should do but as the crow doth, make his nest to be beaten out by the hawk. Through his mother, Mary Fitzgerald, daughter of Gerald eighth earl of Kildare, and his grandmother, Eleanor, daughter of Thomas the seventh earl, he was closely connected with a family which, as we have seen, had long held the reins of government in Ireland. Always with the one object before him of extending his sway over the

whole of Ulster (a permanent factor in O'Neillian politics), he had at an earlier period entered into an alliance with his uncle Gerald, ninth earl of Kildare, of which the benefits were to be reciprocal, viz. to secure a free hand for himself in Ulster against O'Donnell and to render any other government in Ireland except Kildare's impossible. The league had not, however, proved a great success, and after the downfall of the house of Kildare, O'Neill, abandoning his traditional policy, sought to come to terms with the O'Donnells. The death of his old enemy, Hugh Duv O'Donnell, in 1537, and the accession to power of Hugh's son Manus, with whom, for reasons to be presently noticed, Con had always been on good terms, enabled him easily to accomplish his object.

No two men could possibly have been more unlike each other than Con and his brother-in-law Manus O'Donnell —the former what we have seen: the latter a man of imposing appearance, refined manners and intellectual attainments, to whose love and patronage of learning the University of Oxford is indebted for the fine manuscript Life of St. Columbkille it possesses, and a man, according to his lights, of sincere religious feeling. His acquirements and acknowledged military ability had long enabled him to play a leading *rôle* in Tyrconnell, but a faction raised against him by his brothers John of Lurg, Egneghan, and Donough, supported by his father's mistress, had driven him in 1531 to come to terms with O'Neill, whose sister Judith he married, and with whose assistance he recovered his position in Tyrconnell. After bearing him three children, Judith O'Neill died in 1536, and O'Donnell became a suitor for the hand of the Lady Eleanor. So secretly was the business managed that it was not until the end of June 1538 that any intimation of the marriage reached the ear of Government. A few days later, however, Ormonde was able to furnish particulars to the effect that young Gerald and Lady Eleanor his aunt, with the assistance of MacCarthy Reagh, had secretly quitted Kilbrittain Castle and, with the connivance of James Fitzjohn of Desmond, Conor O'Brien, and the Burkes of Galway and Mayo, had succeeded in reaching O'Donnell's house, 'and after their coming thither the said

O'Donnell hath sent for O'Neill, the young Gerald's nigh kinsman, who glad came to them, and there, by the procurement of the said Eleanor, the said O'Donnell and O'Neill were bound and sworn together to take one part with the said Gerald against the Englishry, and have found sureties, otherwise called *slauntiagh*, the one of them upon the other, according to their old use and custom, for the due performance of the same.' As to the exact scope of the conspiracy and the alleged complicity in it of James V. of Scotland, Ormonde was obliged to confess his ignorance, but he was firmly convinced 'that the sending of this young boy to O'Donnell and O'Neill was partly practised and devised by James of Desmond, O'Brien, and other Irishmen of Munster of the Geraldine sect,' and that in the event of a rising Fergananym O'Carroll would be one of the principal actors in it.

One notable result of O'Donnell's marriage was the reconciliation of the usually conflicting interests of the different clans, amongst others of the long-standing dispute between the O'Donnells and the O'Conors of Connaught in regard to the castle of Sligo and the lordship of Connaught. Seldom, if ever, had such a spirit of unity prevailed amongst the Irish. With the exception of the Earl of Ormonde, his son Lord James Butler and his two sons-in-law Donough O'Brien and Brian Fitzpatrick, there was not a man of any note in the country who was not deeply interested in the success of the conspiracy. That a movement of such dimensions and having such consequences could have sprung up, as it were, overnight, without the knowledge of Government seemed altogether incredible and there were not wanting those who insinuated that the Lord Deputy, Lord Leonard Grey, was directly implicated in it. 'My Lord Deputy,' complained Lord James Butler, 'is the Earl of Kildare newly born again, not only in destroying of those that alway have served the King's majesty, but also in maintaining the whole sect, band and alliance of the said earl.' Even Aylmer, Alen and Brabazon, though less outspoken in their suspicions, could find no other explanation of his conduct.

For what could one think of a Viceroy who had made Brian O'Conor his chief counsellor; who was hand in glove with Ormonde's enemy Fergananym O'Carroll; who had come to terms with James Fitzjohn of Desmond and O'Brien at the expense of the latter's son, Donough, of whose loyalty there could be no question; who had dispossessed Richard Burke of the lordship of Clanricarde in favour of his illegitimate nephew Ulick, with whose assistance the Lady Eleanor had made good her escape to O'Donnell; who had allied himself with the unruly sons of the late O'More and clapped the loyal chief of the clan, Piers O'More, in irons; who was so intent on conciliating O'Neill that he had no time to revenge the injuries inflicted by the Kavanaghs and O'Tooles on the Pale—what indeed could one think of him except that he was the bosom friend and confederate of the King's enemies?

This view of the matter has passed into history with the saving clause that he was not responsible for his actions. Mad indeed he was; but there is reason to believe that he was more the dupe than the conscious ally of his Irish friends. The most probable explanation of his conduct seems to be that his hostility to the Butlers, grounded perhaps in the belief that the Earl of Ormonde was aiming at playing the *rôle* lately played by his rival the Earl of Kildare, and his impatience of all control on the part of the Council, whom he unjustly regarded as Ormonde's creatures, had driven him into a policy of trying to create an Irish party. Apparently his policy had been crowned with success. With what self-satisfaction had he recently described his progress through the west of Ireland—how honourably he had been entertained by the citizens of Limerick, how, unattended by any force and trusting simply to the good faith of O'Brien, he had penetrated as far west as Galway, whose citizens had vied with those of Limerick in showing honour to him! Even now, when he was aware of O'Donnell's marriage with the Lady Eleanor, he obstinately refused to open his eyes to the folly of his conduct until a rumour that he was shortly to be superseded compelled him, in Alen's language, 'to take what pains he may to redub things past' and to practise what means he could 'to

bring in his nephew, the Earl of Kildare's son.' To effect his object he induced O'Neill and O'Donnell to agree to meet him at a place called Carrick Bradagh, near Dundalk, on the last day of April 1539, hoping, if they brought Gerald with them, to have found opportunity to take him 'quick or dead.' But neither O'Neill nor O'Donnell kept the appointment, and Grey, after venting his rage in a futile marauding expedition, returned to Dublin a sadder and somewhat wiser man.

Meanwhile the plans of the conspirators were rapidly approaching completion. From information obtained by Government in April it appeared that messengers were constantly passing between James of Desmond and O'Neill and between O'Donnell and the Court of Scotland. The O'Tooles, it was said, had been won over by a promise of Powerscourt and Fassaroe. MacCarthy Reagh and O'Sullivan Beare had offered to join O'Donnell by sea. The Pale was reported to be wavering, and everywhere the friars were busy preaching up a religious war, promising absolution and all the joys of heaven to such as should fall in the contest. The plan of operations was of the simplest. James Fitzjohn of Desmond was to 'begin the dance' by attacking Ormonde, as indeed he actually did at the beginning of July according to Alen, who urged the sending over as speedily as possible of his rival, young James Fitzmaurice. Occupation thus being found for Ormonde, and the Government being hampered by the O'Tooles, O'Conors and Kavanaghs, O'Neill and O'Donnell were to fall on the Pale from the north and make a clean sweep of the country. Young Gerald was then of course to be restored, and O'Neill crowned King of Ireland—so at least the rumour went. The death of Conor O'Brien just about this time somewhat upset the calculations of the confederates; it was hoped, however, that everything would be in train by the beginning of September.

Grey's eyes by this time were fairly open to the consequences of his folly. He made prodigious efforts to recover himself, and having become reconciled to Lord James Butler, who had recently succeeded on the death of his father to the earldom of Ormonde, he no sooner heard that O'Neill had taken the field than, marching against him with all the forces

of the Pale, he utterly routed him at Bellahoe, on the borders of counties Meath and Monaghan. The victory, coupled with the successful operations of Ormonde in Munster, dashed the hopes of the confederates; but recognising that no permanent settlement could be looked for so long as Gerald remained at large, Grey made one more effort to inveigle O'Neill to Carrick Bradagh with the avowed intention of laying hold of him and keeping him as a pledge for Gerald's surrender. The scheme indeed miscarried, owing to O'Neill's foresight in failing to keep the appointment; but Grey's persistent efforts to get possession of his nephew had awakened a distrust lest bribery might effect what force and fraud were unable to accomplish, and early in the following year Gerald was removed by his friends to France.

His departure relieved the situation, and in April 1540 Grey was at his own request allowed to visit England. There was at first evidently no intention to remove him; but his enemies, of whom he had only too many, were determined at all hazards to prevent his return. Their efforts proved successful, and, being committed to the Tower, he only quitted it for the scaffold, to which his folly rather than his crime had brought him. Whether it was, as his enemies asserted, that he had left Ireland in a 'marvellous evil sort and danger,' or that his presence had acted as a check on the Irish, his departure was the signal for fresh explosions Early in July it was reported that O'Brien (Murrough, the brother of Conor), O'Neill, and O'Donnell had agreed to unite their forces at Finnea, on the borders of West Meath and county Cavan, 'intending to have over-ridden, banished and destroyed all your subjects and to have had all the whole land at their disposition'; but the Lord Justice, Sir William Brereton, by promptly taking the field against them with all his available forces and by putting a bold face on the matter, frustrated their object, so that when, a week or two later, Sir Anthony St. Leger landed at the Ring's End, Ireland was outwardly in a more tranquil condition than it had been for a long while past.

The arrival of St. Leger as Lord Deputy marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Ireland, an era of

constructive statesmanship. Hitherto the efforts of the Crown to subjugate the island had been as ineffectual to produce any lasting results as the flight of a bird through the air or the course of a ship through the sea is to leave any impression on the elements through which it passes. But the time had now come when the statesman was to supersede the mere soldier. As head of the Commission which Henry, in fulfilment of his promise, had appointed in 1537 to investigate the state of Ireland and pave the way for its subsequent government on rational principles, St. Leger had won the general esteem by the tactful manner in which he had executed the delicate task committed to him. But more than this, he had obtained a clear insight into the nature of the Irish problem.

'We assure your good Lordship,' he wrote to Cromwell, 'that the same country is much easier won than kept; for, whensoever the King's pleasure be to win the same again, it will be done without great difficulty, but the keeping thereof will be both chargeable and difficult; for unless it be peopled with others than be there already, and also certain fortresses there builded and warded, if it be gotten the one day it is lost the next.'

Having received the sword of State from Sir William Brereton, and finding that the land was 'in metely good quiet' except for the Kavanaghs and their allies in county Carlow, he invaded their country. After laying it waste with fire and sword for ten days he had the satisfaction to report that MacMurrough, with the most part of his nation,' had come in and submitted, 'clearly renouncing the name of MacMurrough and (promising) never more to elect nor choose among them none to bear that name nor yet to be their governor, but only your majesty and such as you shall appoint to the same.' Wishing to show them and the Irish generally that it was not so much their lands as their obedience the King desired, he restored them to the same, to be held by knight's service, such only excepted 'as would not condescend to the same reasonable submission, which part so taken we again gave one of themselves, which we saw most conformable to the said honest submission.' By similar judicious treatment he succeeded in detaching O'More's sons from their alliance with Brian O'Conor and

in laying the foundation for a permanent settlement with the O'Tooles. Even Brian O'Conor, though his obstinate rebellion had so exasperated Henry that he had sent orders for his extirpation and the recognition of his brother Cahir as chief, was received to mercy on favourable terms, his example being immediately followed by his principal supporters, O'Mulmoy, Mageoghegan, and O'Melachlin.

The Pale being thus secured against its most immediate and dangerous enemies, St. Leger, shortly after Christmas, directed his attention to Munster. It will be remembered that in 1539, when the attitude of James Fitzjohn of Desmond towards the Government had reached the stage of open rebellion, the Lord Chancellor, Alen, had suggested the sending over of his rival James Fitzmaurice. But though his advice had been followed, it had been attended with very different consequences from what had been anticipated. For, landing at Cork early in 1540, James Fitzmaurice had been waylaid in passing through the territory of Lord Roche and murdered by his cousin Maurice, brother of James Fitzjohn. Leaving no heirs, his death cleared James Fitzjohn's title to the earldom; but at the same time, by the manner of it, rendered him extremely anxious as to how the event might be regarded by Government. Finding, however, that St. Leger had no intention to raise uncomfortable questions, he consented to meet him at Cashel. The interview proved equally satisfactory to both. For St. Leger, perceiving that he had 'a very wise and discreet gentleman' to deal with, easily convinced him that loyalty was his best policy, and Fitzjohn, who desired nothing more than to be recognised as earl of Desmond, readily consented to the terms imposed upon him, of acknowledging Henry's temporal and spiritual supremacy.

After, at James's request, visiting Kilmallock, 'where I think,' he wrote, 'none of your Grace's deputies came these hundred years before,' St. Leger proceeded to Limerick. Here he had an interview with Murrough O'Brien of Thomond, who, although making no objection to acknowledge Henry's supremacy, displayed great unwillingness to consent to the demolition of his bridge over the Shannon and to relinquish

his claims over the O'Briens of Ara and other clans on the hither side of the river. Being reluctant to push matters to extremities with him, St. Leger yielded to his request for time 'to consult with his kinsfolk and friends,' consoling himself with the reflection that in the event of his proving obdurate he would have little difficulty in bringing him to his senses with the help of the earls of Ormonde and Desmond, his nephew Donough, and Ulick Burke, whose appetite to be created earl of Clanricarde he had carefully whetted. Thus having so far successfully untied the knot of the conspiracy, he returned to Dublin to complete his preparations for the assembling of Parliament.

Thursday, June 16, 1541, the feast of Corpus Christi, was a memorable day in the annals of Ireland. From an early hour in the morning Dublin was alive with the bustle attending the meeting of Parliament, which had been summoned for the preceding Monday, but owing to the non-arrival of the earl of Ormonde and other noblemen had been postponed for four days. After the celebration of a solemn Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral, at which the Lord Deputy was present, attended by the spiritual and temporal nobility in their robes of State, including not a few of pure Irish descent together with a goodly number of knights of the shire and burgesses, the assembly adjourned to the Parliament chamber in the Castle. Sitting together, apparently, with the other Estates, the Commons at once proceeded to the election of a Speaker, their choice falling on Sir Thomas Cusack, who, having been presented to the Lord Deputy for approval, 'made a right good proposition in laud and praise of his Majesty . . . most worthily deserved, and also declared what benefit came of obedience to princes and observing of laws, which, after being answered' by the Lord Chancellor in English 'and by the earl of Ormonde declared in Irish, much contented the said Lords and Commons.' Next day, meeting in the same place, a bill conferring the title of King of Ireland on Henry VIII. and his successors was submitted to the Lords, 'who most willingly consented to the same, and after three times read, with like consent, it was sent to the Lower House, where it likewise passed with no less joy and

gladness.' The day following St. Leger announced the royal assent, and on Sunday the whole assembly repaired to St. Patrick's Cathedral, where, after solemn Mass celebrated by Archbishop Browne, the new Act was publicly read in the presence of some two thousand persons and a *Te Deum* sung in thankfulness for the same. That night, in order to celebrate the event, Dublin was illuminated, public and private banquets were given, casks of wine broached and great bonfires lit in the streets, amid the clanging of bells and the booming of a 'goodly set of guns.' Having accomplished the principal object for which it had been summoned, Parliament was prorogued on July 23.

Taken in connection with the Act declaring the royal supremacy and the Act of Absentees, both passed in the same Parliament that had caused the attainder of the earl of Kildare (28 Henry VIII, cc. 1–3), the Act regulating the royal title completed, so far as mere parliamentary enactments could complete, the work of laying the foundation for a general reconquest of the island. The more difficult task of turning them into actual facts remained to be attempted.

So far, however, St. Leger's method of dealing with the Irish had been attended with good results, and its ultimate success seemed only to be a question of time and patience. Of all those who from their position and influence were entitled to regard themselves as magnates of the realm, two only had failed to appear either personally or by proxy in Parliament—Manus O'Donnell and Con O'Neill, with neither of whom St. Leger had as yet come into contact. Letters addressed by the Council to O'Neill reminding him of his duty and the promises made by him to Grey failed to produce any effect; but shortly after the prorogation of Parliament St. Leger managed to arrange a meeting with O'Donnell on the borders of county Cavan. Never was the Deputy more astonished in his life when, instead of finding as he expected a wild man of the woods, he was confronted by an individual of handsome appearance, dressed 'in a crimson coat of velvet, with aglets of gold, twenty or thirty pair, over that a great double cloak of bright crimson satin, guarded with black velvet, a bonnet with a feather set full of aglets of gold,'

and attended by his private chaplain, 'a right sober young man, well learned and brought up in France.' With such a person it was not difficult to come to terms, and on the same day, August 6, O'Donnell indented to recognise Henry as his sovereign lord and king; to abjure all alliance with his enemies; to renounce the Pope and suppress his adherents; to attend all hostings, when summoned to do so, with sixty horsemen, a hundred and twenty kerne, and the same number of galloglasses, for the space of one month at his own charge; to appear in person at the next meeting of Parliament, or to send someone properly authorised to represent him; to hold his lands as from the King and to receive such title as the King might be pleased to confer upon him; and finally, of his own free will, to send one of his sons to England, there to be brought up and educated after the English fashion. In return St. Leger promised on behalf of the Crown to defend him against his enemies and to transmit his request to be created earl either of Tyrconnell or of Sligo, and to have his chaplain appointed bishop of Elphin.

In conversation with the Deputy, O'Donnell admitted that O'Neill ought to be brought to account for his 'lewd and ill behaviour'; but 'forasmuch as the same O'Neill and he had heretofore been friends,' he begged him to make one more effort to win him to submission by peaceable means before proceeding to use force. Should he, however, reject the present overture, he would, he declared, be ready to co-operate with the Deputy 'and set upon the said O'Neill with all the power he was able to make.' St. Leger yielded to his request, and letters were forthwith addressed to O'Neill requiring him to meet the Deputy at Dundalk on September 3. To these letters O'Neill returned answer that he would on no account go to Dundalk or stand upon the order of the Deputy. Thereupon a general hosting was proclaimed against him, and on September 3 St. Leger, supported by O'Donnell, O'Reilly, MacMahon, Magennis, and others of the Ulster Irish, invaded his country and laid it waste with fire and sword. O'Neill, who had withdrawn his cattle into the woods, attempted a diversion by invading the Pale; but before he could do much damage he was compelled to

withdraw with considerable loss and 'much shame' by the forces of the Pale under the command of Lord Louth. A second invasion followed in November, and a third in December, when O'Neill, brought to his knees at last, consented to sue for pardon, and agreed to meet the Deputy at Dundalk to arrange the terms of his submission, putting in meanwhile, as guarantee for his sincerity, 'one of the best sons he hath'—a thing no O'Neill had ever been known to do before, 'whereby men here suppose that he will now be a good man.' Accordingly, on the Wednesday following St. Stephen's day he formally, in presence of the Council, subscribed the following conditions imposed upon him, viz. of recognising Henry as his liege Sovereign, of renouncing the Pope and all his ways, of acknowledging his past offences and promising in the future to regulate his behaviour and manner of life after the example of the earls of Ormonde and Desmond, to attend all Parliaments and general hostings when summoned to do so, to cut passes through his woods and to restore all ruined churches within his domains, 'et hoc celeritate convenienti, ut officia divina celebrentur, et gens crassa doceatur et instruatur debita sua officia in Deum et dictum Dominum Regem agnoscere et reddere.'

As St. Leger anticipated, O'Neill's submission broke the back of Irish resistance. One after another all the minor chieftains came in and submitted, though three years were still to elapse before the Lady Eleanor could humble her pride to ask for the forgiveness which was readily granted her. The rough work of reconquest was completed: it only remained for Henry to decide on what principles the government of Ireland should in the future be conducted.

On the main question—the possession of the land—three courses lay open to him: either, first, to expel the Irish and plant their lands with English colonists; or secondly, allowing the Irish to remain on the lands occupied by them, to cause a distribution to be made of them amongst the principal members of the several clans, thus, as it were, creating out of them a set of small hereditary proprietors, holding their lands, by knight's service or an annual rent, directly from the Crown; or thirdly, by substituting the

chief for the clan, to constitute him feudal proprietor of the lands in which, under the native system, he possessed only a life-interest, with the obligation of allotting lands to his tribesmen, and at the same time of commuting their personal services into a fixed annual rent for the land.

Of these three plans the first had at the beginning of the reign found many warm and able advocates, not merely in official circles, but also among the old settlers in the Pale. Gradually, however, as the magnitude of the task became better appreciated, the plan, even with its more ardent admirers, underwent considerable modification. Instead of insisting on a general expulsion, which they now recognised to be impossible, they limited their project to those clans in the immediate vicinity of Dublin—the O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, O'Conors and Kavanaghs—and of these only 'the gentlemen and men of war' were to be banished, permission being granted to the colonists to retain 'as many of the common people there as to them shall be seen requisite; for there be no better earth-tillers, nor more obedient than they be.' The scheme in its modified form was not without its attraction for St. Leger—a fact which says much for his political foresight. But Henry, who hoped to reach his object, viz. a revenue, by less circuitous methods, turned a deaf ear to any such expensive project. His own view, strengthened by his experience of the good results attending St. Leger's method of dealing with the Irish, tended in the direction of a combination of the second and third courses.

Writing to the Lord Deputy and Council to thank them for the honour conferred upon him by Parliament, not forgetting to hint that it was for them to see that he had a revenue capable of supporting it with dignity, Henry proceeded:

'You shall know that we divide Irishmen, and the lands they occupy, into two parts. The one part, as O'Reilly, O'Conor, the Kavanaghs, &c., we take to lie so far upon the danger of our power, as you may easily bring them to any reasonable conditions that may be well desired of them. The other sort, as O'Donnell, MacWilliam, O'Brien, &c., we think to lie so far from our strength there, as, without greater force, it will be difficult to expel them out of their country, and to keep and inhabit the same, with such as we would thereunto appoint, albeit we may easily correct and punish any of them as the case shall require. Therefore we would

that to them all you shall use good and discreet persuasions, to make them saver (know) what it is to have their lands by our gift certainly and quietly, what honour and benefit it shall be to them to live in civility, and what reason would and enforceth they should again be content for the same to do towards us, who must and will in that case aid them in the maintenance of that which they shall have thus received of us. And as you may well press those which lie in our danger and have open countries to more beneficial conditions than those which lie further off, lest by extreme demands they should revolt to their former beastliness; so, we mean not to get of any of them more than they shall be able to accomplish, whereby necessity should enforce them to slip again from us, but only, for the beginning, to bring our revenue to such a mass as may defend the State there; and after, as the country shall grow into a further civility, so our profits to be increased. But to descend to specialities, what may be gotten as we think, with good means, of both sorts of the Irishmen before mentioned:—

'*First*, we think you may easily bind all of them, which lie upon our strength, to all the conditions whereunto Turlough O'Toole is bound.

'*Second*, to condescend, that if we shall give them their lands, which be the greatest lords, they shall not only reserve unto us either some such towns or holds of the same as you shall there think meet, or to grant such reservation of rent or subsidy out of the same as may advance this our purpose; but also they shall help that the possessions of the meaner gentlemen in their countries, which be not of our peace, may be gotten to our use, possession or profit; or at least that every of them may hold immediately of us, and pay such rent or subsidy as shall for their quantities amount to a convenient portion.

'*Third*, that they shall hold by knight's service, whereby their children shall be our wards, and after sue out their liveries.

'*Fourth*, that in case there be any religious houses in their countries, the same shall be suppressed, and we to appoint such farmers to them as we shall think good, so as the whole revenues of them may come to our use and profit.

'The like of which conditions, or the good part of them, we think may with good persuasion and dexterity, be also won of the others, as O'Donnell &c., dwelling in the remote parts. Nevertheless, because we be desirous once again to experiment their faith, we would you should not over much press them in any vigorous sort, but only to persuade them discreetly, upon consideration that the lands they have be our proper inheritance, besides our right and title to the whole land, and what honour, quiet, benefit and commodity they shall have by such an end to be made with us, and what danger may come to them, if they embrace not this our special grace showed unto them, to induce them gently to condescend to that which shall be reasonably desired of them. . . . And for the better alluring those of the remote parts, we shall not much stick to let them have some of the religious houses which shall be suppressed in their countries in farm at such reasonable rents as you shall think meet, so as we may be in surety to be answered of the rents as appertaineth.'

After all the time that has elapsed and all the experience that has been gathered since these words were first penned it may be questioned whether any statesman could find a solution of the problem, as it presented itself to Henry, better calculated to achieve its object of pacifying Ireland than that which is unfolded in them. This being the case, it is a matter of some interest and importance to inquire how it was that, after a brief and delusive period of success, a scheme which was so admirably adapted, as it seemed, to conciliate the Irish should entirely have missed its object and led to a directly opposite policy of extirpation and colonisation.

It is an accepted doctrine with certain writers, who are on the whole favourably impressed with Henry's attitude towards the Irish, that his failure to conciliate them is directly attributable to his ecclesiastical policy, and it is somewhat plausibly argued by them that, had he not arrayed against himself the forces of the Papacy, his civil policy would in all probability have met with the success it deserved. But this hypothesis, so eminently calculated to flatter the religious vanity of the Irish, is not likely to impose upon anyone who has devoted attention to the actual condition of religious life in Ireland at the time the experiment was made, and above all to the inability of the Counter-Reformation to obtain in the first instance any foothold in the country. Perhaps, considering the activity of the friars and the extraordinary reverence shown them, together with the number of religious houses in existence, though many of them were deserted and fallen into ruins and in not a few of the rest the lamp of learning flickered but fitfully, one would hardly be justified in speaking of the Irish as simple heathens. At the same time it is evident, from the unbiassed reports which from time to time reached Rome, that, long before Henry laid his sacrilegious hand on the Church of Ireland, its glory had departed from it, and that over a large part of the island the very means of public worship and religious instruction had almost ceased to exist. True, until the Reformation the episcopal sees were fairly regularly filled by the nominees either of the Pope or the Crown; but for the people at large these appointments

possessed little or no significance. Only in the Pale and the large seaport towns were the signs of religion actual and visible. The same line of division that ran through the political and social life of the people ran likewise through its religious life: on the one side the Church of the Pale; on the other the Church of the mere Irish—the one English and Romish, the other anti-English and anti-Romish. That the former should have continued what it had ever been, while the latter became as ultra-Romish as it remained anti-English, is due to causes which lie outside the scope of our present inquiry. But nothing serves better to illustrate its earlier phase than the reception afforded to the first efforts of Rome to prevent the spread of heretical doctrine in Ireland.

The foundation of the Society of Jesus belongs to the year 1540. Ireland was one of the earliest objects of its attention. In February 1542 three Jesuit missionaries, Alphonso Salmeron, Paschal Broet, and Francesco Zapata, landed on the bleak and inhospitable shores of Northern Ulster. But repellent as was the aspect of the country, it was not more so than that of its inhabitants—'a wild and uncivilised race of beings,' herding together like mere cattle 'without spiritual ministrations of any sort.' A year before they might have met with a different reception; but in the meantime O'Neill had submitted, and they found to their dismay that the chiefs without an exception were more likely to hand them over to the officers of the Crown than to listen to their exhortations. After wandering about disconsolately, for some weeks, from one hiding-place to another, and seeing little prospect of making any impression on the people, they at length managed with difficulty to effect their escape to Scotland. So ended the first effort of the Counter-Reformation in Ireland. The result could only have served to confirm Henry in the belief, which the easy and universal acknowledgment of his spiritual supremacy had inspired, that religion was a matter of perfect indifference to the Irish. Even had it been otherwise, had the Irish been as intensely the children of Rome as they were notoriously the reverse, the Reformation in Ireland was so much a mere political question that outside a very narrow circle its real significance was not

likely to have been remarked by anyone. Of the exaggerations of the Irish annalists in this respect it is not necessary to speak; but as conclusive evidence that religion had nothing to do with the failure of Henry's civil policy, it may be remarked that the first earnest departure from it belongs to the very Catholic reign of Queen Mary; the names of Queen's County and King's County, of Philipstown and Maryborough, bearing testimony to the new policy of extirpation and colonisation..

'Other writers again have sought, with a greater show of probability, to ascribe the failure of Henry's policy to the conflict between tribal and feudal ideas involved in his attempt to substitute the chief for the clan in the possession of the lands occupied by the latter. But this view, which rests on the hypothesis that there is something radically irreconcilable between the feudal and tribal systems, overlooks the fact that the former is largely a natural development of the latter and that Ireland had long since passed beyond the state of a primitive tribal community. Nor will it explain how, for example, Henry's plan worked comparatively smoothly in the case of the O'Briens of Thomond, amongst whom succession by tanistry prevailed, while it utterly failed with the O'Neills of Tyrone, amongst whom succession by primogeniture was rather the rule than the exception. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that though Henry's plan was undoubtedly based on the personal responsibility of the chief for his clan, it did not in any way interfere with the relations existing between the chief and his clansmen. No attempt was made to suppress succession by tanistry where it existed, though arrangements were made which it was hoped would lead to its gradual extinction. Even the Brehon law was left standing, though in every province 'orderers' or arbitrators were appointed to hear and determine all controversies amongst the Irish, with the intention of gradually superseding it. Where the object was to win the Irish, to teach them by practical experience the value of law and order, and not to force their reluctant obedience, everything was to be left to time and the discretion of the Viceroy. That difficulties of one sort or another

would arise, despite the care that had been taken to leave nothing to chance, Henry did not conceal from himself; but there was nothing *a priori* presumptuous in the hope expressed by St. Leger that if the system could only be continued for another generation Ireland would be won for ever.

The historian, whose studies in Irish history have rendered him sceptical of all generalisations whatever, may be tempted to ascribe the failure of Henry's policy, not so much to its inherent unsuitability, as to the operation of local and specific causes, grounded, as Hobbes would have expressed it, in the want of that humility and patience on the part of the Irish chiefs 'to suffer the rude and cumbersome points of their greatness to be taken off, without which they could not be compiled into any other than a very crazy building which, hardly outlasting their own time, was sure to fall upon the heads of their posterity.' It is a mere commonplace to say that the rebellion of 1641 was directly attributable to fears of extirpation engendered by the plantations and innovations in religion. But let anyone seriously undertake to investigate the causes which led to the first plantation of Leix and Offaly, and he will assuredly admit that the character of Brian O'Conor and the jealousies existing between him and other members of the clan, as also between the O'Mores amongst themselves, were not the least important. Accustomed elsewhere to discover an adequate cause for rebellion, the student of Irish history is often compelled to admit that, further than a general spirit of restlessness on the part of the 'gentlemen and men of war,' no adequate cause ever existed. National action can only spring from a sense of national unity. Such a thing did not exist in Ireland in the sixteenth century, and it is futile to try to account for local disturbances on national grounds. Even in the case of the conspiracy we have been considering it is clear that though the nominal object of it was the restoration of the Kildare family, each individual concerned in it was, if we may use the expression, merely playing for his own hand. To speak of it as if it were in any way inspired by religious motives is to confer on it a dignity it does not deserve. That the course of Irish history might have been very different had

there always been a strong central government to preserve order in the midst of disorder is very probable; but with such probabilities the historian has nothing to do. He can only trace the causes which, after a brief period of success hardly outlasting Henry's reign, led to the gradual development of a policy of conciliation into one of unintentional severity, and finally into one of direct extirpation and plantation. Among these causes, that of a weak central government, unable to enforce its decrees without constantly appealing to the sword, is undoubtedly the most conspicuous, but not the only nor perhaps the most important cause. The easy indifference with which the Irish accepted Henry's plan was fatal to its success: the victory was celebrated before the battle had taken place. Could the Irish chiefs have consented 'to suffer the rude and cumbersome points of their greatness' to have been taken off, no plan could have been devised, better calculated to reduce Ireland to 'civility and good government' than that proposed by Henry. Their inability or unwillingness to do so compelled the use of more drastic measures, and was the primary cause of all their subsequent misfortunes. For the bulk of the nation the result was that between the nether millstone of the tyranny of its own chiefs and the upper millstone of severity on the part of government it was ground to powder.

ROBERT DUNLOP.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THE main sources for a study of the history of Ireland during the reign of Henry VIII. have long been public property in the *State Papers relating to the Reign of Henry VIII.* Pt. iii. vols. ii. iii. (London, 1834), supplemented by the extra documents supplied in Brewer and Gairdner's *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic,* and the *Calendar of Carew Papers,* vol. i., including the *Book of Howth,* together with the *Annals of the Four Masters,* edited by John O'Donovan (Dublin, 1851). What I have had to say has therefore been the result rather of a re-study of old materials than of any fresh discovery. The modern writers to whom I am most indebted are perhaps Dr. John O'Donovan and Dr. Richey, sometime Deputy Regius Professor of Feudal and English Law in the University of Dublin—the former through his unrivalled knowledge as an antiquary: the latter by his suggestive treatment of Irish history. The best general treatment of Irish history during this period is to be found in Richey's *Lectures,* republished with additions under the rather misleading title *A Short History of the Irish People* (Dublin, 1887), and Bagwell's *Ireland under the Tudors* (London, 1885–1890). These two works, the latter particularly by its accuracy and fulness, render it unnecessary any longer to do more than casually refer to Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana,* Leland's *History of Ireland,* and similar second-hand writers. For more special purposes the following authorities may be referred to:—Ware's *Rerum Hibernicarum Annales* (Dublin, 1664); *Annals of Loch Cé,* ed. Hennessy (Rolls Series, London, 1871); *Hibernica, or some Antient Pieces relating to Ireland,* ed. Harris (Dublin, 1770); Stanihurst's continuation of Holinshed's *Chronicle of Ireland* 1509–1547; *The Social State of the Southern and Eastern Counties of Ireland in the Sixteenth Century,* edited by Hore and Graves (Kilkenny, 1856); *Unpublished Geraldine Documents,* edited by Hayman and others (Kilkenny, 1879); *Calendar to Fiants of the Reign of Henry VIII.* (Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland, 7th Report); *Inquisitionum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ Repertorium,* edited by Hardiman (Dublin, 1826–9); Cotton's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ* (Dublin, 1847–60); Theiner's *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam illustrantia* (Romæ, 1864); Hogan's *Ibernia Ignatiana,* 1540–1607 (Dublin, 1880); Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland* (London, 1840); King's *Princes of the Holy Catholic Church in Ireland* (Dublin, 1845); Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum* (Dublin, 1786); Poole's *Historical Atlas,* Map 30 (Ireland under the Early Tudors), by the present writer; and the articles on the chief characters of the period in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* also partly by the present writer.

XI

SEBASTIAN GRYPHIUS, PRINTER

[The fragment which is here printed by the kind permission of Mrs. Christie was written by the late Mr. Richard Copley Christie some years ago, but had not been in any way revised by him. He had, however, made many notes for the continuation of the memoir, which have been used, together with Mr. Christie's published writings, for the additional matter kindly furnished by Mr. John Cree and appended to the fragment. References to Sebastian Gryphius will be found in the *Biographie Universelle*, the *Biographie Générale*, the *Biographie Lyonnaise*, Duverdier's *Prosopographie*, Bréghot du Lut's *Mélanges*, 1828–31; Pernetti's *Les Lyonnois dignes de Mémoire*; Colonia's *Histoire Littéraire de Lyon*, and in many other works. To all these, as well as to contemporary authorities, there are numerous references in Mr. Christie's MSS. deposited in the Christie Library at the Owens College. Mr. Cree's additions to the fragmentary memoir, and the notes to it contributed by him, are enclosed in square brackets.]

SEBASTIAN GRYPHIUS was born at Reutlingen, in Swabia, in 1493.[1] He is assumed to have been the son of Michael Gryff or Greyff, who carried on the profession of a printer there. Reutlingen was at that time a free city of the Empire, and one of the most flourishing in Swabia. It has been generally stated that the art of printing was introduced into the city by Johann Otmar in 1482, and that Michael Gryff or Greyff first began to print there in or about 1486; but Mr. R. Proctor, in his *Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum* (London, 1898), p. 175, dates the introduction of printing into Reutlingen as having taken

[1] Duverdier, *Prosopographie*, pp. 497–8, where there is also a portrait of him. Duverdier (whose book was printed by Sebastian's son Antoine) only states that he was born at Reutlingen and does not mention his father. The *Biographie Universelle*, in the article on him, says he was 'probably the son of Michael Gryff.'

place perhaps in 1478, and not after 1479, and assigns the honour of being the first printer to Michael Greyff, though he was closely followed by Otmar, who also began to print in 1479. Mr. Proctor gives the titles of forty-eight productions which issued from the two presses of Greyff before the end of the fifteenth century, and of twenty-eight which came from the press of Otmar.

That the three brothers Sebastian, Francis, and John, who afterwards became printers at Lyons, Paris, and Venice, were the sons of this Michael seems at least probable. As to their early life we have no information, and we are even without any tradition or legend concerning it. All that we know is that Sebastian must have received a liberal education, as at the time when he first comes before us he was certainly a good Latin scholar. This education must have been followed by an apprenticeship to a printer; but as to when, where and to whom he was thus apprenticed we remain entirely ignorant. It is not until 1523 that we can find any trace of him. In that year he was certainly settled at Lyons, and, as I think I have certainly discovered, as foreman manager of the press of Jean de Jouvelle, *alias* Piston.

Several writers have stated that he commenced business as a printer at Lyons in 1520. Monfalcon (*Manuel du Bibliophile et de l'Archéologue Lyonnais*, p. 411) says 'il vint s'établir imprimeur à Lyon vers 1520,' and Bréghot du Lut and Pericaud aîné, in their *Biographie Lyonnaise* (p. 139), say: 'Il est certain que [Seb. Gryphe] vint s'établir à Lyon dès avant 1520, et qu'il y imprima cette même année Romani Aquilæ *de Nominibus Figurarum Græcis et Latinis et Exemplis earum* lib. ex Alexandro Numenio et beaucoup d'autres ouvrages de 1520 à 1528.' That he settled at Lyons about or before 1520 is, I think, most probable, but that he printed on his own account before 1524 is, I am convinced, an error. The edition of Aquila cited in the *Biographie Lyonnaise* is therefore apocryphal. It is mentioned by no other writer, and no trace of it can be found in any of the numerous libraries and catalogues where I have searched for it It is to be observed that Bréghot du Lut cites no authority for its existence, nor does he state where

a copy is to be found. No such edition is known to Ruhnken, Frotscher, or any other editors of Aquila; and, indeed, no separate edition whatever of this tract by Aquila is known to exist. It has always been printed together with either Rutilius Lupus or Rufinianus or both. The first edition with Rutilius Lupus was printed at Venice by Zoppinus in 1519, and Sebastian Gryphius issued at least three editions of the three books with other tracts in 1533, 1536, and 1542.

Nor is M. Bréghot du Lut more accurate in saying that Gryphius printed 'beaucoup d'autres ouvrages de 1520 à 1528.' Before 1528, the date usually assigned as that at which he began to print, I have, after much search, only been able to discover two books, i.e. the 'Panormitanus' of 1524 and the Bertachini of Fermo of 1525.

On the title-page of the first volume of the 'Panormitanus of 1524, the first book on which the name of Sebastian Gryphius as printer appears, is the following:—'En vobis Panormitani Lecturas, Lectores candidi, *eadem ex officina ab iisdem operis* eademque cura et vigilantia quibus nuper Bartoli opera. exaratas castigatasque prodeuntes.' Now, as the 'Panormitanus' is 'ex officina Seb. Gryphii,' we should be led to expect that he had lately printed an edition of Bartolus de Saxoferrato, and many and long have been the searches made by M. Baudrier and myself for such an edition, but without success.[2] At length, in 1882, I discovered in the Library at Clermont-Ferrand a folio volume forming part of an edition of Bartolus which, though containing no mention of Sebastian Gryphius and purporting to be printed in 1523 'Lugduni ex officina Joannis de Jouvelle, dicti Piston,' is clearly a volume of the edition referred to on the title-page of the 'Panormitanus.' For (1) I can find no trace of any other edition of Bartolus printed at Lyons after one recorded by Panzer as in the Nuremberg Library and printed in 1515, which in a book printed in 1523 would

[2] M. Henri Louis Baudrier, who died in 1884, was President of the Court of Appeal at Lyons. Besides publishing several works on literary matters, he made extensive collections for a history of printing at Lyons during the sixteenth century, and these are now being published by his son, M. Julien Baudrier. Three volumes have been issued, bu the one containing Gryphius has not yet appeared.

hardly be referred to as printed 'nuper'; (2) the size and the type are identical with those of the 'Panormitanus'; (3) the title is in the identical woodcut border, and has at the top (immediately below the title) the same woodcut of a law professor lecturing as is to be found in a copy of Jason de Mayno in my possession, printed by Sebastian Gryphius in 1530, the only difference being that under the lecturer is stamped in red (clearly in each case with a stamp), in the one 'Jason,' in the other 'Bartolus de Saxoferrato.'

Jean de Jouvelle, *alias* Piston, first appears as a printer at Lyons in 1516. In that year two books are recorded as having issued from his press, an edition of the *Legenda Sanctorum* of Voragine edited by Lambert Campester,[3] dated 11 Non. Aug. and stated to be printed 'impensis honorabilis viri Constantini Fradin,' and an edition of the *Epistolæ Heroïdum* of Ovid with the commentary of Antonius Volscus. In 1517 three books are attributed to him—Symphorien Champier's edition of the *Speculum* of Galen,[4] a volume (the second) of the *Consilia* of Alexander Tartagnus, and the *Singularia* of Ludovicus Romanus and others edited by Jean Thierry.[5] In 1518 we have from him the first, third, and fifth volumes of the *Consilia* of Tartagnus and several volumes of the commentaries (on the *Corpus Juris Civilis*) of Alberic of Rosate. The remaining commentaries of Alberic and the third volume of the *Consilia* of Tartagnus had been printed by Jacques Mareschal in 1516 or 1517. In 1519 no book is given by Panzer as printed by Jouvelle, but in 1520, besides printing the Commentary of Dominicus de Sancto Geminiano on the sixth book of the *Decretals*, he joined with Jacques Sacon, Jacques Mareschal, and Jean Moylin in giving a complete edition of the *Commentaries* of Nicholaus de Tudeschis, Archbishop of Palermo, best known as 'Panormitanus' *on the Decretals*, in eight large folios. Two volumes have the

[3] See as to Campester, Burigny, *Vie d'Erasme*.

[4] See a description of this book in Allut's *Symphorien Champier*, p. 188, and an engraving of the mark of Marion which, omitting AV, is on the title of the book, p. 181. A copy in the Yemeniz Sale, No. 2441, fetched 85 fr.

[5] Another book edited by Jean Thierry—the *Sermones* of Petrus de Paluda—is given by Panzer as printed the same year at Lyons, but without a printer's name. Probably it was printed by Jouvelle.

name of Jouvelle as the printer, one that of Sacon, one that of Mareschal, and one that of Moylin; three have no printer's name, but of these the last is stated to be printed 'impensis notabilium mercatorum Lugdunensium.' [6]

In the following year (1521) the *Commentaries* of another celebrated jurist, Paulus de Castro, *on the Corpus Juris Civilis*, in nine volumes folio, were published in like manner by Moylin, Mareschal, and Jouvelle, and also, as it would seem, 'impensis nobilium mercatorum Lugdunensium.' There can be little doubt that by the 'mercatores' is meant the booksellers and publishers, and that these works were what we now call trade editions. It may be doubted whether Jouvelle was more than a printer; for we never find him called a *bibliopola*, and in the one book we know to have been printed by him in 1522—again a canonist—Bonifacii de Vitalibus *Super Clementinis Lectura*, edited by Joannes de Manassio, doctor of laws of the University of Bourges, the book is stated to be 'excusa per Joannem de Jouvelle (dictum Piston), artis chalcographariæ expertissimum nec minus diligentem; expensis Petri de Sartieres, bibliopolæ insignis in dicta civitate Bituricensi.' It is certain from a notice at the end that the printer was Jouvelle of Lyons.

With this book the name of Jouvelle disappears from the pages of Panzer; but, as before stated, I have discovered at Clermont a volume of the *Commentaries* of Bartolus *on the Second Part of the Digest*, printed in 1523, which is clearly a part of the book referred to in the 'Panormitanus' of 1524. It is by no means improbable that the subsequent volumes may bear the name of Sebastian Gryphius as their printer. And we may conclude that in 1523 or 1524 the press of Jouvelle, which he had already been superintending as foreman or manager, became the property of Sebastian Gryphius.[7]

It is in the year 1524 that Sebastian Gryphius is first named as a printer. In that year the edition before referred

[6] No doubt this is the same book as that reprinted (or reissued) by Gryphius in 1524 and 1534. But Panzer does not enumerate the *Consilia* of 1534 (which I possess).

[7] It would be interesting to examine the several books printed by Jouvelle, and to compare them carefully with the Gothic impressions of Sebastian Gryphius, so as to form an opinion on the identity or otherwise of the types

to of the *Commentaries on the Decretals of Nicholas de Tudeschis*, known as *Panormitanus*, was printed at Lyons in seven volumes folio by Gryphius. The only copy of the seven volumes I have seen or known of is in the Public Library at Orleans.[8] It is a magnificent book in large folio, on thick paper, and printed in an excellent Gothic type, identical with that of the Bartolus printed with the name of Jouvelle the year before. The title-page of each volume is printed in red and black, with a woodcut of Panormitanus kneeling and presenting his book to the Pope, who is seated, surrounded by cardinals and bishops. The whole is surrounded by a bold woodcut border representing dragons and other figures.[9] Each volume ends with the text from III Esdras iii., 'Super omnia autem veritas,' and immediately before this there is in the first volume 'Excusa Lugduni in officina Sebastiani Gryphii anno a Christo nato vicesimo quarto supra et sesquim[illesimo].' The same recurs, with slight variations, in each volume. It seems probable that the two other volumes of the *Consilia* and the *Repertorium* or *Index*, of which two works I have a copy printed by Gryphius in 1534, bound in a single volume, each of which has the same title-page as that described above, were also printed by him in 1524, and should be added to make the work complete. A work of this magnitude would take some time to see through the press, and its production would take not only time but money; so that we can hardly doubt that its publication had been arranged, even if the printing had not commenced, before the death or retirement of Jouvelle.

The 'Panormitanus' was followed in the year 1525 by another work of the same class, the *Repertorium* of Bertachini of Fermo, in three large folios, cited by Panzer from the *Bibliotheca Joschiana*.

used. No doubt there are productions of Jouvelle unnoticed by Panzer. That most incorrect book, the *Manuel du Bibliophile et de l'Archéologue Lyonnais* of Monfalcon, gives 1527 as the date of 'Jean de Jouvelle, dit Piscon.'

[8] [There is, however, in the Bodleian a copy of the larger portion of this edition, 'Super tres libb. Decretalium variorum additt. etc.; acc. repertorium super lectura. 5 partt.' *Cat. Lib. Impress. in Bibl. Bod.* iii. 673 (Oxford, 1843). A copy of the seventh volume, on the fourth and fifth parts of the *Decretals*, is cited by Panzer, *Ann. Typ.* vii. 336, from the *Bibliotheca Swarzii jun.*, and in Fontaine's *Catalogue*, 1874, No. 1802, is a copy of the first two volumes marked 200 fr.]

[9] But is not this like the 'Jason' used in other books?

An interval of between two and three years now occurs, during which we know nothing of Sebastian Gryphius and during which no book has as yet been discovered to which his name is attached as that of its printer. But it is not very difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the nature of his occupations during this time. The press of Jouvelle had been an exclusively Gothic press, occupied almost entirely with the production of those ponderous folios of Civil and Canon Law which the progress of the Renaissance in Italy had relegated to the barbarians on this side of the Alps. In Italy there was now but little demand for them, but in France, until Alciat and Cujas introduced a more scientific method of study, they commanded a brisk market, and during the first quarter of the sixteenth century Lyons was the chief seat of their manufacture. Out of 308 volumes enumerated by Panzer as printed at Lyons from 1510 to 1520 inclusive, no less than 107—the majority folios—are on Civil or Canon Law; and of the remaining 201 fully three fourths deal with mediæval theology. But the efforts of Aldus to introduce small editions of the classics in the cursive type now called Italic, but then, from its inventor, Aldine, had met with imitators at Lyons. No sooner had Aldus in 1501 issued his Virgil, his Horace, his Martial and his Juvenal, than imitations of them appeared at Lyons, similar in size, printed in a similar cursive type and copied page for page, so that the faults of impression of the early Aldines are scrupulously reproduced. The 'Monitum' issued by Aldus, and dated March 16, 1503, lets us know that all these, and in addition several of the impressions of 1502, had already been imitated by the Lyonese;[10] and it is therefore clear that, as soon as the first books in cursive type were issued by Aldus, some enterprising and not very scrupulous Lyonese printer caused a fount of cursive type to be cast, and began the fraudulent imitation. No printer's name is attached to these earliest counterfeits; but it would not seem improbable that a certain Balthasar

[10] But for an earlier reference to the counterfeits see a petition of Aldus to the Senate of Venice, quoted by Firmin Didot, *L'Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise*, p. 226.

was the founder of this branch of industry, inasmuch as a few years later his name appears attached to counterfeits.[11]

The types used can, however, be distinguished at a glance from the genuine Aldine, being heavier, stiffer, and more angular. Renouard has enumerated seventy-four volumes, mostly Latin classics, though including two or three Italian books and a few others, which appeared at Lyons in the first twenty-seven years of the sixteenth century from different presses, but all in cursive type imitating with more or less success that of Aldus, but not all of which it is fair to treat as counterfeits. They are all rare—generally rarer than the genuine Aldines—which leads to the conclusion that they were issued in small numbers.[12]

With these and a few other exceptions, however, and although printing and bookselling were the staple trade of Lyons, Law and Theology in heavy folios, and printed in Gothic letters, constituted the products of the Lyonese press prior to 1528. But already in Paris several printers had begun to print in considerable numbers small volumes of the Latin classics in the Italic type. Simon de Colines and Robert Estienne had already issued many volumes, in small octavo, consisting either of classics or of works of the humanists, such as Erasmus and Melanchthon.

It must have been a considerable time—probably two or three years—before 1528 that Sebastian Gryphius determined on establishing a printing-press on an altogether different scale and on an altogether different principle from those on which the Lyonese printers had hitherto carried on their business. A demand was springing up for good literature other than mediæval law and divinity; and there was a need of books of small bulk for students. Sebastian Gryphius determined to supply these wants, and if he did not succeed in rivalling the Aldi and the Estiennes either in the value of the original works which he produced or (at least the Aldi) in the beauty of his types, he at least completely revolutionised the book-trade of Lyons, and became for many

[11] His name first appears on the Suetonius of 1508. (Renouard, *Annales d'Alde*, p. 303.)

[12] The whole history of the Aldine counterfeits needs reconsidering.

years by far the most popular and prolific printer of useful Latin books not only in France, but in Europe at large. To set up such a press was a work of time, and a work which needed a large capital. Not merely had new presses to be procured—for those which had printed the huge folios of Bartolus and Panormitanus were not serviceable for the small books which were the chief product of the press of Gryphius—but new founts of type had to be obtained; and since the Italic which Sebastian Gryphius determined to use differed slightly from any theretofore known, the types had to be cut, matrices prepared, and new founts cast. Whether the three different Italic types used by Sebastian Gryphius were his own invention we have no means of judging, nor is it easy to say in what their distinction consisted, though no one can fail to see the difference on comparing the type with that of any contemporary press. It was more elegant and finer than that employed by any of the other Lyonese printers, though still somewhat coarser than the Aldine. One distinction may, however, be noted. In the original Aldine two or three letters were frequently joined together. To such of the consonants as were in most frequent use a vowel was joined, and several consonants frequently occurring together were also joined in one metal type and connected as in writing. Aldus made it a reproach to the Lyonese in his 'Monitum' that they had not imitated him in this: 'Adde quod vocalibus consonantes non connectuntur: sed separatæ sunt. In nostris plerasque omnes invicem connexas manumque mentientes operæ pretium est videre.'

Renouard has pointed out the injustice of this censure. The method of Aldus no doubt caused his type to have more of the appearance of manuscript, but that was all. Instead of facilitating, it hindered the work of the compositor, and tended to confuse instead of simplify. Gryphius adopted a middle course. His predecessors at Lyons had retained the combinations ii, ff, fl, sp, ss, and st, and these only. Gryphius, while retaining these, in addition to them adopted from the Aldine um, mi, is, us, and twelve other unions of the most frequent occurrence. These contractions of letters had to be designed and engraved, the matrices

formed, and then a number of founts cast. Besides these Italics he had to provide himself with founts of Roman letters, of which, besides capitals, we find him making use in 1528 of several different types. Further, he caused to be designed and engraved on wood alphabets of woodcut initials, several of them being of an entirely novel design, and those of the largest size deserving to be reckoned among the most remarkable woodcuts of their time. The name of the designer is unknown; yet the fact that Gryphius obtained from Froben of Basel at least one of them—an elaborate woodcut border which M. Firmin Didot thinks is unquestionably the design of Holbein—makes it seem not improbable that the largest series of these woodcut initials were by the same great artist. The smaller series are of less merit, though well deserving of attention.[13]

Nor was this all. Aspiring to be a learned printer, and full of enthusiasm for the new learning, Gryphius supplied himself with founts of Greek and Hebrew types, notwithstanding the fulminations of Beda and his friends of the Sorbonne against those who printed or who studied these two heretical languages.

By the beginning of 1528 all was prepared, and in that year commenced the series of popular and useful editions which were to constitute the school-books of half Europe for the next thirty years. According to Péricaud, the printing establishment of Gryphius was at this time and for some years afterwards in the Rue Thomassin, extending to the Rue Ferraudière. In 1528 as many as nineteeen volumes issued from this new press, most of them in the cursive type and in the small octavo form in which Aldus had printed most of his editions; but they included at least one folio, one small quarto, and one very minute volume, not indeed of the size in which some years later he was to print so many volumes, but of a small size in which during the ten following years he printed a few volumes of great rarity. Most of these books were reprints, not less than nine being treatises of Erasmus,

[13] [Reproductions of the fine woodcut letters of the period will be found at the beginnings of the chapters of Mr. Christie's *Étienne Dolet*. It is probable that some of those used by Dolet were given to him by Gryphius.]

besides his and Sir Thomas More's translation of the *Opuscula* of Lucian. A splendid edition of the *Adagia* in folio is the most noteworthy of the Erasmian volumes. Editions of the Latin translation of Josephus in three volumes, of the works of Politian in two volumes, and of St. Cyprian in one volume are reprints. But besides these, three original works issued from the press of Gryphius which are deserving of attention. The most remarkable of these is a small volume, *Precationes e sacris Bibliis desumptæ*, printed in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. This is one of the rarest books printed by Gryphius, and is thought by Renouard, on not improbable grounds, to be the earliest product of his new press and new types. Very probably it was intended as an advertisement of his new types and his new press, and at the same time as evidence that though he was intending to print and disseminate the New Learning, he was not unmindful of the duties of religion. It comprises the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Apostles' Creed, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Ten Commandments, and extracts from Holy Scripture printed in four parallel columns in Greek, Hebrew, the Latin of the Vulgate, and the Latin of Santes Pagninus, besides other extracts in Greek and Latin only. It is preceded by the following preface:

Whilst with the greatest care we are busying ourselves in printing books in different languages in order to delight learned men, it is clearer than light that this would be an absurd design unless in the first place we made provision for those of tender age. Inasmuch as this age is in general pliable to everything, and will in later life requite studies in morals, there seems no other way in which help can be more effectually afforded even to one who is blind than by these trilingual and orthodox prayers, which will at the same time bring about an influx of true erudition and a correlative spirit of piety.

Act then in such a way that you may grow up with this happy kind of conscience, and may neither render my labour nor the help of Christ of no effect.

[The connected portion of the memoir of Sebastian Gryphius ends here; but the following translation of his preface to the edition of Politian published by him in 1528, and the summary note appended on Gryphius's labours as a printer, are likewise from Mr. Christie's hand.]

Since the true faculty of speaking faultlessly cannot be obtained in any

better, quicker, or more perfect manner (as D. Erasmus, the one Apollo of our time, testifies) than by the conversation of and intimacy with those who speak with strict correctness, and by the assiduous reading of elegant authors, while on the other hand barbarism of style is the result of reading those noisy writers whose manner is rough and thorny: it thus happens that some will be found who have passed as many as five successive years in attentively reading the lucubrations of Cicero in order to be able to acquire the lively and mellifluous yet concealed pointedness of his style, nor has their method proved altogether unsuccessful. We have therefore printed in these small characters, and in this handy form, the works of this strenuous adversary of barbarism, so that they may be procured at small cost by those who suffer from the 'res angusta domi,' and may by everyone more conveniently 'nocturnâ versari manu, versari diurnâ.' We present here that most polished A. Politian, whom the Medici family cherished so kindly and treated so honourably, and whom Hermolaus Barbarus and Picus Mirandola and so many other very learned men celebrated with such high *encomia*. His works we publish neither in a mutilated or faulty condition, nor tampered with in any way, but complete, correct, and emended. We have added a translation of the Greek passages by one who is most learned in both languages, Jacobus Tusanus, together with an index and brief marginal notes calling attention to the names of the more important matters. It will now be your part, dear reader, to embrace with outstretched arms your Politian, from whom you will acquire both no little erudition and no little eloquence if you read him assiduously. Whose praises for the pains he has taken I pass over, since they have been sounded by many very learned men; and I content myself with this admonition: 'If you wish to be numbered with the learned, you must read this book.' Farewell!

. . . . . .

From 1528 onwards to 1556, the year of his death, the presses of Gryphius were busily at work, and altogether over one thousand different works were issued by him. In 1538, when Étienne Dolet set up as a printer, Gryphius, instead of feeling any jealousy, seems to have assisted him both with types and woodcut initials. Not impossibly there may have been some sort of a partnership arrangement between them, as there was between Gryphius and Jean de Tournes, when the latter commenced printing on his own account.[14] It was Gryphius who first circulated to any large extent the small and convenient reprints of the classics known as 16mo and 24mo, 1532 being the year in which he first began to print them.[15] His wife seems to have been Françoise Miraillet, who belonged to a family of that name, some of

[14] *Étienne Dolet*, p. 333.

[15] Ibid. p. 178.

whom were printers and booksellers at Lyons. After the death of her husband, she carried on his business together with his son Antoine Gryphius, under the designation of 'the heirs of Sebastian Gryphius.[16] Antoine afterwards became a printer on his own account. Sebastian Gryphius, following the usual custom of the printers of his day, took for his mark the figure of a griffin (*Greif*) and for his motto the words '*Virtute duce, comite fortuna.*'[17]

[Mr. Christie's fragment ends just before the beginning of the more active period of Gryphius's career as a printer, Besides the preface to the Politian cited above, he wrote prefaces to many others of the books printed by him which show him to have been a good Latin scholar. He also enjoyed the friendship of the many literary men who either lived at Lyons or visited that city, while among the readers or correctors of his press were Rabelais, Sussanneau, Scève and Dolet. J. de Tournes, who afterwards excelled him in typography, was for some time his foreman. His prefaces and dedications, his correspondence, and the numerous references to him in contemporary literature would all have furnished much material to Mr. Christie for this part of his memoir, and would have shown that not only was Gryphius at the head of the printers of Lyons, but also that printing was at that time a learned profession, and not merely a craft. Mr. Christie had become interested in Gryphius in the course of his researches on Dolet. The printer who issued over one thousand books (chiefly in Latin, but some in Hebrew, Greek, Italian, Spanish and French) in the thirty-three years in which he exercised his art, who wrote many of the prefaces to his books, some of whose readers and correctors of the press were scholars of eminence, and whose small and cheap reprints of the Latin classics were a boon to poor students, was thought by Mr. Christie worthy of distinct notice, and it was his intention to compile as complete a catalogue as possible of the productions of the press of Gryphius, and to prefix to that catalogue a memoir of him.[18]

In his *Life of Dolet* (pp. 175–77) Mr. Christie says of Gryphius: 'But it was not until 1528 that his press became of importance. Previous to this year his only books had been huge folios of mediæval jurisprudence. He now set himself to rival the Aldi by publishing a series of Latin books resembling theirs not only in form and type, but in general utility; and though he did not aspire to the glory of rivalling their Greek series, and published scarcely any critical editions of Latin classics, yet from the

[16] Baudrier, *Bib. Lyonnaise*, i. 282, iii. 116.

[17] The mark appears in Silvestre's *Marques Typographiques* in eight different forms, and also figures several times in Brunet's *Manuel*.

[18] This catalogue, like the memoir, was only partly prepared, and is now, together with the original fragment of the memoir, deposited in the Christie Library at Owens College with Mr. Christie's own collection of books and MSS.

immense quantity of excellent books which issued from his press, Latin classics, Latin translations of Greek classics, reprints of the best recent or contemporary writers, Erasmus, Politian, Budé, he contributed more than any other printer to the popularizing of literature and the cause of intellectual progress. . . . Original works of the highest merit were not wanting, and especially such as the Roman Inquisition and the censorship of the Sorbonne would have refused to sanction or required some modification of in Italy or in Paris. It was through his press that the purest Latin prose writer of the age, the tolerant and excellent Bishop of Carpentras, Cardinal Sadolet, gave most of his works to the world, not seldom with a dedication or other grateful reference to the learned and accurate printer, with whom he was on terms of great intimacy and friendship. It was Gryphius who in 1536 first printed that poem on the immortality of the soul by which the then unknown Aonio Paleario was recognised as the equal of Vida and Sannazar . . . . a poem which, although it placed the writer in the first rank of the Christian poets of the Renaissance, yet gave to the bloodhounds of the Inquisition the scent of a future prey, and which was followed in 1552 by the orations of the same author, also from the press of Gryphius, in which was the fatal sentence describing the Inquisition as a poniard directed against all men of letters . . . . a sentence not to be forgotten or forgiven until it was expiated by the author on the scaffold nearly twenty years after.'

'It was through the press of Gryphius that the elder Scaliger's critical treatises first saw the light, and the great Julius Cæsar even condescended to address a complimentary letter to the printer on the occasion of the publication of his treatise *De Causis Linguae Latinae*. . . . Nor were lighter works wanting. Although Gryphius was pre-eminently the learned printer . . . . of Lyons, yet the two earliest editions of the *Arresta Amorum*, with the erudite commentaries of Benoît Court, were printed by him, and numerous Latin poets and epigrammatists found in him not merely a publisher but a valued friend.'

The intellectual freedom which prevailed at Lyons as compared with Paris is shown by the names of some of the authors whose works Gryphius printed. Such names as Erasmus (of whose writings he printed a great number of editions) and Melanchthon were not likely to be received with favour by the ruling powers in France at that time; nor is it very easy to understand how Gryphius should have escaped a charge of heresy, when the enemies of learning were always ready to seize on any pretext to serve their purpose. But the air of Lyons was freer than that of Toulouse or Paris; moreover, Gryphius does not seem to have gone out of his way to make enemies, like the unfortunate Dolet. Indeed, the cares of his business must have absorbed much of his time, and its large extent must have almost necessitated a certain amount of prudence and restraint where there was reason for fearing the disapproval of the authorities. Again, the circumstance that so few of his books were in the 'vulgar tongue' may help to account for his having apparently been left alone.

The six hundred volumes printed by Sebastian Gryphius collected by

Mr. Christie represent, perhaps, not much more than half of the total number of books published by him. But the process of bringing them together was the result of many years of systematic attention to booksellers' and auctioneers' catalogues, and personal visits to France and Italy, and it well illustrates the difficulty of making anything like a complete collection of this kind. The commoner books are soon acquired, but the scarcer volumes only appear at rare intervals, while of some no trace is to be found. Of Gryphius's reprints of the classics, though they have long been placed in the category of 'old books' of little pecuniary value, copies are comparatively easy to be obtained, but for many of the other books which Gryphius printed Mr. Christie had to be content with the descriptions given by Gesner and Panzer. He vainly sought for many years for such books as the 'Panormitanus' of 1524; and of the edition of St. Jerome of 1529–30 in 8 vols. folio he only possessed one volume.

The most splendid monument of the typographical art executed by Gryphius is the magnificent Latin Bible which he printed in 1550 in two folio volumes, and which is in a larger type than any which had been used up to that time for any edition of the Bible. Mr. Christie's copy in the original stamped vellum boards, with the name of the owner in 1558, and the price he paid for the book, is a very fine specimen of the printer's art. Perhaps the most important original production of the press of Gryphius is the *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue* of his friend Étienne Dolet, in two folio volumes, which, though not equalling in typography the Latin Bible, is a highly meritorious work, containing 3,424 closely-printed columns. In the first volume only eight errata are noted. Mention may also be made of the great Hebrew *Thesaurus* of Santes Pagninus, a work which, as Mr. Christie says, 'though now all but forgotten, contributed more than any single book to advance the study of the sacred language.' In 1538 an edition of the works of Clément Marot was issued from the press of Gryphius, but with the name of Dolet on the title-page as printer; and this book, like all those printed in the French language by him, is now rare and much sought after. Another book which may be mentioned on account of its very great rarity is one printed by Gryphius in 1532, having Rabelais as its editor, under the title 'Ex reliquis venerandæ antiquitatis Lucii Cuspidii Testamentum. Item contractus venditionis antiquis Romanorum temporibus initus.' Rabelais edited the two tracts in the belief that they were the genuine productions of the ancient Romans; but they proved to be the work, the one of Pomponius Lætus in the fifteenth century, and the other of Pontanus at the beginning of the sixteenth. Rabelais states in his preface that he has printed two thousand copies of the book, but these must have been almost totally destroyed, as until 1887 none of the numerous writers on Rabelais had been able to discover a copy, and the only two copies known are the one in Mr. Christie's collection and the one in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.[19] Another rare book printed

[19] [Mr. Christie had in contemplation a reprint in facsimile of this very rare book, and had partially prepared an Introduction for this purpose, when he

by Gryphius, of which no copy was known to Mr. Christie besides his own, is the not very interesting tract of Florence Volusene (of whom Mr. Christie wrote the notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography*) entitled 'Commentatio quædam Theologica quæ eadem precatio est . . . in Aphorismos dissecta.'

Some of the books in the collection [20] furnish a curious commentary on the times in which they were issued. To the friends of bigotry and superstition in France, all printers were objects of suspicion; and the taint of heresy was thought to be strong among them. Care was therefore often taken by zealots that the minds of the faithful should not be contaminated by the writings, or even by the sight of the names, of those whose works were considered heretical. Thus, to take examples from the Christie Library, from an edition of the *Apophthegmata* of Erasmus the name of the author and his prefatory epistle have been taken out, and in an edition of his *Adagia* his name has been carefully obliterated. Two editions of St. Cyprian have had the prefatory matter of Erasmus cut out, and his name defaced. In Dolet's book *De Re Navali*, printed by Gryphius in 1537, wherever the author's name occurs in the volume it has been carefully altered with a pen to make it unreadable—a long task, as the name occurs in the headline of every other page; but all this labour was rendered useless by the name 'Stephani Doleti' being left in its original state on p. 118, probably owing to two pages being turned over at once by the person employed in the process. The mutilation and defacement of suspected books in this way were sufficiently common to make the acquisition of perfect copies of them not at all easy. Mr. Christie, except under necessity, declined to include in his library such disfigured and imperfect copies.

The binding of a book has very often been the means of preserving the book itself, and of giving it a value it would not otherwise have possessed, and this has been the case with many of the books printed by Gryphius. It is not at all uncommon to find in booksellers' and sale catalogues of to-day books from his press in the fine Lyonese bindings of the period, with gilt and gauffered edges. The bindings did not form part of Mr. Christie's purpose in collecting these books, but among the six hundred volumes there are a few that have fine and uncommon bindings; again, many of the volumes are in their original coverings, and some of these, in the stamped morocco, calf and vellum of the period, are interesting and curious.

Although Mr. Christie's collection of books printed by Sebastian Gryphius is so comprehensive, there are a larger number of volumes from his press in the Lyons library, which, in addition to those it previously possessed, acquired in 1886 some six hundred volumes formerly the property of an Italian count.

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discovered that a reprint of the book had been given by M. Arthur Heulhard at Paris in 1887, under the title of *Rabelais Légiste*, from the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and he therefore relinquished the idea. M. Heulhard was the first of the writers on Rabelais who had seen the book.]

[20] [For a general summary of the contents of the Christie collection, see Mr. Cree's notes in Shaw's *Selected Essays and Papers of Richard Copley Christie*, pp. lxiii–lxvii. London, 1902.]

It may be added that the Christie Library possesses copies of some forty or fifty books printed by Sebastian's brother Francis, who was a printer in Paris from 1532 to 1545, and also a few printed by John Gryphius, a third brother, whose press was at Venice.

The name of Sebastian Gryphius is comparatively unknown in this twentieth century, but the position he held at Lyons, and the reputation his press gave him over a considerable part of Europe, should tend to keep his name alive among students. He had no small share in the spread of knowledge and learning at a time when it was attended by very real dangers, and he is entitled to grateful remembrance for the work which he accomplished. In Mr. Christie's words, 'though most of the classics of Gryphius have fallen into the category of old books only, yet the prefaces of many of them are of much interest to the student of the history of learning in France, while the original works printed by him constitute in themselves a remarkable history of learning in the south of France for forty years.' The books of Gryphius now gathered in the Christie Library at the Owens College form a collection unique so far as England is concerned, and are at the same time a lasting and not unworthy monument of the high merits and rare learning of their printer.]

R. C. CHRISTIE.

XII

ELISABETH, PRINCESS PALATINE[1]

NEITHER criticism nor its caricature, scandal, is likely to undo the eponymous association with a great national epoch of the Elisabeth whom, in her turn, Spenser's undaunted flattery declared to be typified by the Queen of his own imaginings. Unmistakably representative, again, is the figure of Elisabeth of Bohemia, the sole surviving daughter of the great Queen's successor on the English throne, and admired hardly less, if less rigorously censured, by her contemporaries and posterity than Helen of Troy herself. For the experiences of the unfortunate Winter-King's high-resolved consort bring before us, more vividly perhaps than any other chapter of biography dating from her times, their unceasing contentions and their bottomless transactions—the great unsettlement of the Thirty Years' War. It was not so much the downfall of her personal fortunes and those of her dynasty—the termination of the earliest stage of the conflict—as the long and weary passion ensuing which overcast with a noxious gloom a radiance beyond that of all meaner lights. For (to vary the figure, in accordance with a favourite license of the writers of her age) from the risk of decay run by growths lightly planted in an uncongenial soil even noble natures rarely remain exempt. Such a nature was, I think, that of the Queen of Hearts. In any case, few will be disposed to judge harshly one whose high spirit remained unquelled by the catastrophe that ended her brief and delusive greatness, and who sustained this spirit through a

[1] This paper is expanded from a lecture originally prepared for delivery at the Royal Institution in January 1901—the month of the decease of the most august of all the direct descendants of the Palatine House.

long life of privations and of even more bitter disappointments. Yet there was undoubtedly a certain want of ballast in her, as there was a certain want of depth in her husband; neither of which deficiencies must be overlooked if we desire to account for the tendency to both intellectual and spiritual self-isolation so perceptible in their eldest daughter. In the record of the dethroned Queen of Bohemia's wanderings by her husband's side, with her children holding her hand or carried by her huck-a-back as in the old woodcut—in the annals of the long-protracted exile during which she and her family ate the bread of bitterness provided by their Dutch hosts—and in the lame epilogue of their participation, such as it was, in the blessings of the Peace and the good things of the Restoration—hardly a touch is missing that might serve to illustrate the struggles of an impetuous nature, ever ready to take arms against a sea of troubles, but incapable of lifting itself into the sunshine above the waves.

Three sons and a daughter—the third Elisabeth who is the subject of this study—had been born to the Elector Palatine Frederick V. and his consort before, in 1620, by the battle of Prague they 'lost the Palatinate in Bohemia.' A fourth boy, christened Maurice, after the great Stadholder and commander, was born at one of the earliest resting-places of their flight; in all, this faithful wife—for such she certainly was—gave birth to thirteen children of whom only four died before reaching maturity. Their characters, like their fortunes (which cannot be pursued here), were curiously varied; and so, as may here be specially noticed, were the remedies to which they had resort in their manifold straits and difficulties. For one thing, this family, after suffering so much misfortune and loss because of the leadership at one time assumed by its chief in the party of militant Calvinism, furnished several instances of the practice, only too common in this period, of treating forms of faith as so many counters in the absorbing game for thrones, or for other great political or social prizes. A lofty indignation against this practice took possession of the soul of the eldest sister, the Princess Palatine Elisabeth, who, as will be seen, never departed from her profession of the Calvinistic beliefs

in which she had been nurtured, and allowed neither personal interest, nor philosophic doubt, nor religious enthusiasm to detach her from it. Very different was the case with other members of her family; yet it was not only the fanatics and the worldly-wise whose judgment went with their choice rather than with her own. Thus, in 1646, she was sorely perturbed by the news of the conversion to the Church of Rome of her younger brother Edward, who could in no other way secure forgiveness from the Regent of France (Anne of Austria) for his secret marriage with the wealthy heiress Anne of Gonzaga, elder daughter of the Duke of Nevers. But Descartes, in a letter breathing the cool of the evening, expressed his surprise that the Princess should feel annoyed by an incident which but few people were likely to fail to approve. Catholics must of course applaud it, and Protestants would see reason for remembering that either they or their ancestors before them had likewise found occasion to change their form of faith. Moreover—and this was the great philosopher's main point—those in whose home Fortune has not taken up her abode must seek her out where they can, and by such divers ways as stand open to them—if some of them at least are to succeed in finding her.[2] Unlike the Queen of Bohemia and her eldest daughter, several of her children early learnt in the school of adversity the lesson of the needfulness of self-help—if not *quocunque modo*, at least without too scrupulous a self-censure. The eldest surviving[3] brother, Charles Lewis, who as Elector Palatine at last recovered part of his fair patrimony, though he gained little happiness or contentment therewith, was accounted one of the learned princes of his age, and gave sufficient proof of his intellectual liberalism by his desire to secure for his revived University of Heidelberg the teaching of Spinoza.[4] Quite towards the close of his life he gave expression to his desire for religious reunion by consecrating a church to 'Sancta Concordia,' and

[2] Descartes to Madame Élisabeth, *Œuvres de Descartes* (ed. Cousin), ix. 371.

[3] The Electoral Prince Henry Frederick was drowned in the Zuider Zee, January 17, 1629.

[4] Erdmannsdörffer, *Deutsche Geschichte*, i. 795; and cf. the portrait of Charles Lewis in vol. ii. of Häusser's *Geschichte der Pfalz*.

he would willingly have made the Palatinate, which owed to him a temporary renewal of its material prosperity, a refuge for all persecuted religious creeds. All this should be remembered in favour of a prince only too fond of displaying the cynical colouring of his mind. But in the days of his adversity he had shifted his cloak with the wind, at one time aspiring to the hand of the daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand II., the pupil of the Jesuits, at another taking the Covenant to mark his sympathy with the Parliamentary Party, of which one radical member has been thought to have not improbably suggested him as a substitute for his uncle, Charles I., on the tottering English throne.[5] The next two brothers, the Palatine Princes Rupert and Maurice, are more familiar personages in the history of our great Civil Conflict—Rupert, who was prevented neither by what there was in him of genius, nor by his defects, from playing the long game open to a man of action, and Maurice, who followed his elder faithfully down to the day of his own seaman's—we need not say pirate's—death. The younger pair of brothers, Edward and Philip, had in their turn been brought up in common; but, after Edward's Franco-Italian marriage and conversion to Rome, Philip had accepted a commission from the English Parliament to levy soldiery for their service, and had only been prevented from executing it by the suspicion of his employers that he would take the force over to the King. Thus he returned to the Hague, and having been thence driven forth by the dark affair to which reference will be made below, died in the service of Spain.[6]

Elisabeth and the three of her younger sisters who survived their infancy might be held to have been more fortunate than their brothers; but the weight of calamity and dishonour hanging over their house must have been felt by them all, though differences of temperament and character, as well as of fortune, made each of them feel it in her own way. Of the third, indeed, of these four sisters—the Princess who received in baptism the names of her more celebrated

[5] See as to Vane's projects and the visit of Charles Lewis to England in 1644, Gardiner, *The Great Civil War*, i. 480.

[6] At the siege of Rethel in 1655. See Guhrauer's essay on Elisabeth, described on p. 331, note 13.

aunt by marriage, Queen Henrietta Maria—we only know that, largely owing to her elder sister Elisabeth's ardour in the Protestant cause, she was (in 1651) given in marriage to Prince Sigismund,[7] a younger brother of the ardent George Rakoczy II. of Transylvania, and that she died a few months afterwards. But for the second and for the youngest of the sisterhood fate had favours to spare—if we are to esteem as such either a long life of self-indulgent tranquillity or a greatness beginning after death. Louisa Hollandina, the god-daughter of the States of Holland, was one of those amiable and accomplished persons—for she was distinguished both by linguistic and more especially by artistic gifts, and did honour to the instruction of Gerard Honthorst[8]—who save themselves a great deal of worry by declining to take life too seriously. It is not known what had been her personal attitude (if any) towards the curious project, to which the attention of historians has only quite recently been directed, and which belongs to the year 1642, when she was twenty years of age, of marrying her to the young Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, who was only two years her senior.[9]

[7] This was not the only effort of the Princess Palatine Elisabeth as a Protestant match-maker. She took an active part in the endeavours of the Court of Heidelberg to secure a suitable marriage with a Prince of her own confession for the Elector Charles Lewis's daughter Elisabeth Charlotte ('Lisclotte'), afterwards Duchess of Orleans—one of the most true-hearted, as she was one of the most quick-witted, women of her own or of any other age. For a time the design was entertained of bringing about a match between her and William of Orange (afterwards King William III.); but at Heidelberg a preference was felt for the young Electoral Prince of Brandenburg, Charles Emilius (*d.* 1674), to whom our Princess Elisabeth had directed attention; but he was contracted elsewhere. In 1670 Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, died, 'to the infinite grief,' it was said, 'of all Europe'; and the 'Princess Palatine' Anne in 1671 brought about the engagement of her niece, Elisabeth Charlotte, to the widower. Charles Lewis showed the utmost indifference to the change of faith imposed upon his daughter, who had to go through the solemn farce of asking his pardon for surprising as well as grieving him by her conversion (cf. Erdmannsdörffer, i. 499). It may be added that the Duchess of Orleans, as her letters show, remained a sturdy Protestant at heart.

[8] A portrait by her of her mother, the Queen of Bohemia, is at Coombe Abbey.

[9] I owe my knowledge of this project, on which Guhrauer only touches in passing, to an interesting paper styled 'The Advent of the Great Elector,' read before the Royal Historical Society on April 20, 1901, by Mr. W. F. Reddaway, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and now published in the *Transactions* of the Society, xv. 151–170. See in particular pp. 162–4, where Mr. Reddaway prints the interesting instructions given to Joseph Avery, Resident at Hamburg, for the conduct of this negotiation, by Charles I., who thus testified to his steadfast interest in the fortunes of the Palatine House at an already advanced period of his reign (after the arrest of the Five Members).

A destiny awaited her very different from that of becoming the partner in life of the Great Elector, who in the midst of many political tergiversations always remained true to the principles of Protestantism. After, some five years later, she had, probably in consequence of family troubles to be adverted to below, secretly quitted her mother's Court and betaken herself across the Belgian frontier, she not less unexpectedly became a member of the Church of Rome. She was received with open arms by the French Court, and afterwards endowed with an agreeable sinecure as abbess of Maubuisson, near Paris, where she lived a long life—at first a merry, and always a contented one, even after Madame de Brinon had assumed the keepership of her conscience—and where she died in her 87th year, sincerely regretted by her niece the Duchess of Orleans, an incomparable judge of character and conversation.[10] In the correspondence between Descartes and Louisa Hollandina's elder sister Elisabeth (with whom she cannot have had much in common, though they do not appear to have quarrelled even at the crisis of the family's cohesion) the reader unexpectedly comes across a few extremely complimentary letters, purporting to be addressed by the sage to the genial Abbess, as having contrived to convey his letters to Elisabeth, at that time no longer a resident at the Hague. But Louisa Hollandina, who can hardly be claimed as a disciple of the Cartesian school of thought, afterwards expressly disclaimed this tribute, pointing out that not she, but her youngest sister Sophia, had taken the trouble and displayed the tact which called it forth.[11] Sophia's destiny, through a life scarcely less protracted and considerably more important than that of Louisa, imposed upon her almost continuously the duty of taking trouble and showing tact—and this far oftener for the sake of others than for her own. Her husband, the first Elector of Hanover, and her eldest son, the first Hanoverian King of Great Britain, were alike non-demonstrative men; but so much as this they would, I think, both of them have been

[10] As to Louisa Hollandina and Maubuisson, see Guhrauer, *Leibniz*, ii. 36-7; and cf. Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, and the correspondence of the Duchess of Orleans.

[11] See *Œuvres de Descartes* (ed. Cousin), ix. 406, note.

at most times prepared to acknowledge. Yet the Electress Sophia—to call her by the title that crowned a series of efforts and manœuvres in which she had a signal share—was something altogether different from a dynastic schemer, and something more than even a princess of regal ambitions. She governed her life with rare prudence, and amidst its innumerable trials and galling humiliations she, with the aid of an unfailing sense of humour, preserved intact the dignity of the mother of our Kings to be. But, over and above all this, she never ceased to apply her mental faculties to a quick survey and clear control of the abundant material which she caused to be constantly supplied to them; and thus she preserved to the last that intellectual freshness and elasticity without which there is no profit either in length or in fulness of life. No injustice is surely done to her friendship with Leibniz by thus indicating what would seem to have constituted her chief debt to the incomparable activity and versatility of his genius; how far she saw into its depths it is by no means easy to gather from their correspondence. Her attitude towards religion rested on a broad rationalism satisfactory to herself, and on the whole her friendship with Leibniz bears but little resemblance to that of her sister with Descartes.[12] In any case, notwithstanding all her sterling and in some respects even great qualities, we miss in Sophia the refinement and, in a sense, even the elevation of spirit which are so conspicuous in Elisabeth—and which instruction and intelligence are unable of themselves to produce.

The Princess Palatine Elisabeth[13] had, in addition to

[12] In her recently-published correspondence with Frederick I. of Prussia (edited by E. Berner, 1901, p. 123) Sophia bids the King order a letter of Leibniz on the question of Old or New Style to be read to him some afternoon when he is in need of a nap: 'for me by myself the letter is too beautiful.'

[13] The materials for a biography of the Princess Palatine Elisabeth are by no means scanty, and several attempts have been made to put them into form. The most elaborate of these is the exhaustive essay by G. E. Guhrauer (the biographer of Leibniz) printed under the title of *Elisabeth, Pfalzgräfin bis Rhein, Aebtissin von Herford*, in Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch* for 1850 and 1851 (cited below as Guhrauer, I. and II). In 1862 M. Foucher de Careil published his admirable *Descartes et la Princesse Palatine, ou De l'Influence du Cartésianisme sur les Femmes du XVII^e Siècle*, and in 1890 M. J. Bertrand revived in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (vol. cii.) the remembrance of *Une Amie*

hereditary influences which could in no case have failed to exercise their effect, been subjected through virtually the whole of her childhood to the continuous discipline of a Calvinistic *régime* of life. Her father's intellectual training, conducted with the care traditional in the Palatine House, had received its particular colour from its close connection with French Calvinism, with which he had been brought into intimate contact in his youth at the Court of the Duke of Bouillon at Sedan. The guardians of his mother's girlhood at Coombe Abbey had been the Puritan Lord and Lady Harington. Less than two years after Elisabeth's own birth (which took place at Heidelberg in 1618, the first year of the Thirty Years' War) her parents had become homeless fugitives; but already, when, just a twelvemonth before, they had taken their way from the Palatinate to Bohemia, they had been glad to entrust both her and her brother Charles Lewis to the care of their grandmother, Louisa Juliana, the widow of the Elector Palatine Frederick IV. After the battle of Prague the Electress-Dowager fled with her charges from Heidelberg to Berlin, the capital of her son-in-law, the Elector George William of Brandenburg. The two children, together with their infant brother Maurice, born at Küstrin on Christmas Day 1620, remained in her care after their parents had found a refuge in Holland; but the two Princes were afterwards taken away to be educated in that country. Elisabeth, on the contrary, seems to have resided with her grandmother till she was in the ninth year of her age, chiefly in the rather remote locality of Krossen in Silesia.[14] Louisa Juliana, with whose personality many English readers are familiar, had inherited from her father the steadfastness which friend and foe alike acknowledged to be characteristic of William the Silent. The trust in Providence, that sufficed him as a basis of

de Descartes. These authorities, together with Victor Cousin's edition of the *Œuvres de Descartes* (11 vols. 1824–6), containing the philosopher's correspondence with the Princess, and the articles on her life and that of Anna Maria von Schurmann in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, have been freely used in the present paper.

[14] Krossen was the capital of the duchy of that name, which, after forming part of the Silesian duchy of Glogau, was inherited by Barbara, daughter of the Elector Albert Achilles of Brandenburg, from her husband, Duke Henry of Glogau. For Louisa Juliana see Miss E. C. Bunnett's *Louise Juliane, Electress Palatine, and her Times* (1862).

religious beliefs to which he was content to give the outward form of a profession of Calvinism, animated the whole of his daughter's life. Her married years were devoted to the cause of the Calvinistic advance which had for a time found a centre in her adopted country; her later life was consecrated to the upbringing of her grandchildren, of whom she says in her early testament those only should be the instructors who should testify to our Christian confession of faith not by their words only, but also by the conduct of their lives. Upon her eldest grand-daughter she spent the full tenderness of her saintly nature; and in the codicil which she added to her will on her death-bed, she prayed that the Lord might be a father to Elisabeth, and might never forsake her.

From such inspirations as these Elisabeth passed, as a child about nine years of age, to the parental home at the Hague—if home be a fit name for a nest where a family of fugitives had license to scheme or dream in the very centre of the political life of Europe.[15] The Palatine Princesses were, like many exiles of inferior degree, cosmopolitans by necessity, and spoke half a dozen languages as a matter of course—perhaps sometimes with diplomatic facility rather than with literary precision. We are told that of the sisters Elisabeth alone spoke no Dutch; it is more surprising, perhaps, that her High-German should occasionally read so queerly.[16] So far as the religious beliefs of the Palatine children were concerned, they were all taught the Heidelberg Catechism, although their mother kept an English chaplain on her own behalf. Disposition and training alike helped to make the tenets of Calvinism mean more to Elisabeth than to any of her brothers and sisters; and the very laxity of life allowed by the ways and habits of their mother's Court (more especially after the death of their father in 1631), and welcomed by their more sanguine or less meditative

[15] By far the best picture of the life of the Palatine family in their Dutch exile is to be found in the *Memoirs of the Duchess (afterwards Electress) Sophia* (1879), which contain several references, touched with Sophia's habitual satire, to her eldest sister.

[16] In, for instance, her letter to the Great Elector concerning the Labadists, in Guhrauer, II. 461-2.

dispositions may have inclined her to desire a higher standard for her own guidance.

The type of Calvinism most likely to attract a mind both thinking and enthusiastic, such as we may assume Elisabeth's to have been already in her girlhood, represented a notable advance upon that which, in the very year of her birth, had presided at the Synod of Dort. The principles proclaimed by that Synod in matters of conduct as well as of doctrine were, as it were, officially accepted by the House of Orange with whose fortunes those of the House of Stuart were to be so closely connected; and the compact (if it may be so called) between Maurice of Nassau and the rigid, which was at the same time the popular, faction acquired the greatest possible significance for the future of the Dutch people. Everyone knows how the agitation which smote down John of Barneveld went hand in hand with the design of purging the Church and the Universities and recasting the entire moral training of the nation. It has been less generally observed that to the Synod of Dort are traceable the beginnings of a movement for the regeneration of religious life by means of a select number of pious persons—Pietists, as they came to be called—holding themselves aloof from the professing ecclesiastical community at large.[17] The decree of the Synod providing for conventicles for adults, whether those who had lacked adequate religious instruction, or those who were otherwise disposed to strengthen their Christian faith by friendly and familiar discourse, became the starting-point of Calvinistic pietism, as Spener's *Collegia Pietatis* began the corresponding, but rather later, movement in Lutheran Germany. The contrast between the two growths was largely due to the differences inherent in the soil whence they sprang: on the one side monarchical and aristocratic, on the other instinct with the equally potent political and social traditions of the Low Countries, and more especially with the tradition which connects the heretical Beguines and Beghards with the orthodox Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life, of

[17] See the development of this subject in the first volume of A. Ritschl's classical *Geschichte des Pietismus* (1880).

free self-consecration to religious ends. The common tendency in both these developments of pietism was to a revival of those exclusive conceptions of a religious life, which, since they could not end as they had ended in the Church of Rome, by absorption into the monastic system, could only result in separation and sectarianism. And such was its actual end in the Netherlands in a period lying beyond the range of the present essay, just as it had already in the earlier part of the seventeenth century begun to take the same direction in England, under the influence of Dutch Anabaptism in its later and more refined form.

To the Princess Elisabeth, in the days of her girlhood and early womanhood at the Hague and afterwards at Rhenen, near Arnhem, Calvinism, purified and renewed as it deemed itself to be in consequence of the great Synod, must have seemed incarnate in the person of Gisbert Voet. To us he seems specially prominent among the Calvinistic Pietists, of whom he was one of the first, if not the first, because in urging the practice of piety he so unsparingly insisted on prohibitions which the world at large accepted as the note of Pietistic exclusiveness. The misuse of the Divine Name; the desecration of the Sabbath; the abomination of dancing (except when carried on by persons of the same sex, or in private by husband and wife) and of theatrical amusements; the practices of usury and stock-jobbing: the excessive adornment of hair, face, or dress; the custom of duelling and the use of arms in personal self-defence; the frequenting of banquets and drinking-bouts; the drinking of healths; the playing of games of hazard—all these worldly customs or abuses were reprobated by Voet side by side with what he regarded as offences against the doctrinal principles of Presbyterianism or as direct copyings of Roman Catholic precedent. Yet though, even after the days of her girlhood were at an end, there is no reason for supposing Elisabeth to have remained an entire stranger to the gaieties of her mother's Court,[18] the attitude assumed

[18] See Sorbière's letter in Foucher de Careil, p. 15, note, dated 1642. After describing the water-parties which were in fashion among the ladies of the Court, disguised as *bourgeoises*, he adds:—'Élisabeth, l'aînée des Princesses de Bohême, étoit quelquefois de la partie.'

by Voet in the perennial conflict between Precisianism and the world might not have rendered her unwilling to sit at the feet of so celebrated an academical teacher, had he not come forward as the determined adversary of Descartes. For it was, as we shall see immediately, her intercourse with this great teacher which for several years went far to satisfy the yearnings of her spirit for something beyond 'the daily round, the common task' of life. Not that she is to be supposed to have shrunk from marriage; her abstractedness, at which her sister Sophia could not help laughing a little, was the result rather than the cause of the solitude of heart to which she was doomed. Some of the letters of even her later life show a vivacity resembling Sophia's own and a high spirit reminding us that she too was her mother's daughter.[19] As to projects of marriage, already in her fifteenth year King Ladislas IV. of Poland had been a suitor for her hand. This was just before the time when the great defeat of the Swedes at Nördlingen (1634) seemed to have finally extinguished the hopes of the Palatine House, and nothing could have been more welcome to it than the prospect of a union between the Princess and the tolerant and liberal-minded young King of Poland, whose personal interest in the plan of a religious Reunion acquired additional importance from the fact that he believed himself to have claims upon the Swedish throne. But Ladislas IV., although greatly interested in Elisabeth ('*ad quam maxime applicarat animum*'), could not prevail upon the large fanatical majority of the Polish Diet to assent to his marriage with the heretical 'Englishwoman'; and the attempt subsequently made through the Polish diplomatist Zawadzki, on his second visit to the Courts of King Charles I. and the Queen of Bohemia early in 1636, to cut the knot by inducing Elisabeth to become a convert to Rome, was frustrated by her emphatic refusal, in which she was supported both by her mother and by her eldest brother. Thus, honourably both to herself and her House,

[19] See her correspondence with the Great Elector concerning the Labadists.

ended this memorable episode;[20] and instead of one of the poorest princesses in Europe the high-minded Jagellon wedded a daughter of one of its wealthiest families (Maria Gonzaga).

It was about this time that the Electoral Prince (afterwards known as the Great Elector) Frederick William of Brandenburg, whose mother (Elisabeth Charlotte) was a sister of the Elector Palatine Frederick V., became a frequent visitor at his aunt's Court at Rhenen. Mention has already been made of the project of a marriage between him and his cousin, Elisabeth's sister Louisa Hollandina, at the bottom of which plan probably lay the wish to secure to him the duchy of Cleves during the lifetime of his father. Very possibly but for the Polish negotiations his choice might have fallen on the eldest sister; but in any case the design was frustrated by the Imperialist policy of the Elector George William and his minister Schwarzenberg.[21] In 1646, six years after he had become Elector, Frederick William married the pious Louisa Henrietta, daughter of Henry Frederick, Prince of Orange; but whatever may have been the nature of his sentiments in his younger days towards her Palatine kinswoman, Elisabeth was, as will be seen, certainly never forgotten by him, and it is difficult to resist the impression that his attachment to her was reciprocated by a tenderness beyond that of mere cousinhood.[22]

Fancy-free or not, then, Elisabeth remained unmarried, and nothing can be more certain, as to the earlier part of her womanhood, than that during this period her chief happiness was derived from an intimacy which may be said to have made her famous, and from the studies which it suggested or stimulated. This intimacy has been very fully described and discussed; nor, though unfortunately the Princess could never be prevailed upon to make public her own letters to Descartes, which were returned to her after his death, is there any difficulty in forming from his letters

[20] For a full account of it see Guhrauer, II. 17–33.
[21] Ibid. pp. 33–5.
[22] Her brother Charles Lewis had heard that she had named him her heir (Foucher de Careil, p. 84).

to her, taken in conjunction with all that is known concerning him and his writings, a clear conception of the relation between the pair. Intellectual curiosity was undoubtedly the foundation of Elisabeth's interest in Descartes, and the devotion which he offered to her in return and which, as Auguste Comte averred, suffices to show that the value of women was not really underrated by him, was primarily due to his gratification at being appreciated by a personage of so much distinction. European society in the earlier half of the seventeenth century was far from being deficient in learned ladies—such as the Elisabeth Weston (Madame Leon) who died at Prague in 1612, having, it is said, been commended to the notice of the Emperor Rudolf II. by King James I.,[23] and the famous Anna Maria von Schurmann, 'the wonder of her age and glory of her sex'—poetess, artist in wax, scholar and theologian—who in 1638 put forth as a trumpet-blast her solution of the *problema practicum*: '*Num fœminæ Christianæ conveniat studium litterarum?*' Moreover, the Princess Elisabeth resided in a country where, under influences which cannot here be examined, the intellectual emancipation of women had made such strides as to attract the satirical notice of foreign observers.[24] But the experience was unparalleled of a woman entering into so complete an understanding of the works of a great thinker that Henry More (when still a Cartesian) could describe her as 'infinitely wiser and more philosophical than all the wise men and philosophers of Europe.'[25] Curiously enough, Descartes, who regarded philosophical and scientific study proper as unsuited for forming part of general female education, and who had a wholesome horror of exposing woman to the twin perils of intellectual pruriency and intellectual pedantry, was ready to welcome Elisabeth and other gifted women as methodical searchers after truth; and with the highest type of educated ladies, though

[23] Guhrauer, I. 38 seqq., and cf. the notice of her in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[24] See the curious scene between 'Dutch-women and an English gentlewoman' in the tragedy of *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt*, acted 1619–20, and supposed to be the joint production of F etcher and Massinger.

[25] *Œuvres de Descartes*, x. 179.

not with the 'précieuses ridicules' of science, Cartesianism unmistakably came into sympathetic contact. On the other hand, it happened that Anna Maria von Schurmann, the champion of the high capacity of women as students, had so identified herself with the spirit of the University of Utrecht, represented by Voet, as to be full of animosity against the philosophical and scientific teaching of Descartes, and of veneration for the scholastic theology and philosophy to which it was antagonistic.[26]

For the rest, the Princess Elisabeth's friendship with Descartes by no means rested altogether on community of philosophical and scientific interests. He gave her good, and at times remarkably candid, counsel as to her personal health and happiness; and in return he looked for some sympathy from her in persecutions which, being a man of the world and one who had seen service under arms, he was not accustomed to bear with any affectation of meekness. Moreover, he was really intent upon serving the cause of the Palatine family, so much so that this motive in the end contributed to his undertaking the journey to the remote northern capital where he was to find his grave.[27] At the same time, it appears to me nothing short of absurd to seek in the relations between the princess and the philosopher for traces of that particular passion which, according to the latter, cannot subsist without hope.[28] These relations had probably not been in progress for more than a year before (in 1644) he

[26] Cf. Foucher de Careil, pp. 28–38. I have no space for pursuing further this very interesting subject, but I cannot refrain from repeating the quotation from Molière which, as M. Foucher de Careil observes, clinches the matter in favour of both the requirements and the reservations insisted on by Descartes:

> 'Je consens qu'une femme ait des clartés de tout;
> Mais je ne lui veux point la passion choquante
> De se rendre savante afin d'être savante;
> Et j'aime que souvent, aux questions qu'on fait,
> Elle sache ignorer les choses qu'elle sait.'
> (*Les Femmes Savantes*, Act I. sc. 3.)

[27] I must not here touch on the relations between Descartes and Queen Christina of Sweden, in which I cannot help thinking that so far as the Princess Elisabeth was concerned he, with the best intentions, showed a certain want of tact. A very instructive contrast might be drawn between these two ladies from the point of view of their intellectual qualities and preferences. Cf. Guhrauer, I. 98 seqq.

[28] See the *Traité des Passions de l'Âme*.

dedicated to Elisabeth his *Principia Philosophiæ*, paying her the extraordinary compliment that he had never met with anyone who so thoroughly understood both the mathematical and metaphysical portions of his writings, in comparison with which praise it may be doubted whether the Princess, though still young and fair,[29] paid much attention to the inevitable tribute to the charms of her person. Nor can I believe that when Descartes followed up the singularly attractive commentary composed by him for her on Seneca *de Vita Beata* by composing on her behalf, also in letter form, the original treatise on the Passions of the Soul just adverted to, he intended it to bear any personal significance. This treatise, published with considerable enlargements in the year 1649 (which ended Descartes' sojourn in Holland, first at the delightful retreat of Eyndegeest, near the Hague (1641–3), and then further away from Utrecht and Voet, at Egmond, near Alkmaar), is essentially metaphysical in purpose and character, though it includes not a little of ethical discourse. But if we *must*—though I am slow to perceive why we *should*—read such a book by such a man with an eye to the personal experiences of its writer, I am convinced that any illustration of those of Descartes which may be derived from this treatise will be found to bear, not on his sentiments towards Elisabeth, but on the spirit which actuated him in the sustained endeavour of his career.[30]

Descartes had not seen the Princess Elisabeth for some three years before his death, at Stockholm, in February 1650. In June 1646 the catastrophe had occurred which broke up the Queen of Bohemia's family, and led, sooner or later, to her being estranged from at least one of her sons and two of her daughters. Colonel d'Épinay, a French nobleman said to have attained a previous notoriety by his successes as a squire of dames, had established himself in so influential a position at the Court of the Queen of Bohemia, whose own favours he was even rumoured to have secured, that he had attracted the ill-will of Prince Philip, the youngest but one

[29] Sorbière who visited Descartes about this time, describes her beauty and form as those of a heroine.

[30] See the noble passage on 'virtuous humility,' *Œuvres*, iv. 167–8.

of her sons. Returning home one evening late with a single companion, the Prince was assaulted by four Frenchmen, against whom he was defending himself when he recognised Épinay as one of his assailants and called out his name. The Frenchman thereupon fled, but on the following day Philip met his adversary in the public market-place, and, rushing upon him, engaged him in a hand-to-hand struggle which ended in the death of Épinay.

The sensation created by this event found expression in many rumours, among which was the story that the Princess Elisabeth had instigated her unhappy brother's deed, and that the Queen drove her as well as him from her side. But there is no proof that Elisabeth was sent away by her mother, with whom two years later she is found on friendly terms.[31] Nothing, however, is more probable than that she may have pleaded the cause of her brother Philip with her mother, as their elder brother Charles Lewis is known to have done, and that her absence from Holland, which extended over a year or thereabouts (1646–7), may have been due to the family trouble. She divided this period between Berlin and Krossen, where her aunt, the Electress Dowager of Brandenburg, was now keeping a Court of her own in her dower-house, and where she seems to have frequently met with the young Elector Frederick William and his gifted sister, Hedwig Sophia (afterwards Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel), to whose instruction she is said to have given particular attention. At Berlin she actively exerted herself to introduce the methods and teaching of Descartes into what was still a very remote centre of intelligence. But it was not many years afterwards that the new University of Duisburg, founded by her kinsman in his Duchy of Cleves, became a conspicuous seat of the philosophy of which she was a disciple. She seems to have returned to Holland before, in the latter part of 1648, she paid a visit to her brother Charles Lewis, whom the Peace had for the second time and finally restored to Heidelberg, the capital of the much-vext and now truncated Palatinate.

[31] See the undated letter from Charles Lewis in Bromley's *Royal Letters*, p. 309 (not 109, as cited by Guhrauer), evidently written at the time of the negotiations for the Peace of Westphalia; and cf. as to a later date (1655) ibid. p. 188.

Descartes—perhaps unaware of the depth of her dissatisfaction, perhaps not caring to gauge the influence upon her of what may, for want of a better term, be called the dynastic sentiment—bade her content herself like the mariner whom a storm casts into port.[32] And when, a few months later, she was all but overwhelmed—physically as well as mentally—by the dire news of the tragedy of the death of King Charles I. on the scaffold, her friend had no consolations to offer her but such as hardly deserve to be called philosophical.[33] As a matter of fact, they fell short of the occasion, for Elisabeth's was not the nature to be contented with the reflection that her resort in the midst of her troubles to the relaxation of verse-making had reminded her correspondent of Socrates in prison. It was perhaps hardly necessary to seek for so august a parallel.

Unfortunately, Heidelberg Castle itself, where in 1651 Elisabeth (after another visit to Berlin) once more became a sojourner, was full of family worries connected with the uncomfortable relations of the Elector Charles Lewis as a son, a brother, and a husband. In the last of these, which eight years later came to a head by his morganatic union with Louisa von Degenfeld, Elisabeth, in accordance with the straightness of her moral nature, took the part of her unbending sister-in-law, the Electress Charlotte, against a brother who, with all his faults, must have had some amiable qualities. In his desire to do what he could towards reviving the prosperity of his diminished Electorate, he incurred the reproach of niggardliness towards his own Palatine relatives, and Elisabeth, either about this or at a later time, complained to Rupert of 'Timon's' not having paid her six thousand rixdollars 'out of a clear debt,' and withholding her annuity.[34] Yet they had not a little in common, and she was warmly interested in the Elector's high-minded efforts to revive the University of Heidelberg, where she might almost be said to have herself held a chair—so high was the reputation

[32] See his very curious letter of October 1648 (*Œuvres*, x. 164). He had previously urged upon her the expediency of the acceptance by her brother of the 'half loaf' which was all that he could expect to obtain.

[33] See his letters of February 1649 (ibid. 297).

[34] Bromley, *Royal Letters*, p. 254.

which she acquired in the academical world there as a regular expounder *ex cathedra* of Cartesianism.[35]

Elisabeth's lively sister Sophia at first resided with her at Heidelberg. They were always on kindly terms, though the younger sister's witty tongue never spared the elder's habits of abstraction and reserve.[36] On Sophia's marriage, in 1658, with Duke Ernest Augustus, then still a portionless Prince of the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg (so that the Queen of Bohemia blamed the Elector Charles Lewis for promoting so poor a match), Elisabeth's position became still more isolated, and in 1662, when her sister-in-law at last quitted Heidelberg, Elisabeth followed her to Cassel. Here, in the society of the high-souled Landgravine Hedwig Sophia, the protectress in his later years of John Durie, the indefatigable apostle of Christian union,[37] the two Princesses afterwards came to differ in their religious views, but the years at Cassel seem to have been years of peace for Elisabeth, who moreover could now look forward in her turn to obtaining, sooner or later, an 'establishment' and a haven of rest of her own. In 1661 her kind kinsman the Elector of Brandenburg had named her Coadjutrix of the Abbess of Herford,[38] the Countess Palatine Elisabeth Louisa. Her coadjutorship lasted six years, and in 1667 she was herself proclaimed Abbess in Herford Minster from the high altar in front of which she was thirteen years later laid to rest.

The Herford foundation, situate in the north-eastern corner of the present Prussian province of Westphalia, was originally a Benedictine nunnery, dating from the Carolingian age, and its Abbess held immediately of the Holy Roman Empire,

[35] Guhrauer, i. 121, citing his own treatise *De Joachimo Jungio* (Breslau, 1846), an eminent Cartesian, at this time rector of the gymnasium at Hamburg. The ecclesiastical historian Hottinger of Zurich dedicated to Elisabeth in enthusiastic terms the fifth volume of his *Ecclesiastical History*, comparing her to Olympia Fulvia Morata, Melanchthon's correspondent, who in her day lectured privately at Heidelberg, where she died.

[36] See the *Memoiren der Herzogin Sophie*, esp. pp. 38 and 48. It is noticeable that Sophia explicitly attributes the change which she at this time observed in her elder sister to the influence of their stay at Berlin, at the Court of the pious Louisa Henrietta.

[37] See Dr. Westby-Gibson's notice of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[38] Not 'Erfurt,' *pace* the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*. The Queen of Bohemia oddly spells the name 'Neyford.'

of which she was entitled a princess and prelatess.[39] Here it might have seemed as if Elisabeth was likely to spend the remainder of her days, in the enjoyment of that *beata tranquillitas* which, in circumstances like hers, is often thought to be so readily obtainable by persons of studious or meditative disposition. But agitations often take their rise from the very fount of tranquillity. I do not know whether we ought to date the beginning of those which troubled the later years of this noble woman's life so far back as a visit which, only a year after she was named Coadjutrix of the Abbess of Herford, she had paid to Krossen on the occasion of the wedding of her cousin, the Countess Palatine Elisabeth Charlotte and George III., Duke of Liegnitz.[40] The mother of the bride, Elisabeth's aunt, the Countess Palatine Maria Eleonora (a younger sister of the Elector John Sigismund of Brandenburg), was a deeply pious woman and a zealous Calvinist, who, though not aiming at a reputation for learning, acquired in her old age a knowledge of Hebrew. With a view to facilitating this study for herself and others, she induced the celebrated John Cocceius, professor of divinity at Leyden, to compile a Hebrew-German lexicon (which he afterwards published with a dedication to herself), and he on the present

[39] Herford, a prosperous Hanse-town, where a House of the Brethren of the Common Life had been founded in 1428, at an early date in the history of the Lutheran Reformation opened its arms to the new movement, which was resisted by the Abbess, Anne of Limburg. The consequence of this conflict between Abbey and Town was the transfer of the sovereign rights of the Abbess to the protector of the foundation, the Count of Ravensberg, who was also Duke of Cleves-Jülich, though she still retained her position as an estate of the Empire and the city continued to be regarded as immediate. After the death of Anne of Limburg in 1565 the Abbesses elected by the Chapter were Lutherans; in the course of the Thirty Years' War, however, the Countess Margaret of Lippe was chosen as the first Abbess of the Reformed (Calvinist) Faith, and a compromise was arrived at which left the Chapter free to choose its head from either of the Protestant Churches, so that there was no need for Elisabeth to 'accommodate herself' to Lutheranism. In 1609 the Elector John Sigismund of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine of Neuburg contested the succession of the house of Cleves; and Ravensberg finally fell to the share assigned to Brandenburg. Thus, after Herford itself had been twice taken by force, the city was in 1652 definitively annexed by the Great Elector, though its internal constitution remained unchanged. But the immediacy of the abbey continued, and the Abbess was represented at the Diet. She had a Court of her own, with regular (even hereditary) officers; and connected with her and her Chapter was a foundation for the education of young ladies of family, which lasted for seven years after the secularisation of the Abbey in 1803.

[40] Guhrauer, I. 126 seqq

occasion accompanied her to Krossen. The powerful influence of this 'Spener of the Reformed Church' upon the religious life of Calvinism sprang from his exaltation of direct Biblical teaching over that of formulated dogma.[41] Although his theology had drawn down upon him the thunders of Voet, it is easy to perceive how his academical and ministerial activity brought Cocceius into harmony with the enthusiasm intent upon reviving primitive conceptions of Christian life, and to a sensitive spirit which, like the Princess Elisabeth's, had cause enough to be weary of the world, his teaching might well seem fitted to direct her, like the pointing of the Unerring Finger, into new ways. The teachings of Cocceius were carried further, though still within the limits of established Calvinism, by the third leading personage in the history of Calvinistic Pietism, Jodocus van Lodensteyn. He would seem to have, from self-distrust, hesitated on the very brink of schism; but the movement in this direction was consciously advanced by his followers. Indeed, the very name of 'Lodensteyners,' commonly given to the Dutch pietists, shows how the current was popularly identified with his influence. At such crises, when those possessed of the strongest hold upon popular sympathy and support are sometimes induced by a sense of responsibility or by diffidence to stand still or draw back, others are rarely wanting who will press forward without waiting for a signal in the skies or on the face of things, and often with the result either of immediate collapse or of what, to human eyes at least, seems ultimate failure. It was with a fiery soul of this latter sort that, when the Abbess Elisabeth had held her new dignity for not more than three years, the quiet course of her life was unexpectedly brought into contact.

The friend to whom was due the opening of this singular episode in the history of Princess Elisabeth and in that of Calvinistic Pietism was no other than the famous Anna Maria von Schurmann, whose figure has already flitted—though the word sounds inappropriate—across these pages. The charms which she has herself depicted were beginning to fade, and not less evanescent seemed in her own eyes the

[41] See, for this and what follows, more especially Ritschl, u.s.

intellectual triumphs of her earlier days, and the value of those attainments and that knowledge which had made her incomparable. Her attention, long concentrated upon the controversies which in this period pervaded the religious life of the Netherlands, had finally fastened itself, as that of so many a highly-gifted woman has done in this and in other ages of civilisation, upon a typical representative of dissatisfaction with the world and its ecclesiastical machinery, and of aspirations directed towards that Kingdom whose advent they believe themselves predestined to hasten.

Jean de Labadie[42] was a member of the Society of Jesus when in 1635 he was ordained a priest of the Church of Rome; indeed, in the opinion of some of the unco' wise he remained a Jesuit to the last. It is certain that from an early date he was possessed by the idea that he was born to become a reformer of the Church of Christ on earth, and that he manifested a consciousness of this purpose already in the preaching activity which laid the foundations of his celebrity. His insistence upon the study of the Bible, where already at this stage he declared himself to have found an all-sufficient rule of both faith and life, gathered round him (at first with episcopal sanction) a special congregation or fraternity, and thus led to the beginnings of the prohibitions and persecutions which attempted to block his progress. By 1650 he had sought the shelter of the Reformed congregation at Montauban, and had adopted its form of faith. Soon afterwards, as pastor extraordinary at Orange, he threw himself into the movement against the corruptions of social life which was then stirring the Calvinist Church.[43] From Orange he was obliged to make his way to Geneva, where during the next seven years he worked at his

[42] There is no necessity for enumerating here, in addition to books already cited, the manifold materials for a sketch of the career of Labadie, which I must not on the present occasion attempt. How strongly he continued to attract curiosity as late as the middle of the eighteenth century is shown, *inter alia*, by the references to him in that curious work, Amory's *Life of John Buncle*.

[43] It was at Orange that Labadie received a sympathetic letter from Milton, urging him to come to England. Had he responded to this summons, his arrival here would nearly, though not quite, have coincided with the beginnings of the Society of Friends. See Masson's *Life*, vol. v.

scheme of the true Church, which must begin as a separate one (*une église à part*), consisting of members in whose case a visible renovation of the conduct of life betokened inner union with God. Among those who actively assisted Labadie at Geneva in his endeavours to carry out this design was a brother of Anna Maria von Schurmann; and the influence which he exercised upon his sister, together with the sense of desolation which came over her after his death, determined her to associate herself prominently with the next step of Labadie towards secession. In 1666 he exchanged his efforts in the populous centre of Southern Calvinism for the pastorate of the small Walloon (French-speaking) congregation at Middelburg in Zealand—the very place where in 1581 Robert Browne, imbued with the ideas of the Dutch Anabaptists, had set up the first congregation of 'independent' English worshippers.[44] At Middelburg Labadie found the pietistic movement, as we may call it, in full operation, and, urged on by the zeal of Anna von Schurmann and other disciples, carried it to its inevitable issue. A three years' conflict between him and the Synod of the Walloon Congregations in the United Provinces, more or less formal in origin, ended with his deposition and excommunication. He and his followers, numbering in all about one-third of the thousand members of his Walloon congregation, and including considerably more women than men among those of them who belonged to the higher classes of society, were now schismatics. Banished as such by the Middelburg magistrates, they found a passing refuge in the neighbouring town of Veere, and thence soon made their way to Amsterdam. Here they first put into practice the conditions of a 'common life' which afterwards involved them in so much obloquy; Anna Maria, with a kind of bravado more sad than silly, became a dweller in the cœnobium *γυναικανδρικόν*; and Labadie sought to attract to it at least one other beautiful soul whose religious ideas were, I think, in some essentials widely different from his own.[45]

[44] H. Weingarten, *Die Revolutionskirchen England's* (1888), pp. 20 seqq.

[45] Antoinette Bourignon, of whom, had I an opportunity for saying it, there is much, if only for John Byrom's sake, I should like to attempt to say.

But Amsterdam, as is well known, has, like some other great cities, been perennially provided with a *Janhagel* of its own; and the *mobile*, which deemed itself called upon to deal with Labadie and the Labadists, soon made continuance there impossible for them. It was at this crisis that Anna Maria von Schurmann bethought herself of the devotion of the Abbess of Herford to serious studies, which, as she says (with the inevitable touch of exaggeration), had lasted for some forty years, and of the old friendly relations between Elisabeth and herself.[46] Obviously on her original suggestion, and after a preliminary inquiry entrusted by the Princess to a commissioner whose prejudiced conclusions she calmly ignored, Elisabeth offered to Labadie and his flock the hospitality of Herford—or rather that of the 'liberties' belonging to the abbey over which she presided. The freedom and the loyalty of spirit which dictated this decision are severally attested by the twofold fact that Labadie had only two years previously with the utmost bitterness attacked Cartesianism in the person of a prominent representative (Professor von Wolzogen of Utrecht), while Labadie's denunciation of bibliolatry and appeal to the all-sufficient testimony of the inner voice might well seem to her to bear an analogy to the philosophical teaching of which she had gloried in being a disciple. By November 1670 the Labadists, amounting in the first instance to some fifty persons—a number which must afterwards have been increased to between three and four hundred persons —were gathered at Herford under her protection. With Labadie came Ivon, a man of unmistakable administrative capacity, under whom the Labadist community reached its numerical *maximum*, and to whom is due the most important (though fragmentary) record of the career of its founder, with du Lignon and two Wesel theologians, Henry and Peter Schlüter,[47] and a bevy of enthusiastic

[46] See the passage from Εὐκληρία, the manifesto of her opinions and record of her experiences published by Anna von Schurmann in 1673, cited by Guhrauer, II. 456 seqq.

[47] Labadie seems himself to have been an eloquent preacher and talker rather than a theologian, and is said to have borrowed most of his exegetic material from Cocceius.

women, headed by Anna Maria and the ladies van Somme dyck, to whose Friesland connection the Labadists afterwa owed the long years of goodwill or toleration granted them in that province.

Before extending her hospitality at Herford to the Labadists, Elisabeth (whose princely instinct of *savoir faire* was at times as marked as was that of her sister Sophia) had taken care to assure herself of the approval of the Great Elector of Brandenburg, which she asked in a straightforward and quite unsentimental letter.[48] Although he had shortly before received from the Cleves administration a protest against the proposed immigration of the Labadists, the wise as well as generous spirit of toleration, which in my opinion perhaps constitutes his highest title to fame, prompted him to assent to his kinswoman's request, and early in November 1670 Labadie and his following arrived at Herford, as the phrase is, with bag and baggage, including the printing-press of the community. The greatest excitement at once arose among the inhabitants of the Lutheran city; the populace at once began to mob the strangers, in whom they saw a sort of Quakers; and the Town Council forwarded to the Elector a complaint against the Abbess, who, they asserted, had declared herself, as a princess of the Empire, accountable to no authority but that of its head, and had threatened the town in the event of its resistance with an incursion of a thousand dragoons. Between the Elector and the Abbess, on the other hand, a temperate correspondence ensued, in which the latter dwelt on the violence of the action of the Town Council, which had actually prohibited the supply of the necessaries of life to the immigrants; and in November the Elector decided to send a mixed commission of divines and councillors to examine the charges against the Labadists, meanwhile ordering the Herforders, at their peril, to abstain from any molestation of the strangers. It seems to have been during the interval which ensued that the Duchess Sophia was moved by curiosity to pay a visit to Herford from the neighbouring Osnabrück, accompanied by her nephew the Electoral

[48] Printed both by Guhrauer, II. 460, and by Foucher de Careil, p. 67.

nce Palatine Charles. No more amusing episode is to be nd in the history of religious enthusiasm than the ant narrative of the private inquiry instituted by the *Weltkind* Sophia into the proceedings of her sister's *protégé*—or should we say prophet?[49] At table Elisabeth had to stop Sophia's 'unjust' comments on the antecedents of 'the very holy man'; but an eloquent sermon from Labadie himself failed to curb her mocking tongue, and the last remark recorded of her concerning her sister's devotion to the Labadist community was that it was accounted for by her economical and frugal principles of domestic management.

The apprehensions which had caused the Great Elector to appoint his commission referred to the Labadist principle of a community of property, and to the rumour that with this was combined the practice of another kind of community. As to the former there could be no doubt; the only question was whether, being wholly restricted to a small congregation, it was to be regarded as dangerous; and in view of at least one actual subsequent experience it would be difficult to answer this question in the negative. As to the practice of a community of women, the rumours concerning it were largely due to the harmless bravado of the mature maidens who took up their abode with the prophet; an actual charge of immorality against him was promptly inquired into by Elisabeth's command and entirely disproved. The Elector's commission of inquiry, which she had at first welcomed, she afterwards, with a very clear and spirited recognition of the demands of her own dignity, contrived to reduce to a transaction in writing; and the opinions of the commissioners, which were separately drawn up, pointed on the whole to toleration, accompanied by admonition and guarantees. The Herford Town Council should not, perhaps, be too readily blamed for the exertions which it made in the meantime to rid the town of its unwelcome guests, however little reason there may be for supposing that at this stage in the history of Labadism the logic of its principles of life and conduct overleapt itself. Application was made to neighbouring

[49] See the *Epistola de J. Labadio*, by 'Paulus Hachenbergius,' the Electoral Prince's governor, quoted by Guhrauer, II. 479 seqq.

potentates; the opinion of the Town Council of Amsterdam and other cities was asked; and finally complaint was made as to the action of the Abbess to the Imperial Kammergericht at Speier, which, with quite extraordinary celerity, in October 1671 despatched a mandate to her, ordering the expulsion of Labadie and his following, under a penalty of thirty marks of gold, and in case of refusal summoned both her and the 'Quakers and Anabaptists' protected by her before the tribunal within sixty days, to show cause why they should not be placed under the ban of the Empire. Elisabeth's spirit was not in the least cowed by this thunder; she continued to extend her protection to the Labadists, assigning them a country-seat of hers as their residence; and after preferring a counter-complaint to the Elector, early in 1672 journeyed in person to Berlin, to induce him to intervene actively on her side. But her well-intentioned and sympathetic kinsman could not afford at so critical a time to run any risks, and his final edict to the Herforders, of May 1672, while censuring them for their indecent complaint at Speier, apprised them that the Imperial mandate was altogether unnecessary, inasmuch as they would in any case have been afforded redress.

The Elector's edict, facing both ways with characteristic candour, prepares us for the solution of the Labadist difficulty at Herford brought about by the course of events on the great theatre of European politics. The outbreak of the war which seemed destined to place the United Provinces at the mercy of Louis XIV. also threatened Herford and the surrounding district with invasion by his ally, the martial Bishop of Münster; and Labadie had nothing for it but to fly with the large majority of his followers to Altona in Holstein, leaving only a fraction of his congregation behind at Herford, where they remained for a few years longer under the protection of the Abbess. The further fortunes of Labadie and the Labadists must here be left aside; the community survived the death of its founder (which took place in 1674), and for some time seemed to flourish in security at Wieuwerd near Leeuwarden in Friesland, where Anna Maria von Schurmann, after testifying in her *Εὐκληρία* to the satis-

faction which she had found in its midst, died in 1678, in the seventy-first year of her age.[50]

The Princess Elisabeth's courageous intervention in what seemed to her the cause of holiness, but what to us of a later generation may probably rather seem to have been the cause of tolerance, had thus come to an abrupt end. But her own life was not to reach its tranquil close without yet one further experience which shows how the very depths of her nature had been stirred by the spiritual movement of which Labadism was only a phase or an excrescence. Already at the time of Labadie's sojourn at Amsterdam a personal attempt had been made by George Keith and Robert Barclay to bring about a union between the Labadists and the Quakers, but it had been rejected.[51] In 1671 William Penn, who two years earlier had wholly thrown in his lot with the latter sect, and whose hand had since been indefatigably stretched forth in search of support and sympathy for it, had, after his second release from Newgate, travelled in the Low Countries and Germany, and had on this occasion in his turn made the acquaintance of Labadie, without arriving at an understanding with him.[52] In 1674 (or thereabouts, for the chronology of these transactions seems rather uncertain) direct communications were opened by the English Friends with the Princess Elisabeth, who still afforded a kindly shelter at Herford to the half-forgotten remnant of the Labadists; and she in the first instance received a visit from some prominent female members of the Society.[53] Early in 1677 both Penn and George Fox wrote to the Princess, and in May she answered the former in a brief but very touching letter,

[50] By the middle of the eighteenth century the last trace of the Labadist community had vanished in Europe; the slight settlement in Maryland had come to an end several years sooner, being sustained by no genuine missionary effort such as might have imparted to the enterprise a more enduring vitality.

[51] Guhrauer, II. 455.

[52] This journey is noticed in Mr. J. M. Rigg's account of Penn in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[53] One of these is stated to have been Isabel Yeomans, a daughter of Thomas and Margaret Fell (now Mrs. Fox), who had herself on a previous occasion pleaded with the Queen of Bohemia and other members of the royal family on behalf of the Quakers. Guhrauer and Foucher de Careil call her 'Isabella Fella.' For what follows see William Penn's *Journal of his Travels in Holland and Germany in 1677*, which has been frequently reprinted.

thanking him for his interest in her spiritual progress, and protesting that what she had done for the Saviour's 'true disciples' was 'not so much as a cup of cold water,' and 'afforded them no true refreshment.' It was later in the same year that Penn and Robert Barclay, in the course of those 'travels in Holland and Germany in the service of the Gospel' of which Penn has left a well-known record, spent three days at Herford, whither, after paying a visit to the Palatinate, he returned before sailing for England. With the Princess was on both occasions her intimate friend, Countess Anna Maria van Hoorn, a canoness of the Herford foundation, who was in full sympathy with her religious sentiments. Inasmuch as Penn's account of these interviews and the text of the letters interchanged by him and the Princess are easily accessible, it is needless to reproduce them here. It is clear that her intercourse with Penn deeply moved the spirit of Elisabeth, but that even in their last interview she was not brought, or could not bring herself, to the kind of declaration or manifestation which in her spiritual interest he laboured to obtain.[54] For myself, neither the long and passionate appeals of Penn, nor even the narrative of the spiritual struggles of Elisabeth and her companion at the final interview, touch me like a letter from her to Penn not included in his journal, but received by him after his return to London.[55] In this she declares that she adheres to what she said to him before parting, and that she longs to feel the Divine Presence in her heart, and to obey it. 'But teach others I cannot, not being directly instructed by God myself.' In other words, intense as was the spiritual longing within her, it could not prevail over that perfect candour without which those cannot love God to whom He is Truth. Five years after Penn had parted from her, and two years after her death, he inserted in an enlarged edition of his treatise

[54] The exclamation '*Il faut que je rompe—il faut que je rompe*,' which has been attributed to the Princess, seems to have been made not by her but by the Countess. Penn, however, speaks of them both as being 'much broken' or 'exceedingly broken'—this being the expression employed by him elsewhere to denote a condition betokening the presence of the Divine Spirit.

[55] Quoted by Guhrauer and Foucher de Careil (from Marsillac's *Vie de Guillaume Penn*).

No Cross, no Crown, among the testimonies to the significance of 'serious dying as well as living'—and whether we say 'serious' or 'holy' is of little consequence—a sketch of her character and ways of life, which is so noble a monument of her worth that I deeply regret to be unable to copy it at length into these pages. It shows how conscientiously as well as ably she fulfilled the official—which included judicial as well as administrative—duties of her position; how simply and how meekly she bore herself even to the poorest of her dependents; and how slight a store she set by the princely dignity of which she was at no time unconscious.

Elisabeth (as Penn had to note in paying this last tribute to her deserts) survived her farewell to him for only a brief space of time. Her last years were not free from personal anxieties—partly caused by the troubles of the times, partly by dynastic difficulties; the effort which she consented to make to persuade her sister-in-law the Electress Palatine to agree to a divorce proved futile; thus her line [56] of the Palatine House seemed doomed to extinction, unless her brother Rupert could be prevailed upon to return to the land of his fathers and to marry. Her endeavours to this end again broke down; nor can she have recognised a compensation for this failure in the succession of the Bishop of Osnabrück and her sister Sophia to the inheritance of Hanover. While she may fairly be supposed to have met her family disappointments more calmly than in former days when Descartes sought to allay them by his arguments, she certainly never abandoned the literary and scientific interests which, with the aid of his genius, had so long been her chief consolation amidst the troubles of life. Not only does she seem to have encouraged the pursuit of liberal studies at Herford, and to have enriched the Abbey library (unhappily now long dispersed) with valuable books and MSS.; but she continued, so far as she was able, her intercourse with contemporary leaders of thought; she corresponded with Leibniz, whose acquaintance she probably made on the visit to Herford of his patron, Duke John Frederick of Hanover, not long before that prince's death, and with Descartes'

[56] Pfalz-Simmern.

mystical follower, Malebranche, who exercised so unique an influence upon the religious thought of his age.[57] In the face of such evidence of sustained intellectual vigour and freshness we shall probably be slow to overestimate the significance of the statement that in her last days she was surrounded by pietists, and that for some time before her death the sound of music had not been allowed to reach her ears. A letter addressed by her to her sister the Abbess of Maubuisson, on October 31, 1679, was discovered in the British Museum by M. Foucher de Careil,[58] which shows that already by this date illness and suffering had apprised her of the nearness of death, and that she had given herself up to preparing for it. She died at Herford on February 11, 1680, in the sixty-third year of her age. The inscription on her grave in the choir of the Abbey Church celebrates the erudition which secured to her the admiration of the great and the learned throughout Christendom, and the personal virtue which was her highest claim to remembrance. It may be thought that, notwithstanding all this praise in stone, she achieved little that endured, whether for her house, or for her sex, or for the moral and intellectual progress of her kind. I do not say that this was so; but if it was, I should be content to write her epitaph in the words with which she took her last leave of William Penn.[59]

A. W. WARD.

[57] '*Ses derniers correspondants*,' says Foucher de Careil, p. 77, rather too epigrammatically for a complete preservation of the requisite balance, '*furent Malebranche et Leibniz, c'est-à-dire Descartes plus chrétien et plus scientifique*.'

[58] Pp. 74–5.

[59] *No Cross, no Crown*.

XIII

THE MILTONIC IDEAL

WHEN we endeavour by careful examination of the writings of Milton to understand his innermost mind, there are two things that especially strike us.

We notice, in the first place, the great and sometimes sudden changes in his life and in his opinions. He is a poet, then he is a pamphleteer, then he is again a poet. The poetry of his youth and of his age, moreover, stand, in some respects, in marked contrast. In the earlier poems, it has been said, 'the poet is, except in his austere chastity, a Cavalier.' In the later poems, according to the same critic, he is 'the poet of the Puritan epic.' In politics he is in turn a Monarchist, a Parliamentarian, a Commonwealth man, an Oliverian, an Oligarch. In religion he is an Anglican, a Presbyterian, an Independent, an extreme Individualist. His opinions about some of the most important questions debated in his time, as, for example, the fundamental Christian dogmas, undergo complete change; he attacks what he has before defended, and he defends what he has before attacked.

But, in the second place, we notice that in the midst of these changes of life, of party, of opinion, Milton makes consistency his continual boast. In lofty manifestoes he explains from time to time to a 'graceless' and 'unprincipled age' his own unshaken constancy. He has nothing to recant, nothing to repent, nothing to regret. He has only to unfold to the world what one is tempted to describe as the sage and serious doctrine of Miltonic infallibility. He is one to whom 'God has given satisfaction in himself.' He is 'unwilling to change his sense of rectitude with that of any

other person.'[1] 'I never once deviated from the paths of integrity and virtue.'[2] His is the 'mind unchanged.' He is an Abdiel, 'unshaken, unseduced, unterrified.'

> Nor number, nor example with him wrought
> To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,
> Though single.

> His resolutions are fixed in a square and constant mind, not conscious to itself of any deserved blame, and regardless of ungrounded suspicions.[3]

To reconcile the changes in Milton's life and opinions with his claim to the 'mind unchanged' is to the student the fundamental problem. That Milton was not deceived in his self-estimate we may be quite sure. If we know his 'mind' we shall find that his actions and his opinions, in all their changes, have about them a certain inevitableness: that they are the expression, in changing circumstances, of beliefs and aims that were ever present to him.

The purpose of this paper is to study this 'unchanged mind' of Milton, or, in other words, the Miltonic ideal. Is it possible to discover beliefs and aims that amidst all changes are constant, that may be said to be the inspiration alike of *Comus*, *Eikonoklastes*, and *Paradise Lost*?

It is to the autobiographical passages in the pamphlets that we look first for an explanation of the Miltonic ideal. Nor do we look in vain. Nothing can be clearer or more emphatic than Milton's statement that his inspiration is 'the Liberty which I love.'[4] For each of the great resolutions that mark epochs in his life, the same word, or the same idea, is offered with monotonous reiteration as the completely adequate explanation. He abandons his intention of entering the service of the Anglican Church on discovering that 'he who would take orders must subscribe slave.'[5] He returns to England from his Continental tour on hearing that 'my fellow citizens were fighting for Liberty.'[6] He finally leaves literature for politics, 'per-

[1] *Second Defence*, Prose Works, i. 239. (Bohn's edition.)
[2] Ibid. p. 257; Milton is speaking of his Continental travels.
[3] *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, P. W. iii. 173.
[4] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 240.
[5] *Reason of Church Government*, P. W. ii. 482.
[6] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 256.

ceiving that a way was opening for the establishment of real Liberty,' in 'the deliverance from the yoke of slavery and superstition.'[7] He quarrels with the Presbyterians, because he finds that they 'force our consciences which Christ set free.' He strives for 'the Liberty which is inseparable from the Christian religion,' 'the Christian Liberty, which Paul so often boasts of.'[8] He is a Parliamentarian because it is due 'to your faithful guidance and undaunted wisdom, lords and commons of England,' that 'we are already in good part arrived' at 'the utmost bounds of civil Liberty.'[9] At the execution of the King, he follows 'the voice of our supreme magistracy calling us to Liberty.'[10] He is an Oliverian because Oliver is 'the patron and tutelary genius of Liberty.'[11] He describes his pamphlets as the result of his thoughts on 'the promotion of real and substantial Liberty, which is rather to be sought from within than without,' and explains that they are written on behalf of 'three species of Liberty, which are essential to human life, religious, domestic, and civil.'[12] He sums up his work as 'Liberty's defence, my noble task.'[13] In what proved to be 'the last words of expiring Liberty,'[14] he proposed a perpetual Senate as the best means of combating 'the noxious humour of returning to bondage.'[15]

We may take it, then, as evident that 'Liberty' is the key-word of the pamphlets, the word that Milton uses to stand for the great beliefs and aims that make his life. And we notice, next, that the same word is almost as evidently the key-word of the poems, the poems both of youth and of age, as it is of the pamphlets. In the joyful mood of youth he invokes the goddess Mirth—

> in thy right hand lead with thee
> The mountain nymph, sweet Liberty.[16]

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[7] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 257.
[8] *Areopagitica*, P. W. ii. 97.
[9] *Areopagitica*, P. W. ii. 50.
[10] *Tenure of Kings*, P. W. ii. 33.
[11] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 290.
[12] Ibid. P. W. i. 258.
[13] Sonnet 22.
[14] *Ready and Easy Way*, P. W. ii. 138.
[15] Ibid. p. 109.
[16] *L'Allegro*, l. 36.

In sad old age his bitter complaint is,

> What more oft, in nations grown corrupt,
> And by their vices brought to servitude,
> Than to love bondage more than Liberty,—
> Bondage with ease than strenuous Liberty ? [17]

And the more carefully we read Milton's poetry, the more clearly and constantly do we hear the ring of the same note. 'Thou canst not touch the freedom of my mind;' [18] 'Love Virtue, she alone is free.' [19] Are not these phrases the text of the *Comus*? *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, too, are dominated by the same idea. God the Father is never weary of insisting on the all-importance of Liberty. That idea is the very essence of the Divine Argument. The justification of 'the ways of God to men' is, in a word, that there can be no good thing without liberty. The Father is free. [20] The Son is free. Angels and men alike are created free.

> Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
> Not free, what proof could they have given sincere
> Of true allegiance, constant faith, or love ? [21]

The whole story of the universe, in fact, as unfolded by Milton in these poems, centres in the word Liberty. The fight in heaven and the fight on earth are fought to determine the true meaning of the word. Satan claims the title which Milton had awarded to Cromwell; he boasts himself 'the patron of Liberty.' [22] The rebel angels have renounced their state of 'splendid vassalage,' and hope to live, though in hell, a life

> Free, and to none accountable, preferring
> Hard Liberty before the easy yoke
> Of servile pomp.[23]

They have rebelled against 'the tyranny of Heaven,' with its 'arbitrary punishments.' They complain that it is 'unjust

[17] *Samson Agonistes*, l. 268.
[18] *Comus*, l. 664.
[19] *Comus*, l. 1019.
[20] Cf. *Christian Doctrine*, i. 25.
[21] *Paradise Lost*, Bk. iii. l. 102.
[22] *P. L.* Bk. iv. l. 958.
[23] *P. L.* Bk. ii. l. 255.

to bind with laws the free'; and they declare that Michael has

> armed the minstrelsy of heaven,
> Servility with Freedom to contend.[24]

The loyalists reply, 'This is servitude—to serve the unwise.'[25] Satan, who boasts himself 'patron of Liberty,' is himself 'not free, but to thyself enthralled.'[26] 'Freely we serve,' they say, 'because we freely love';[27] and, when pressed in argument, make use of the unanswerable retort:

> Shalt thou dispute
> With him the points of Liberty, who made
> Thee what thou art?[28]

On earth the story centres in the same issue. Paradise is lost by man's effort to obtain a false liberty. He learns the divine lesson that 'to obey is best';[29] and, 'by one man's firm obedience, fully tried,'[30] Paradise is regained. Had the two great poems been written in prose, their best title, perhaps, would have been, 'A Treatise concerning True and False Liberty.'

It seems, then, to be clear that Milton's mind is in one thing at least unchanged. It is the love of Liberty that gives consistency and unity to his life and to his teaching.

What, then, we ask next, did Milton mean by 'Liberty'?

The first thing we observe is that Liberty in the Miltonic sense has the closest possible connection with character. A man's liberty depends not on his circumstances; it depends on himself. 'Real and substantial Liberty,' he declares, 'is rather to be sought from within than from without; its existence depends on sobriety of conduct and integrity of life.'[31] 'To be free'—this perhaps is the most precise definition Milton ever gave of the word—'to be free is the same thing as to be pious, to be wise, to be temperate and just, to be frugal and abstinent, and, lastly, to be magnanimous and brave; so to be the opposite of all these things is to be

[24] *P. L.* Bk. vi. l. 168.
[25] *P. L.* Bk. vi. l. 178.
[26] *P. L.* Bk. vi. l. 181.
[27] *P. L.* Bk. v. l. 539.
[28] *P. L.* Bk. v. l. 822.
[29] *P. L.* Bk. xii. l. 561.
[30] *Paradise Regained*, Bk. i. l. 3.
[31] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 258.

a slave.'[32] The liberty he loves 'is of such a kind as arms can neither procure nor take away, the fruit of piety, of justice, of temperance.'[33] It would be easy to bring together numberless quotations showing the same conception of 'Liberty.' 'None can love freedom heartily but good men; the rest love not freedom but license.'[34]

> License they mean when they cry Liberty,
> For who seeks that must first be wise and good.[35]

'The best part of our Liberty, which is our religion.'[36] 'Virtue, the only genuine source of political and individual liberty.'[37]

> Love Virtue: she alone is free.
> Freely we serve, because we freely love.

All students will recognise, without further illustration, that this conception of Liberty as identical with Virtue is a conception common to all Milton's writings, both prose and verse, to whatever period of his life they may belong, and whatever may be their character. Just as *Comus* is a sermon on the text 'Love Virtue; she alone is free,' so the *History of Britain* is a sermon on the text 'Liberty hath a sharp and double edge, fit only to be handled by just and virtuous men.'[38]

Here, then, we have the primary sense in which Milton uses the word 'Liberty.' To him it means virtue, and by virtue he means such moral qualities as piety, wisdom, temperance, justice, frugality, abstinence, magnanimity, and courage. These are the qualities which he incarnates in his 'perfect man,'[39] the Christ of *Paradise Regained:*

> Displaying
> All virtue, grace, and wisdom to achieve
> Things highest, greatest.[40]
>
> Thy heart
> Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.[41]

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[32] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 298.
[33] Ibid. P. W. i. 295.
[34] *Tenure of Kings*, P. W. ii. 2.
[35] Sonnet 12.
[36] *Ready and Easy Way*, P. W. ii. 113.
[37] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 295.
[38] *History of Britain*, p. 239.
[39] *P. R.* Bk. i. l. 166.
[40] *P. R.* Bk. i. l. 68.
[41] *P. R.* Bk. iii. l. 10.

These too were the qualities which, in carefully worded catalogue,[42] he attributes to Cromwell, 'our chief of men.' And these were the qualities which Milton himself strove to attain, and was satisfied that he had attained in largest measure. To devote his life to the promotion of this 'real and substantial liberty,' that was the 'resolution fixed in a square and constant mind.'

The problem of life, then, as it presents itself to Milton's mind is how best to attain to this 'Liberty,' how best to realise these virtues. The whole business of life is a business of education; 'education, than which nothing can be more necessary to principle the minds of men in virtue, the only source of political and individual liberty.'[43] The idea, then, of education is always in Milton's mind. The schoolmaster's education is to be so ordered—this is the main idea of his educational treatises—that it may form a fitting introduction to the education which is to go on throughout life under the eye of the 'Great Taskmaster.' The main business of each man is to educate himself in the virtues of Liberty. The main business of the State is to make such arrangements, religious, political, and social, as will best help to educate the nation in these same virtues. 'To govern well is to train a nation in true wisdom and virtue, and that which springs from them, magnanimity and godliness.'[44]

Now what, according to Milton, should be the fundamental principles of this life-education? What are the methods he chiefly recommends? I think it may be said that he insists especially on two ideas; ideas which I may describe as (I.) education by spiritual activity, and (II.) education by obedience to rightful authority.

I. In the first place, he insists continually that virtue can only live in activity. Without activity, life, in any spiritual sense, ceases to be. 'What is life without the vigour and spiritual exercise of life?' The virtuous man, then, is a spiritually active man. He is the warrior, the wrestler, the racer. The 'true Christian' is the 'warfaring Christian.'[45]

[42] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 285. [43] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 259.
[44] *Reformation in England*, P. W. ii. 390.
[45] *Areopagitica*, P. W. ii. 68.

He is one who ever holds in view the 'banded powers of Satan, hasting on with furious expedition.' Only in constant and strenuous effort can virtue live and conquer. And this is a principle that holds good in all departments of life and of thought.

(1) First, this principle holds good in regard to the moral virtues. The good man is not the man who is not bad, but the man who is positively and actively good. He is not the man who cowardly declines to fight the Evil One, but the man who fights him and wins; 'I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue.'[46] It follows that it is of far greater importance to encourage well-doing than to prevent evil-doing. 'A dram of well-doing should be preferred before many times as much the forcible hindrance of evil-doing. For God more esteems the growth and completing of one virtuous person than the restraint of ten vicious.'[47] The Law, which forbids men to act, may prevent vice, but it cannot create virtue. 'How much we thus expel of sin, so much we expel of virtue.' 'We can only be virtuous in so far as we are free.' In order that an action may be rightly called a good action, it must spring, not from external compulsion, but from a man's own goodwill.

'Christian morality,' wrote J. S. Mill in perhaps the most Miltonic essay since Milton, 'has all the characters of a reaction; it is in great part a protest against Paganism. Its ideal is negative rather than positive; passive rather than active; innocence rather than nobleness; abstinence from evil rather than energetic pursuit of good; in its precepts 'Thou shalt not' predominates unduly over 'Thou shalt.' It would be difficult to describe Milton's conception of Christian morality better than by saying that it was the exact opposite of the conception expressed by J. S. Mill. To Milton, Christian morality is a spiritual activity finding expression in noble conduct, in 'energetic pursuit of good.'

(2) The same idea of spiritual activity determines Milton's views as to religious worship. The only worship that can rightly be called religious worship is the free and active expression of the spirit of man, conscious of being in

[46] *Areopagitica*, P. W. ii. 68. [47] Ibid. p. 75.

the presence of God, and inspired by His Spirit; 'God every morning rains down new expressions into our hearts.'[48] Hence Milton's dislike of the Common-Prayer Book. To insist on its use is to 'imprison and confine by force into a pinfold of set words those two most unprisonable things, our prayers and that divine spirit of utterance that moves them'; it is to deny 'all benefit and use of Scripture except what was barrelled up in a common-prayer book with many mixtures of their own, and, which is worse, without salt.'[49] Hence, too, Milton's bitterness towards Laud's endeavour to enforce the sacerdotal and sacramentarian system in the English Church. The new Catholicism, insisting on priestly rites as an essential part of religious worship, seems to him a mixture of Judaism and Paganism; it is 'to backslide one way into the Jewish beggary of old cast rudiments, and stumble forward another way into the new vomited paganism of sensual idolatry';[50] it is to 'magnify the external signs more than the quickening power of the Spirit.'[51] The worship of God is not a performance of ceremonies: it is a spiritual activity, the direct spiritual communion of each man with his God.

(3) The same principle holds good in theology. 'Our faith and knowledge thrives by exercise.'[52] The living faith is a personal faith, not an 'implicit faith.' A belief that you hold because you are ordered to hold it is no truly religious belief. A truth can have no religious meaning for *you*, unless you know it and understand it for yourself. To accept a ready-made religion is to accept a religion which, even if it be true, is to *you* not a religion, but a superstition. And 'the superstitious man by his good will is an atheist;'[53] i.e. he who accepts a religion that is not *his* religion has no religion of his own at all; and even if the religion he thus professes be a true religion, he is himself but 'a heretic in the truth.'[54] The personal search for truth is the essence

[48] *Eikonoklastes*, P. W. i. 431.
[49] Ibid. 531.
[50] *Reformation in England*, P. W. ii. 365.
[51] Ibid. p. 366.
[52] *Areopagitica*, P. W. ii. 85.
[53] *Reformation in England*, P. W. ii. 365.
[54] Cf. 'The scientific spirit is of more value than its products, and irrationally held truths may be more harmful than reasoned errors' (Huxley).

of theological study, and when this is absent religious belief is an impossibility. Just as without personal activity no man can be truly 'virtuous,' so too without personal activity no man can be truly 'orthodox.' 'To be still searching what we know not by what we know, still closing up truth to truth, *as we find it*, this is the golden rule in theology'[55] 'The offers of God were all directed, not to an indolent credulity, but to constant diligence, and to an unwearied search for truth.'[56] Claiming to the very end of his life to be an 'orthodox'[57] Protestant, Milton has to confess with Saint Paul, that 'after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers.'[58] To his opponents, orthodoxy meant belief in a creed; to Milton, it meant belief in a principle: 'Seek, and ye shall find.'

(4) The same conviction in large part determines also Milton's political views. Man lives not in isolation, but in communities. As a 'political animal,' it is right that he should manifest political activities. It is only in his dealings with his fellow-men that his own virtue lives. In order that he may be 'free,' he is bound to do his utmost that his fellow-citizens also may be 'free,' and to become their leader, their ruler, is the noblest ambition the noblest man can have. 'To govern a nation piously and justly, which only is to say happily, is for a spirit of the greatest size and divinest mettle.'[59]

Hence one great end of education is to incite men to political activity, to make them realise the duties of citizenship, to fill their minds with the ambition of spending themselves in the service of Liberty. 'I call, therefore, a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war.'[60] Students are to be 'stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages.'[61] They are to make a careful 'study of politics; to know the beginnings and reasons of political societies, that they not

[55] *Areopagitica*, P. W. ii. 90.
[56] *Christian Doctrine*, i. 4.
[57] *Christian Doctrine*, i. 437.
[58] Ibid. p. 9.
[59] *Reformation in England*, P. W. ii. 390.
[60] *Education*, P. W. iii. 467.
[61] Ibid. p. 468.

be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds as many of our great counsellors have lately shown themselves, but steadfast pillars of the State.'[62]

In this political ideal we find the explanation of the great change in Milton's life, the transformation of the student-poet into the political pamphleteer. In his youth Milton had been 'stirred up' with these 'high hopes.' Study and poetry had always to him, even in the early period of his life, a political end. Writing in the midst of the prolonged student-period, he describes the inoffensive labours of the bookworm as 'a poor regardless and unprofitable sin of curiosity, whereby a man cuts himself off from all action, and becomes the most helpless, pusillanimous, and unweaponed creature in the world, the most unfit and unable to do that which all mortals aspire to, either to be useful to his friends or to offend his enemies.'[63] By his intense study he prepares himself for 'the Task': the Task 'towards which Time leads me and the will of Heaven.' So too he prizes 'poetical abilities,' for their political value; they 'are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to imbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility.'[64] The work of the poet is the work of the statesman; but the work of the statesman calls for greater self-sacrifice, a more splendid magnanimity.[65] To Milton's mind it was not only natural, it was inevitable, that he who in the *Comus* had endeavoured in days of peace 'to imbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility' should stand ready, in days of controversy, to strike a blow 'for the cause of God and His Church.'[66] There was in him no change of mind. *Comus* was a political poem; the pamphlet was 'a hymn in prose.'[67]

Political activity, then, is an essential part of Milton's conception of virtue; and, in this sense, it may be said that his ideal is democratic. He believes that man, as man,

[62] *Education*, P. W. iii. 472. [63] Masson, *Life of Milton*, i. 324.
[64] *Reason of Church Government*, P. W. ii. 479.
[65] Cf. preference of man of action to man of letters expressed in letter 8, P. W. iii. 496.
[66] *Reason of Church Government*, P. W. ii. 475.
[67] *Apology for Smectymnuus*, P. W. iii. 152.

has in him a capacity for doing good, and that one great end of politics is to secure that this capacity for doing good should be developed by being exercised. In a sense there is a true 'equality' among men. Men are equal in that 'all men naturally were born free, being the image and resemblance of God Himself,'[68] They are equal in that, even in their fallen state, there are 'some remnants of the divine image left in man.'[69] And they are equal in that Christ's obedience has 'earned salvation for the sons of men.'[70] 'Every good Christian,' then, 'will open his eyes to a wise and true valuation of himself.'[71] 'He that holds himself in reverence and due esteem, both for the dignity of God's image upon him and for the price of his redemption, which he thinks is visibly marked upon his forehead, accounts himself a fit person to do the noblest and godliest deeds.'[72] 'Every good Christian' is thus bound, in religious duty, to claim a share in the service of God both in Church and in State. The Christian ideal is in this sense a democratic ideal.[73] Milton's steadfastly cherished hope is that the 'congregation of the Lord' will 'soon recover the true likeness and visage of what she is indeed, a holy generation, a royal priesthood, a saintly communion, the household and city of God.'[74] '*All* the Lord's people are become prophets,' 'a knowing people, a people of sages, of prophets, and of worthies.'[75]

It is this idea of the Christian duty of wise and true self-valuation that makes Milton a Parliamentarian and a Commonwealth-man. In his earlier pamphlets he still believes that monarchy is not inconsistent with his political ideal. He can still speak of 'the royal dignity, whose towering and steadfast height rests upon the immovable foundations of justice and heroic virtue.'[76] But events soon prove to him that the Stuart monarchy is seeking to base its

[68] *Tenure of Kings*, P. W. ii. 8. [69] *Christian Doctrine*, i. 59.
[70] *P. R.* Bk. i. l. 167.
[71] *Reason of Church Government*, P. W. ii. 496. [72] Ibid. p. 495.
[73] 'The belief that the best which man has in him, to do or to be, springs out of that which is common to all, and therefore that the highest good is open to all, is fatal to all systems of privilege' (Caird).
[74] *Reason of Church Government*, P. W. ii. 496.
[75] *Areopagitica*, P. W. ii. 92, 93.
[76] *Reformation in England*, P. W. ii. 397.

authority on quite other foundations: on the doctrine, namely, that a king has a natural and divine right to govern men at his will. This is a doctrine, he declares, that 'vilifies the whole race of men that are made after the image of God.'[77] Those who assent to it have 'unworthy thoughts of themselves,' and 'confess that they are lazy, weak, senseless, silly persons, and framed for slavery.'[78] Against this doctrine, he asserts the 'liberty and right of free-born men to be governed as seems to them best';[79] and he declares that 'of all governments, a commonwealth aims most to make the people flourishing, virtuous, noble, and high-spirited.'[80] 'The aim of monarchs is to make the people wealthy indeed, perhaps, and well-fleeced for their own shearing; but, otherwise, softest, basest, viciousest, servilest, easiest to be kept under, and not only in fleece, but in mind also, sheepishest.'[81] Milton's ideal, then, is a democratic commonwealth, and chiefly for the reason that this is the form of government that recognises the Christian valuation of man, and that does most to stir men up to undertake the duties of 'patriotic piety.' Citizens in a democracy are, at worst, saved from being sheep; and they are encouraged to be 'virtuous, noble, and high-spirited.'

Milton's first great idea, then, is education by activity. Activity means mistakes, and it means danger; but activity means also life, and therefore activity must be allowed and encouraged at all risks and at all costs. And to express this idea Milton again uses the word 'Liberty,' uses it in what I may call a secondary sense. In the phrases I quoted before, Milton uses the word 'Liberty' as a synonym for 'Virtue.' But, as we have now seen, according to Milton's conception, a man cannot be virtuous unless he is active, unless that which is good in him has opportunity to be educated by exercise, unless in this sense he enjoys freedom from external control. And freedom from external control, in this sense, Milton again calls by the name of 'Liberty.' He denounces, for example, the 'itch of making a multiplicity of laws,' 'for the intention of

[77] *First Defence*, P. W. i. 32.
[78] Ibid. p. 209.
[79] *Tenure of Kings*, P. W. ii. 14.
[80] *Ready and Easy Way*, P. W. ii. 136.
[81] Ibid. P. W. ii. 136.

laws is to check the commission of vice. But Liberty is the best school of virtue, and affords the strongest encouragement to the practice.'[82] That is to say, virtue is a spiritual activity, and it therefore thrives best when men are allowed and encouraged to act for themselves, to think for themselves, to be religious for themselves. The 'good will' of man must be allowed to manifest itself. Thus, while 'Virtue is the only genuine source of Liberty,' it is also true that 'Liberty is the best school of Virtue.'

II. But while Milton thus continually insists on activity as an essential characteristic of virtue, he insists with no less urgency that activity must be subject to control. Strenuous fight against what is evil must be accompanied by strenuous obedience to what is good. 'Liberty,' as distinguished from 'License,' is in no way inconsistent with submission to righteous government.

(1) In the first place, Liberty well consists with obedience, even implicit, unreasoning obedience to the commands of God. In His service is perfect freedom. Satan, who boasts himself the 'patron of Liberty,' gains by his rebellion only 'Servitude'; that is, 'to serve the unwise.' He becomes, 'thyself not free, but to thyself enthralled.' Vain is his boast that it is 'better to reign in hell than serve in heaven.'

> Reign thou in hell, thy kingdom; let me serve
> In heaven God ever blest, and his divine
> Behests obey, worthiest to be obeyed.
> Yet chains in hell, not realms expect.[83]

The lesson of *Paradise Lost* is that 'to obey is best.' Implicit obedience to the commands of God—commands that are to be interpreted by 'that unerring paraphrase of Christian love and charity which is the sum of all commands and the perfection'[84]—will in no way limit 'real and substantial Liberty.'

(2) Liberty depends on obedience to God. It depends, next, on obedience to conscience, 'conscience than which God is only greater.'[85] On no virtue does Milton put more

[82] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 294.
[83] *P. L.* Bk. vi. l. 183.
[84] *Exposition on Places of Scripture*, P. W. iii. 401.
[85] *Treatise of Civil Power*, P. W. ii. 524.

value than on self-reverence, 'the pious and just honouring of ourselves, whence every laudable and worthy enterprise issues forth.'[86] The God in man must rule man with absolute sway. The Miltonic hero is master of himself and therefore master of his fate. Cromwell, 'our chief of men,' is 'a soldier disciplined to perfection in the knowledge of himself. He had either extinguished, or by habit had learned to subdue, the whole host of vain hopes, fears, and passions which infest the soul. He first acquired the government of himself, and over himself acquired the most signal victories.'[87] Fairfax is praised for the same quality. 'Nor was it only the enemy whom you subdued, but you have triumphed over the flame of ambition and that lust of glory which are wont to make the best and the greatest of men their slaves.'[88] The Ironsides are commended (in contrast with the King's soldiers, 'oftener drunk than by their goodwill sober') as men who 'not only carry on a military warfare against their enemies, but an evangelical one against themselves.'[89]

But the supreme example of 'self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control' is the Christ of *Paradise Regained*. Temptations of the flesh Milton had long ago wrestled with and overcome; and the *Comus* had recorded a complete and final triumph. Now, in old age, under the monarchy of Charles II., the temptations that asssail him are temptations of the spirit, temptations to impatience, to distrust, and to despair. Virtue has proved feeble, and Heaven has *not* stooped. It is with these spiritual temptations that Milton wrestles in *Paradise Regained*. The subtlety of the Tempter shows itself by appeals to 'that last infirmity of noble minds,' the desire to obtain personal distinction in the service of God. 'All thy heart is set on high designs, high actions.' 'To a kingdom thou art born.'

> And thinkest thou to regain
> Thy right in sitting still, or thus retiring?
> So did not Machabeus.

[86] *Reason of Church Government*, P. W. ii. 494.
[87] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 285.
[88] Ibid. p. 286.
[89] Ibid. p. 274.

And he urges the

> Duty to free
> Thy country from her heathen servitude.
> . . . . . .
> To whom our Saviour answer thus returned :—
> 'All things are best fulfilled in their due time;
> And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.
> If of my reign Prophetic Writ hath told
> That it shall never end, so when begin
> The Father in His purpose hath decreed;
> He in whose hands all times and seasons roll.
> What if He hath decreed that I should first
> Be tried in humble state, and things adverse,
> By tribulations, injuries, insults,
> Contempts and scorns, and snares, and violence,
> Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting
> Without distrust or doubt, that He may know
> What I can suffer, how obey? Who best
> Can suffer best can do, best reign who first
> Well have obeyed; just trial, ere I merit
> My exaltation without change or end.' [90]

(3) In the ideal society men live obedient to God and to conscience. So it was in Eden.

> We live
> Law to ourselves: our Reason is our law.[91]

But the reason or conscience of fallen man is weak; and it is not enough that he should live 'law to himself.' Without further restraint his Liberty would become License. Hence the origin of human government,[92] and hence its justification. Obedience is due not only to God and to conscience, but also to the righteous ruler.

For, while in a sense it is true that 'prime nature made us all equal,' [93] it is also true that, in the world as it is, men are unequal, and that to an infinite degree. On earth, as in heaven, there is a spiritual hierarchy. There is the hero, 'the chief of men,' the 'person separate to God, designed for great exploits.' [94] There are the few; 'those few that labour up the hill of heavenly truth.' [95] And, lastly, there is the general body of the people. These, too, are men,

[90] *P. R.* Bk. iii. 181.
[91] *P. L.* Bk. ix. 653.
[92] *Tenure of Kings*, P. W. ii. 9.
[93] *Exposition on Places of Scripture*, P. W. iii. 386.
[94] *S. A.* l. 31.
[95] Sonnet 9.

made in the image of God, men for whom Christ died, and in the early period Milton tries to believe that they too are throwing themselves heart and soul into the strenuous fight. They are to him 'the free-born people of England'; [96] 'a kingdom of free spirits.' [97] They are showing a 'magnanimity peculiar to heroes,' [98] and he sees in them a 'knowing people, a people of sages, of prophets and of worthies.' [99] But, as the struggle goes on, Milton is disappointed. He discovers that the majority have no sympathy with his ideal of 'Liberty.' The people show 'a besotted and degenerate baseness of spirit'; there are only 'some few who yet retain in them the old English fortitude and love of freedom.' [100] The many 'know not how to use or to enjoy Liberty, neither understand the principles, nor merit the possession.' [101] 'It is not agreeable to the nature of things that such persons ever should be free. However much they may brawl about Liberty, they are slaves without perceiving it.' [102] The people become to him the 'blockish vulgar,' 'the drove of custom and prejudice,' 'our common herd,' 'a miscellaneous rabble who extol things vulgar.'

In order, then, that a nation may be educated in the virtues of Liberty, it is necessary that this spiritual hierarchy should establish itself. What is to be desired is, not that all men should have equal authority, but that each man should have authority in proportion to his virtue. The ideal is 'true liberty and *proportioned* equality.' [103] In heaven the angels are

> If not equal all, yet free,
> Equally free; for orders and degrees
> Jar not with liberty, but well consist.[104]

So should it be on earth. The aim of statesmen should be to make men, not equal, but 'equally free,' with equal opportunity, that is, to exercise the virtues of Liberty. And that this may be secured, it is necessary that the wise should rule, that the unwise should obey. 'Nature appoints that

[96] *Animadversions*, P. W. iii. 47.
[97] Ibid. P. W. iii. 47.
[98] *First Defence*, P. W. i. 28.
[99] *Areopagitica*, P. W. ii. 92.
[100] *Eikonoklastes*, P. W. i. 313.
[101] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 298.
[102] Ibid.
[103] *Ready and Easy Way*, P. W. ii. 115.
[104] *P. L.* Bk. v. l. 791.

wise men should govern fools.' Nor is Nature's command affected by the fact that the wise are few, that fools are many. 'The small number deserve to have dominion over the rest: valiant men over faint-hearted cowards.' [105] 'The less should yield to the greater, not in numbers, but in wisdom and virtue.' [106]

It is in this idea that we find the explanation of Milton's enthusiastic praise of church discipline. 'The flourishing and decaying of all civil societies are moved to and fro as upon the axle of discipline.' 'Nor is there any sociable perfection in this life, civil or sacred, that can be above discipline; but she is that which with her musical cords preserves and holds all the parts thereof together.' [107] Even the rigid discipline of Presbyterianism he is able thus to accept and to idealise. 'The zealous and meek censure of the Church,' her 'fervent and well-aimed reproofs,' her 'engines of terror,' even the 'holding the dread sponge of excommunication': [108] all these instruments of discipline may be rightly used in the service of Liberty.

It is the same idea that leads Milton to support the personal rule of Oliver, and that leads him later to advocate the establishment of a perpetual Senate. Neither a despotism nor an oligarchy is the government of Milton's ideal, the government suitable to a 'kingdom of free spirits.' But while Milton holds firmly to the ideal, he has come to understand that this ideal is not destined to be fully realised in his time. 'The circumstances of the time do not permit us to adopt a more perfect or desirable form of government.' The arbitrary rule of the Hero, or of the Few, is for the present necessary in order that the many may be educated to understand the principles of Liberty, and to merit its possession. 'Like a nation in a state of pupilage, you will want some active and courageous guardian to undertake the management of your affairs.' [109]

It must be observed, however, that Milton is careful to insist that such arbitrary rule is not the ideal rule. It is

[105] *First Defence*, P. W. i. 28. [106] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 265.
[107] *Reason of Church Government*, P. W. ii. 442. [108] Ibid. p. 498.
[109] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 299.

only to be justified so long as the ruler uses his power, not to diminish, but to increase the Liberty of the people. His warning to Cromwell is 'Revere yourself.' 'You cannot be truly free unless we are free too.'[110] Cromwell's endeavour must be to 'render our Liberty at once more *ample* and more secure.' Share in the government must not be given to the unworthy; but it must not be withheld from the worthy, 'the companions of your dangers, who are interested in the preservation of Liberty in proportion as they have encountered more perils in its defence.' Cromwell must be careful, too, that while his laws 'prevent the frauds of the wicked,' they 'do not prohibit the innocent freedom of the good. For the intention of the laws is to check the commission of vice; but Liberty is the best school of Virtue.'[111] Cromwell is to possess authority on condition that he uses it as 'patron and tutelary genius of Liberty.' So again, when after Cromwell's death, 'being now in anarchy,' Milton proposes government by a perpetual Senate elected by the very narrow constituency 'of those who are rightly qualified';[112] he carefully explains that the proposal is due to change of circumstances, and not to change of mind. The ideal is not abandoned. Its realisation 'may be referred to time, so that we be still going on by degrees to perfection.'[113] For the present, Liberty is cherished only by the few; power therefore, must be given to them, in order that they may use it to educate the many. And Milton trusts that the gradual extension of local self-rule 'may give this government the resemblance and effects of a perfect democracy.'

Whatever may be the form of government best suited to the times, the aim of the rulers must be the same. They must act as a conscience for the community, encouraging all activity that has in it any possibility of good, but at the same time restraining with needful severity all activity that is evidently evil, and thus in both ways help to educate the nation in virtue.

To sum up what has been said. The key-word of Milton's life is the word 'Liberty.' It is his constant love

[110] *Second Defence*, P. W. i. 289, 290.
[111] Ibid. p. 294.
[112] *Ready and Easy Way*, P. W. ii. 126.
[113] Ibid. p. 127.

of Liberty that explains the great changes in his life and in his opinions, and that justifies his claim to the 'mind unchanged.' His aim is not to become either a great poet or a great statesman. Such ambition is to him 'the last infirmity of noble minds.' His aim is not to establish any form of religion, Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Independent; nor any form of political government, monarchy, aristocracy or democracy. Such distinctions are to him 'inferior niceties.'[114] His aim is to establish Liberty, to live himself a life of Liberty, to help the nation to live a life of Liberty. And by a life of Liberty he means a life of active virtue, a life free from all external control, save the control of God and of conscience, the conscience of the man, and the conscience of the community.

G. ARNOLD WOOD.

[114] *Reformation in England*, P. W. ii. 412.

XIV

THE SIEGE OF MANCHESTER IN 1642

MANCHESTER, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, was a small picturesque town, standing at the junction of the rivers Irk and Irwell; it seems to have contained only some 5,000 or 6,000 inhabitants, but was already the most important place of the district. Leland had called it the 'fairest, best buildid, quikkest, and most populous towne of al Lancastreshire'[1] a hundred years before. Its precise boundaries are not very easy to determine. There is a map purporting to depict the town about 1650, which is found in half a dozen modern publications; and though different copies do not exactly correspond, the variations are of such a kind that all may come from the same original; but this original does not appear to be extant. The earliest known engraving of it is an inset in Berry's map of 'Manchester in 1751'; the worthy grocer does not, however, say from what source it was derived.[2] But, whatever their origin, these maps must give a very fair idea of Manchester and Salford during the Great Civil War.

A description of Manchester is given with the 1650 map, but

[1] Leland, *Itinerary*, v. 82.

[2] The plan reproduced on page 383 from Saintsbury's *Manchester*, is a fairly close copy of Berry's. But the engraver, besides deviating from the plan in one or two points, has transferred to it ten out of the eleven names which Berry places in a reference table, there being none on his plan itself. This table is stated to be a 'Reference to what is not in the New Plan' (i.e. of Manchester in 1751). Laurent, in the imperfect copy inserted in his map of Manchester in 1793 (reproduced in Aikin's *Manchester*), added further names, and others appear in a copy engraved in Palmer's *Siege of Manchester* and as a frontispiece to Harland's *Court Leet Records of Manchester* (Chetham Soc.). Other reproductions of the 1650 plan may be found in Everett's *Panorama of Manchester* (1830), Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis* (1839), and elsewhere. In the present reproduction, several localities not mentioned in Berry's table, but of importance for our present purpose, have been indicated by means of letters with corresponding marginal references.

it is short and does not contain much information. The town then consisted of little more than a half-circle of buildings round the Collegiate Church, with Market Stead Lane (now Market Street) and Deansgate branching off to east and south-west, and Millgate following the course of the Irk. The streets about the church still keep in general their old names, except that the modern Old Millgate was doubtless the Mealgate, so-called from the old Mealhouse of the Manor, which stood on its eastern side, and that the adjective in Long Millgate is probably of later origin. Between the Mealhouse and Smithy Door (now Victoria Street) is marked a large irregular building called Sessions House, and on either side of it was a Market Stead or Place, one of which contained a Market Cross. The town had a good trade in 'woollen frizes, fustians, sackcloths,' &c., and there were two market-days weekly, Monday and Saturday. An annual three days' fair was held in Acres Field (St. Ann's Square), on the eve, day, and morrow of St. Matthew, and there were two fairs at Salford.

To the east of Acres Field stood Radcliffe Hall, a capacious house with large chimneys and projecting gables, belonging to Richard Radcliffe, a captain in the Parliamentary service during the war. It possessed a moat and drawbridge, and was placed on rising ground in Poolfold, near Market Stead Lane, which perhaps stretched as far up as the present General Post-Office. Deansgate, on the same proportion, extended nearly to Cumberland Street, and a lane continued the direction to Alport Lodge, not quite half a mile away, the property of Sir Edward Mosley, lord of the manor of Manchester. This stood, probably, somewhere near to the new Great Northern goods station at Deansgate, but all trace of it has now disappeared.

Salford Bridge, on the site of the modern Victoria Bridge, was then the only means of communication between Manchester and Salford. It was of stone, and sloped down to the Salford bank; near the lower end was a half-ruined building, which had been a chapel before the Reformation, and was during the Civil War once or twice used as a prison. The bridge was built high above the river, which, owing to the steepness of its banks, was swollen very

rapidly by floods; a few days' heavy rain during the siege made communication between the two banks impossible except by the bridge which the townsmen had fortified. The Irk had four bridges over it between Red Bank and its junction with the Irwell. Salford consisted of three streets, the names of Sergeant Street (Chapel Street), Back Salford, and Gravel Lane being as old as this period. Trinity Chapel, at the end of Salford Street, had been erected by Humphrey Booth in 1634.[3]

The two parties were evenly divided in the country round Manchester at the opening of the war. The Hundreds of Blackburn and Salford stood mainly for the Parliament, and the district round Bolton was named 'the Geneva of the North' for its Presbyterian sympathies, but many among the local families, as the Mosleys, Traffords, and Radcliffes of Ordsall, were Royalist. The loyal house of Derby, whose real head at this time was Lord Strange, eldest son of the sixth earl, possessed much influence all over the county, and had held for generations the office of Lord Lieutenant. In Manchester itself there were a good many people of Royalist sympathies; but the bulk of the townspeople were opposed to the King, and round Manchester there was a whole circle of Parliamentarian families.[4] The Radcliffes of Radcliffe Hall, the Birches of Birch, Hollands of Denton, Hydes of Denton, Ashtons of Ashton and Middleton, and Worsleys of Platt, were perhaps the most important.

Manchester in 1642 was the only place in South Lancashire, not in Royalist hands, which was capable of defence, though before the war unwalled and without fortifications of any kind. Its importance was realised by the local Parliamentarian leaders. As the relations of King and Parliament grew more strained and war became certain, each of the opposing forces in Lancashire attempted to secure itself by the possession of magazines. Preston was seized for the Crown by Mr. Ffarington of Werden, and Lord Strange occupied Liver-

[3] The original tower was square. Early in the eighteenth century a steeple was added. The church was rebuilt in its present form about 1752. (Everett, p. 88.)

[4] There is a useful account of the chief families of the district in Dr. Halley's *Lancashire Puritanism and Nonconformity*, i. 289–295.

pool; he also obtained possession of Bury, but he was anticipated at Manchester, and during the summer of 1642 the militia there was diligently drilled. It was owing to this fact that it was the scene, on July 15, 1642, of a skirmish between the opposing forces, which is usually said to have brought about the first bloodshed of the war. Lord Strange, having been at Bury, was invited to a banquet by his adherents in Manchester; and the militia, led by Captain Birch and Captain Holcroft,[5] took the opportunity of making a hostile demonstration by passing through the streets with loaded muskets. Sir John Girlington, sheriff of the county, attempted to disperse them, and the Royalists asserted that Captain Birch ordered his men to fire, but that the rain put out their matches.[6] There seems to have been no serious fighting, and only one man was killed; but Lord Strange was several times in danger, and he did not spend the night in the town, but with Sir Alexander Radcliffe[7] at Ordsall Hall, about two miles from the town.

The townsmen thought that they had good reason to fear the designs of the head of the Royalist party, and during the next few months were carefully on the watch. On September 16, 1642, Lord Strange's impeachment[8] was ordered to be published by the House of Commons, but before this his opponents had taken action in Lancashire. A meeting of the local Parliamentarian leaders was held, and they decided to place Manchester in a position to withstand the attack which it was feared would be made upon it. One John Rosworm, a German military engineer who had seen service on the Continent and in Ireland, had settled in Manchester in the spring of 1642. He was now engaged to defend the town during six months for the sum

[5] Captain (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel) Holcroft was head of the family of Holcroft of Holcroft. There were junior branches at Hurst, and at Vale Royal in Cheshire.

[6] *Civil War Tracts of Lancashire*, pp. 32–33 (Chetham Soc.). This collection includes reprints of the chief contemporary authorities for the present article. Rosworm's *Good Service* is also given in full in Palmer's *Siege of Manchester* (1822).

[7] Sir Alexander Radcliffe of Ordsall, son of Sir John Radcliffe and kinsman of the Earl of Sussex, belonged to a different family from Richard Radcliffe of Radcliffe Hall, Poolfold, Parliamentary captain and sergeant-major.

[8] The affray at Manchester on July 15 was the chief item of the impeachment (*C. W. T.* p. 36).

of 30*l.*, guaranteed by twenty-two gentlemen, at whose head was Robert Heyrick, warden of Manchester and first cousin to Robert Herrick the poet. Next day Rosworm received a present of 150*l.* from Lord Strange and an invitation to Lathom House, but he honestly returned the money. The German seems to have been a capable if somewhat calculating officer; it is his misfortune that we hear of his achievements chiefly from himself, in petitions to Parliament about the stinginess of his employers; but he served the town well, and deserved of it a good deal better than he received.

Rosworm began at once to make Manchester defensible, but the work went on slowly until it received an unexpected impetus; for, the Cheshire Royalist landowners beginning to disarm their Parliamentary tenants, the Puritan party in and round Manchester rose in arms and overpowered the resistance which the Royalists had hitherto made. Rosworm says that these far outnumbered his party in the town, but this must be an exaggeration.

The defences consisted merely of mud walls hastily thrown up at the exposed street-ends, at Deansgate, Market Stead Lane, and probably the Millgate and Withy Grove, in order to check the enemy's horse. The bridge, which Rosworm calls the 'onely place of manifest danger,'[9] was secured by posts and chains, but its slope made it difficult of attack from the Salford end, and it was moreover commanded from the higher ground of the churchyard. None of the fortifications survived for any length of time; it is probably to their demolition that Hollingworth refers in 1652.[10]

At the end of September (1642) it was reported in Manchester that Lord Strange definitely intended to undertake a siege, and he was soon known to be at Warrington with a considerable force. The Parliamentarian estimates gave from 3,000 to 4,000 foot, besides cavalry and ordnance, but probably the siege was formed by not more than 2,000 or 2,200 men. The *Perfect Diurnall* gives 2,000 foot,

[9] Rosworm's *Good Service*, *C.W.T.* p. 221.

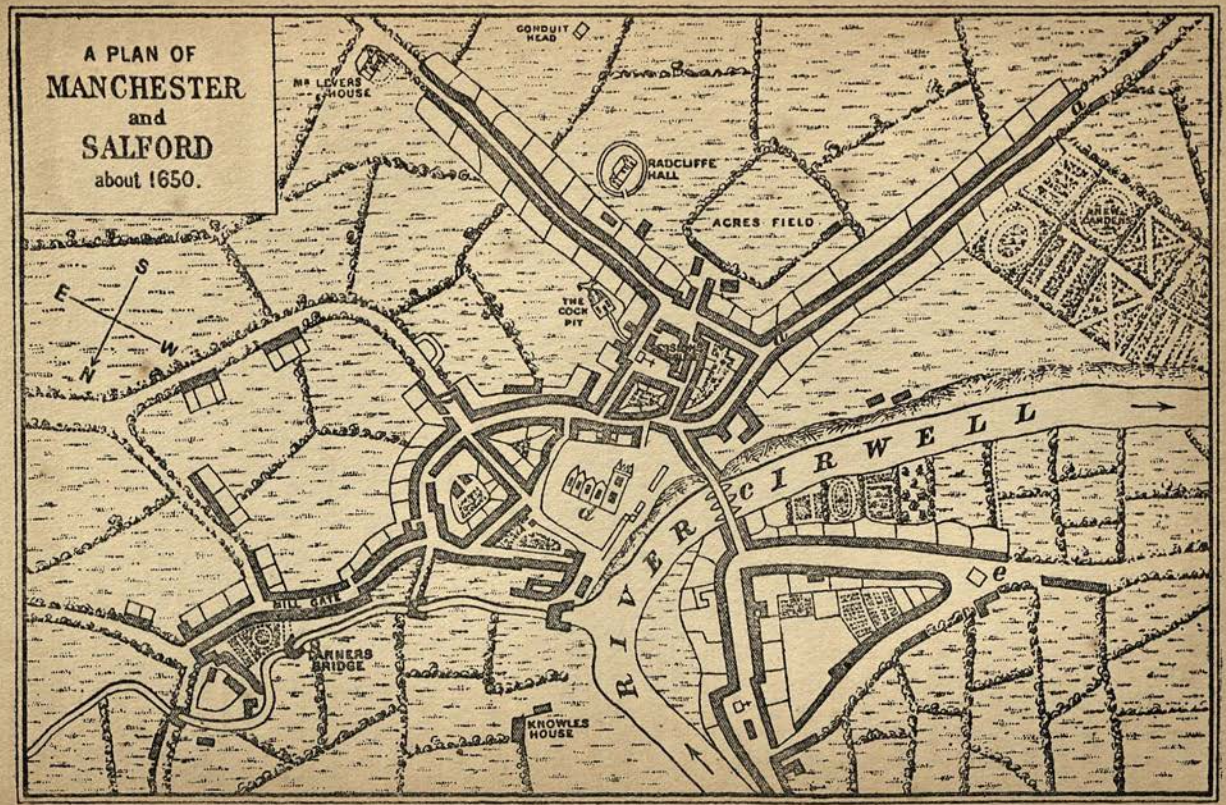
[10] 'The town dismantelled, the walls throwne downe, the gates sould or carried away' (*Mancuniensis*, p. 124). The defences were considerably strengthened after the siege. No gates are mentioned in 1642.

300 horse, and six pieces of ordnance, and these numbers seem more reasonable. There are said to have been 1,000 men fully equipped within the town; they included '150 tenants of Mr. Richard Assheton of Middleton in compleat arms, under the command of Captain Bradshaw.' The forces were disposed beforehand in readiness for the attack. Rosworm commanded at the bridge, Captain Bradshaw at the end of Deansgate, and Captain Richard Radcliffe in Market Stead Lane, which was the nearest position to his own house. Captain Booth was posted in Millgate, and Shudehill was held by a 'company of resolute soldiers without any commander.'[11] By Saturday evening (September 24) all preparations were complete.

It was, perhaps, early on the same day that the Royalist army left Warrington. Lord Strange was in chief command, and with him were Sir John Girlington, Sheriff of Lancashire, Sir Alexander Radcliffe of Ordsall, Mr. Tyldesley (afterwards Sir Thomas Tyldesley) of Myerscough, Sir Gilbert Hoghton, Captain Standish of Duxbury[12] (whose father was a Parliamentarian), and other prominent Royalists. Their route is nowhere exactly described, but part of their force came through Cheshire and part on the other or northern side of the Irwell. The latter was the more direct route, and this no doubt made Rosworm judge that the chief attack would be delivered at Salford Bridge. Salford was entirely Royalist in sympathy, and it might have been expected that the besiegers would occupy it. But Lord Strange himself, and probably Thomas Tyldesley, seem to have marched on Manchester by the other route, and approached the town by the road passing Alport Lodge.

[11] *A True and Exact Relation of the Several Passages at the Siege of Manchester &c.* 1642 (summarised in *C.W.T.* p. 333). This is one of three contemporary accounts. The other two are given in full in the *Civil War Tracts.*

[12] The Standishes, of Standish and Duxbury, were descended from Ralph Standish, who was with Walworth, the Mayor of London during Tyler's rebellion in 1381, and himself, according to two contemporary authorities, gave the final blow to Wat. They were mostly Royalists and Roman Catholic, but the head of the younger branch in 1642 was a staunch Puritan, as must have been another member of the Duxbury family the famous Myles Standish of the New Plymouth Settlement. With Lord Strange at Manchester was also Mr. Standish of Standish, either uncle or cousin to Captain Standish of Duxbury.—Halley's *Lancashire Puritanism and Nonconformity*, i. 279, 280.



a = DEANSGATE ; b = WITHY GROVE ; c = SALFORD BRIDGE ; d = PARISH CHURCH ; e = SALFORD CHAPEL

Delayed by the breaking of a wheel of one of the gun-carriages, it was 9 o'clock on Sunday morning, which was church-time at Manchester, before the Royalists came in sight. At a meeting of the leaders of the defence, held in the town the night before, it had been arranged to give warning of their approach by ringing the bells 'backwards.' 'On Sunday forenoon,' says an eye-witness, 'we were called out of church from sermon,' and two envoys were sent towards Lord Strange to demand an explanation of his approach. Keeping one with him as a hostage, Strange sent Captain Windebanke to summon the town, demanding an entrance and billets for 100 soldiers. These requests were of course refused.

Next day (Monday, September 26), about noon, the assault began, and was pressed during the day by both divisions. During this day, too, there was the only movement of cavalry of the siege, the Royalist horse trying to get into the town from the east, probably from Market Stead Lane or down Shudehill,[13] but they were easily repelled. In the afternoon a combined and determined attack was delivered on Captain Bradshaw at Deansgate end and on Salford Bridge. At both points cannon were directed upon the town. Captain Bradshaw was for a time hard pressed, and Rosworm, holding the bridge with fifty musketeers, sent twenty of them to his assistance. The Royalists set fire to some buildings near the earthworks at this point, and attempted to carry the position under cover of the smoke which at first blew over the town; but they were repulsed with some loss. In the evening both divisions of the Royalists withdrew, though those in Salford continued to harass the enemy during the night from houses at the foot of the bridge. The defenders boasted that they had not lost a man.

The stubbornness of the defence seems somewhat to have daunted the Royalists, for next day (Tuesday) the attack was much less vigorous. It was also directed against points not before seriously attacked, particularly on Market Stead Lane, where Captain Radcliffe showed much bravery, and probably

[13] This seems an almost necessary conjecture. The authorities merely say from the east. The accounts are lacking in precision and local detail.

on the leaderless soldiers upon Shudehill. Later in the day the townsmen were even able to sally out and put to flight some small parties in the fields. Nevertheless, the cannonade on Salford Bridge was still sufficiently terrifying to make sixteen of Rosworm's raw levies take to their heels. The menace of his drawn sword sufficed to maintain at least a show of courage in the remainder.[14]

At five o'clock in the afternoon Lord Strange asked for a parley, and made a proclamation stating that he meant no harm to the town and promising to respect property if all arms were delivered up to him. He also offered non-combatants a free passage from the town if his terms were rejected. The defenders asked until ten o'clock next morning to decide, and till seven o'clock was allowed them; but they asserted that the Royalists took advantage of the truce to place fresh ordnance in position in Salford, and to attack a party of a hundred and fifty men which was coming in from Bolton as a reinforcement. On Wednesday morning at the appointed time an unconditional refusal was returned to Lord Strange; whereupon the Royalist leader sent Sir John Mounson into the town to offer a modification of terms. It was first required that the Royalist army should march through the town, then 1,000*l.* in money was asked for, then 200 muskets, then 100; finally Lord Strange promised to raise the siege if 50 muskets were delivered up; but the spirits of the town rising as the Royalist demands grew less, all terms of surrender were at last rejected.

There seems to have been a difference of opinion within the town on the question of surrender. Already on Monday night a letter had been sent to Colonel Shuttleworth and Captain Starkie, commanders of militia 'at Haslingden or elsewhere,' urging them to march to Manchester with all speed, which seems to show a doubt in the power of the town to hold out. This letter bears the signatures of Richard Holland, John Booth, Peter Egerton and Robert Hyde.[15] On Wednesday, when Lord Strange asked for 100 and then

[14] Rosworm's *Good Service*, u. s. p. 222.

[15] This letter is printed in the *Lancashire Lieutenancy under the Tudors and Stewarts*, Chetham Soc. (O.S.) No. 50, p. 273. Cf. *True and Exact Relation*, loc. cit. p. 333.

only for 50 muskets, Colonel Holland, who was governor of Manchester, was very desirous of complying; but Rosworm, who on this and other occasions expresses a very poor opinion of Holland's courage, 'stoutly resisted, and was supported by William Bourn, senior fellow of the Collegiate Church, a man much respected in the town.[16] He, at Rosworm's request, made his way along Deansgate to encourage the division under Captain Bradshaw, and apparently accomplished his purpose: for when the soldiers decided to support Rosworm, Captain Bradshaw's company took the lead and 'by a general shout' declared 'that they would part with their arms and their lives together.'

Colonel Holland renewed his project next day, urging that there was little powder left in the town, that the country people were becoming discontented at the plunder of their property, and that the Royalists were being reinforced. He was again seconded by Booth and Egerton, but Rosworm and Bradshaw had now won over Robert Hyde to their party and prevented any parley, though it was perhaps a concession to the faint-hearted that Mr. Butterworth of Belfield was sent towards London for aid. A rumour was afloat on this day that Mr. Legh of Adlington was marching to join Lord Strange with 400 men, but the reinforcement did not arrive, as the Cheshire men refused to move outside their county.

On the same day (Thursday) the Royalists suffered a serious loss in the death of Captain Standish, eldest son of Thomas Standish of Duxbury. He was killed by a musket-shot fired from the churchyard, as he stood in the doorway of a house in Salford. The townsmen said that he was

[16] Bourn and Heyrick the warden both took a very prominent part during the siege. It was probably chiefly owing to the latter that Rosworm was engaged to defend the town, while Bourn, though very old, 'took small rest all that week, but was still at hand on all occasions to keep up the spirits of the people.'—*A Discourse on the Warr in Lancashire*, Chetham Soc. (O.S.) No. 72. Heyrick afterwards became the leading spirit of Lancashire Presbyterianism. See W. A. Shaw's *Minutes of the Manchester Classis*, Chetham Soc., passim. He remained minister of Manchester after the temporary dissolution of the College, and after the Restoration conformed to the Book of Common Prayer and retained his wardenship until his death in 1667. See C. W. Sutton's article on him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

killed while urging on his men to the attack; certainly after his loss they began to slip away in large numbers, and all danger from this side was at an end.

The Royalist assaults had now practically ceased; their cannon continued at intervals to play upon the town, but only did a little damage to the houses without killing anyone. On Friday Lord Strange had a trench dug a little distance away from the earthworks in Deansgate, as though intending to establish a blockade; but the movement was only a feint, for his troops had no heart for a prolongation of the siege. Finally, on Saturday morning he made proposals for an exchange of prisoners, stipulating that plundering should cease on both sides. The townsmen answered that they had had no possibility of plunder, and 10,000*l.* would not make good the damage Lord Strange's men had done, but the exchange of prisoners was agreed upon and all hostilities ceased. Then about noon on the same day (Saturday, Oct. 1) the siege was raised, the Royalist troops decamping in such haste that they left behind many muskets and some baggage. These Rosworm's soldiers sallied out and appropriated: and having waited until Monday, judging that danger was at an end for the present, the Parliamentary troops returned to their homes.

The loss of the besiegers is stated in one account as 250 killed and 100 prisoners; Lord Molineux and Colonel Tyldesley were said to be among the former, but both really escaped. Eighty prisoners and about 100 killed is more probably correct, but these figures seem very large, especially as the defenders only lost four or five men. Only very bad marksmanship and half-hearted attacks could make such a result possible.

A contemporary narrative of the siege, ascribed by tradition to Bourn or to Heyrick the warden, draws a most glowing picture of the town during the week of the siege. The soldiers, we are told, were mostly 'religious honest men,' and had prayers and sang psalms daily at the street-ends. 'The Townesmen were kind and respective to the Souldiers; all things were common; the Gentlemen made bullets night and day; the Souldiers were resolute and couragious, and

feared nothing so much as a Parly.' This account also says that many of the Royalist soldiers were unwilling to undertake the siege, and adds what is elsewhere stated, that they were brought before the town by stratagem, having been told that they should march that way to some other place.[17]

Whether this is true or not, the fidelity of Lord Strange's troops was certainly not to be depended on, as was shown by their desertion after the death of Captain Standish.

The sudden raising of the siege may have been connected with the death of the Earl of Derby, Lord Strange's father, on September 29, or was perhaps due to a summons from the King, who at a later time, it may be here noted, once intended to march on Manchester;[18] but success was impossible if it had been persisted in. The attack was neither well conceived nor well carried out. Strange's best chance of success was a surprise, but the townsmen had some days' warning of his approach; and he seems to have wasted a whole day before the town before any assault was delivered at all. Moreover, Salford Bridge, though most accessible, was by its position the easiest point to defend—Deansgate end perhaps the next easiest; and these were the two main points, and at first the only points, of attack. From Market Stead Lane the besiegers would have been on higher ground, and so at Withy Grove, places which were not attempted till Tuesday, when the Royalist soldiers were disheartened by previous failure.[19] That the attacks delivered, with the exception of that on Monday afternoon, do not seem to have been pressed with any vigour was, perhaps, due to the lukewarmness of the soldiery; but taking this into consideration, Lord Strange might have done much more than he did to secure the only fortified place of the county not in Royalist possession.

Nevertheless, the townspeople of Manchester had good reason to be satisfied with themselves for the spirited defence

[17] *A True and Faithfull Relation of the Besieging of the Towne of Manchester*, *C.W.T.* pp. 49–56.

[18] *Perfect Diurnall* (Coles, No. 18, Sat. Oct. 15). *C.W.T.* p. 59.

[19] It should be noted, however, that Strange obtained his local support from the Royalist families who lived to the west and south-west of the town and kept open his communications with his base at Warrington, while the districts on the south and east were Parliamentarian. Cf *C.W.T.* p. 43.

which had gained a deserved success. Sunday, October 2, the day after the Royalists' departure, was made a day of public thanksgiving, and the Parliament voted thanks to the town while hastening on the levies of dragoons which were to reinforce the north. The successful defence of Manchester, the first trial of strength of the two parties in Lancashire, was a good omen for the Parliamentary cause in the county. In 1642 the Royalists there were probably more numerous and stronger in resources than their opponents; but their defeat before Manchester inspired the energy of Salford and Blackburn hundreds in a series of operations, in which the Manchester garrison took a prominent part. South-East Lancashire was successfully defended, Hoghton Tower surrendered, Lancaster was taken and retaken; and though Lathom House held out and Prince Rupert's great march in 1644 wrought a temporary change, Lathom fell after his defeat at Marston Moor, and the local Parliamentary cause, which won its first triumph at Manchester in 1642, secured a final success in the execution of its great enemy, Lord Derby, at Bolton in 1651.

ERNEST BROXAP.

XV

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NATIONAL DEBT

THE ordinarily accepted account of the Stop of the Exchequer in 1672 represents Charles II. as laying violent hands on certain bankers' balances lying in the Exchequer. These balances, it is said, amounted to something like 1,400,000*l.*, and they had accumulated in the Exchequer as deposits—according to the crudest form of the story, simply as deposits made for the sake of safety. Finally, this generally accepted version makes a show of apportioning between Ashley and Clifford the blame for the heinous advice under which Charles acted.

This crudest form of the story, for which we appear to be indebted to Oldmixon and more thoroughly still to Anderson, has not passed unchallenged. Sinclair, in his *History of the Public Revenue*, stated quite correctly that the bankers' advances were loans made on the security of supplies, and that the stoppage was a stoppage of *payments upon assignation*. This—in the main—correct account is embodied in Christie's *Life of Shaftesbury*, and is followed in the article on Charles II. in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. In spite, however, of such quite accessible and correct accounts, the cruder and grosser story, that Charles actually laid hands on so much solid cash, still holds sway, not merely in some hand-books, but in the most recent work of such a specialist as Dr. Osmund Airy.

That any hesitation at all should exist in the mind of scholars on the point is due to the fact that hitherto historians have contented themselves with merely second-hand and general statements, without making any attempt

to probe the question to its depths. The more is the pity; for the importance of the question cannot be overstated. The financial disorders of Charles II.'s reign, more particularly of the years 1660–72, were responsible for the unpatriotic aberrations of his foreign policy, for a great development in the internal administrative machinery of England, and for a memorable advance in constitutional right. Charles would not have been the slave of France in its schemes against Holland had he not been obliged to depend upon the subsidies of Louis, and the modern Treasury system might have lingered much longer in the process of its separation from the Exchequer system, in which it had been swathed, but for the shock and dislocation of that Exchequer system. Finally, the modern constitutional practice of officially presented estimates and of appropriation of supply might have been longer still in the birth had it not been for the dramatic outbreak in the Commons in 1667, when a Commission was appointed to inspect accounts. Incidentally, too, there is a personal interest depending upon all. For a correct estimation of the financial difficulties of Charles's government will almost inevitably lead posterity to reconsider its adverse verdict on Charles, and to transfer some part of the blame from him to the House of Commons.

The truth was that Charles II. returned to a bankrupt inheritance. The country had been exhausted by the financial demands made upon it by Cromwell's strong policy: by the maintenance of the army at home for repression and of the navy on the high seas for aggression. The taxable capacity of the country had been exceeded, with the twofold result that on the one hand the material and monetary resources of the country had been exhausted, and on the other that the administration had been driven to borrow. That system of the financing of the government by private bankers which Charles II. was driven to adopt from the moment of his accession was not a novelty. The same bankers who financed Charles II. had previously financed the Commonwealth, not merely in London, but also in Dublin and Edinburgh. And if the Restoration had not taken place the

financial crash which nearly came in 1667, and which actually befell in 1672, would probably have happened in 1661 or 1662.

There were, however, other factors in the situation in 1660 besides the exhaustion of the country from previous over-taxation. Trade was depressed and until the recoinage of Cromwell's coins and of the French crowns realised from the sale of Dunkirk was accomplished, there was a great deficiency of circulating media in London. For some years before 1660 and up to 1663 silver was exported in consequence of one of those insidious and malignant arbitrage movements which periodically almost stripped the country of currency and dammed up trade. So severe was the currency pinch that the city of London could hardly get together 50,000*l.* to lend to the government, while the bankers who were the secret operators of this arbitrage had their chests loaded with silver.

In national affairs financial exhaustion and commercial distress express themselves uniformly in one way, viz. diminished yield of taxes, and it was this result which Charles's government experienced from the first.

At the Restoration Charles entered instantly into certain portions of his hereditary sources of revenue, such as Crown lands, sheriffs' payments, fines, and so on. Certain other portions, such as customs, hereditary excise, post office, &c., required confirmation by express grant of Parliament. In making this grant Parliament proceeded on the principle, to which it pledged itself by direct resolution on September 4, 1660,[1] of making up the total settled revenue of the government to 1,200,000*l.* Less than a year later, however, it was found that the sources of revenue allocated were not producing their estimated yield, and Sir Philip Warwick laid before the House an account showing a total shortage or deficiency of 265,000*l.* per annum.[2] The House accordingly proceeded to provide for the deficiency by advancing the excise from

[1] *Commons' Journals*, viii. 150. The committee for settling a revenue on the King had been appointed on July 31, 1660. (Ibid. p. 107.)

[2] *C. J.* viii. 273–4. Sir Philip Warwick was Secretary to Lord Treasurer Southampton. In making the report he acted under the direct commands, not of Charles or Southampton, but of the House of Commons itself (see ibid. p. 270). So that although his figures were official figures he made his report in his capacity as a Member of the House, not in his capacity as a Treasury official.

an estimated 300,000*l.* to an estimated 400,000*l.*,[3] and by laying an imposition upon chimney-hearths,[4] an imposition which was estimated a little later to yield slightly over 170,000*l.* a year.[5]

These two increases more than covered the deficiency. The House could therefore honestly maintain that it had so far kept its word with Charles, and had provided him with a stable revenue of 1,200,000*l.* per annum.

When, however, Parliament reassembled in February 1662–3 after the recess, it was found that the shrinkage in the revenue was still making itself felt. A committee was appointed to overhaul all the branches of the revenue. This committee had free access to the Exchequer books and to the King himself, and all through the months of March, April and May 1663 was busy inspecting and valuing every branch of the fixed or hereditary revenue—customs, Crown lands, post office, wine licences, &c.[6] It was found that the total yield of this revenue was only 1,025,246*l.* 19*s.*, representing a deficit of roughly 175,000*l.* a year.[7] Charles himself, in his speech to the House on June 12, 1663, pointed to the need of an increase in the settled revenue of the Crown. 'I am very well contented that you proceed in your inspection. I know it will be to my advantage, and that you will neither find my receipts as great nor my expenses as exorbitant as you imagine. . . But, gentlemen, this inquisition cannot be finished in the short time we can now conveniently stay together; and yet, if you do not provide before we part for the better paying and collecting what you have already given me, you can hardly presume what it will amount to; and if you do not support even what you have already given by some addition, you will quickly see lawful ways found out to lessen the revenue more than you imagine.'[8]

[3] July 23, 1661. *C. J.* viii. 305, 307, 308, 309, 347, 352, 367–8.

[4] March 1, 1661–2. Ibid. pp. 376, 378, 379, 380, 382, 383, 385, 466, 489, 493, 496. For the Act 14 Car. II. c. 10 for a grant to the King and his heirs of fire-hearth money, see *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 390. [5] Ibid. p. 498.

[6] *C. J.* viii. 453, 455–6, 468, 472, 475, 478, 481, 483, 487, 490, 492–3, 495, 496.

[7] The full account is printed in the *Journals*, viii. 498, under the date of June 4, 1663. [8] *C. J.* viii. 500.

The reply of the House to this appeal was twofold: (1) a grant of four subsidies; (2) the promotion of a bill for improving and ordering the King's revenue. In the end, however, this latter measure took the form of the enactment of three separate Acts for the better ordering and collecting the duties of excise, arrears of excise, and hearth money respectively.[9] In other words, Parliament provided, or thought it provided, for the shortage in the fixed revenue of the Crown by Acts of reformation, not by voting additional fixed revenue; and the immediate deficit of the moment it provided for by an extraordinary parliamentary supply by means of the four subsidies.

At the end of 1663, therefore, the Parliament still, as it firmly believed and hoped, left the Crown in possession of a fixed revenue of 1,200,000*l.* What that revenue actually did amount to we must see later.

I turn now to the question of the parliamentary supply that was granted quite distinct from and independent of the fixed hereditary revenue settled as above detailed. For the sake of distinction this species of supply may be styled parliamentary as opposed to the hereditary revenue deemed to be fixed in the Crown (so long as this distinction is properly comprehended and does not obliterate the fact that part of the hereditary revenue so fixed in the Crown was also parliamentary in its origin).

The purely parliamentary supply voted between 1660 and 1668 was as follows:

(1) In 1660 one month's assessment from 1660, September 29, for the present supply of his Majesty; estimated to produce 70,000*l.*[10]

(2) In 1661 a free and voluntary present, to be received by persons authorised under the Great Seal up to June 24, 1662.[11]

(3) In 1661 an eighteen months' assessment on the counties and towns at the rate of 70,000*l.* a month

[9] *C. J.* viii. 501 seq. For the three Acts see *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 488–495.

[10] 12 Car. II. c. 21, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 252. *C. J.* viii. 156 seq.

[11] 13 Car. II. c. 4, ibid. p. 307.

from December 25, 1661—thus calculated to produce 1,260,000*l.* in all.[12]

(4) In 1663 a grant of four entire subsidies from both laity and clergy.[13]

(5) In 1664–5 a royal aid of 2,477,500*l.* to be levied in three years, viz. by an assessment of 68,519*l.* 9*s.* per month for thirty-six months from December 25, 1664.[14]

(6) In 1665 an additional aid of 1,250,000*l.*, to be levied by an assessment of 52,083*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* by the month for twenty-four months[15] from December 25, 1665.

(7) In 1666 a poll of 20*s.* per 100*l.* of realty.[16]

(8) In 1666 an eleven months' tax to produce 1,256,347*l.* 13*s.* by a monthly assessment of 114,213*l.* 8*s.* 5½*d.* from January 26, 1667.[17]

(9) In 1668 a grant of 310,000*l.* by an imposition on wines and other liquors from June 24, 1668.[18]

There is no need for me to carry the parliamentary supply grants further than 1668 for the present. It is hardly necessary to add that items 5–8 in the above list represent grants in support of the Dutch war.

How much money did these grants actually produce?

If the Exchequer system had been preserved unimpaired throughout Charles II.'s reign it would have been an easy matter to give a ready and off-hand answer, viz. from the two parallel series of Declaration Books (Auditor's and Pells'). But in 1667 the Exchequer system received a staggering blow, one from which it never recovered, in the appointment by the House of Common of a Commission to take and audit the public accounts. The effect of this blow is to be seen to-day, not merely in the development of the Treasury system, which dates from the same year 1667, but in the existing gaps in the Exchequer records. The Auditor's

[12] 13 Car. II. part ii. c. 3, ibid. p. 325.
[13] 15 Car. II. c. 9 and 10, ibid. p. 453.
[14] 16 and 17 Car. II. c. 1, ibid. p. 525.
[15] 17 Car. II. c. 1. ibid. p. 570.
[16] 18 and 19 Car. II. c. 1, ibid. p. 584.
[17] 18 and 19 Car. II. c. 13, ibid. p. 616.
[18] 19 and 20 Car. II. c. 6, ibid. p. 630.

Declaration Books come down to 1666 nearly regularly; then there is a gap, 1666–70; and then again a second gap, 1671–4.

The parallel series of the Declaration Books (Pells) tell the same tale of interruption and dislocation. So also do the two subsidiary series of Certificate Books. The Certificate Books (Pells) extend only to 1667, and they never reappear; the parallel series of Certificate Books (Tellers) extend only to 1665, and they reappear only in the nineteenth century for a few short years.

In the absence of an unbroken series of these account books I have had to fall back upon a stray volume which gives in a very detailed form the weekly receipts of the Exchequer from July 1660 to September 1670. This volume is classed in the official list among the Certificate Books, Pells, vol. x. But the Certificate Books, Pells, should give, in the form of a weekly certificate, not only the receipts but also the issues and remains of the four Tellers, whereas this particular volume states only the receipts. It therefore stands apart from all the above enumerated classes of records, and may probably be one of the several volumes which were perhaps compiled from then existing records for the use of the parliamentary Commission of 1667, and continued afterwards until 1670.

The difficulty of handling such a record has consisted in the fact that each head of receipt has had to be traced week by week through all the successive certificates, and the total has had to be deduced. In addition to that, the indication of the nature of the particular item is not always clear; e.g. in one week's certificate one assessment is styled 'the Duke of York,' in the next week's entry it occurs as 'the one month's assessment.' In such a laborious mass of figures I may possibly have occasionally gone astray, but, I believe and hope, not seriously. Well, then, the testimony of this record is as follows:

Item 1 in the above list.—The one month's assessment, calculated to produce 70,000*l.*

The money began to come into the Exchequer on November 9, 1660, and the bulk of the assessment was paid

before April 1661, although the items of arrears straggle on to as late as July 1663. The total which came in was 61,423*l.* 16*s.* 11½*d.*, or, including certain rather indistinguishable items of arrears, 63,422*l.* 18*s.* 3½*d.* On this item, therefore, there was a deficiency of supply, below the estimate, of 6,577*l.* 1*s.* 8½*d.*

Item 2.—The voluntary present. The first payment into the Exchequer was made on August 2, 1661; the bulk of the money came in before July 1663, but the arrears straggled on to January 1664–5. The total payment in was 208,906*l.* 1*s.* 5½*d.* As there was no estimate of this supply beforehand, I take it as producing no deficiency.

Item 3.—The eighteen months' assessment, estimated to yield 1,260,000*l.* The first payment came in in February 1661–2. The bulk was paid in by the end of 1664, but the arrears straggled on until June 1669. The total yield was 955,091*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*, showing a deficiency of supply below estimate of 304,908*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*

Item 4.—The four subsidies. Payments on the first two subsidies began to come in on October 23, 1663, from the laity, and in the following January from the clergy. The bulk was paid in by May 1664.

Those on the last two subsidies began in April 1664, and the bulk was paid in by the following September. Items of arrears of both sets of subsidies straggled on until June 1668. Altogether the four subsidies produced 137,481*l.* 19*s.* 3½*d.*, of which the first two produced at least 80,267*l.* 1*s.* 0½*d.*, and the last two at least 56,328*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* (certain items of arrears being rather indistinguishable). As in the case of item 3 above, there was no explicit statement beforehand of the expected yield on these subsidies, so I take them as producing no deficiency.

Item 5.—The royal aid, expected to yield 2,477,500*l.* The first payment in was made on April 7, 1665. The bulk was paid by September 1666, though the arrears straggled on to July 1670. The total receipt was 2,393,051*l.* 17*s.* 4½*d.*, so that on this item there was a deficiency of 84,448*l.* 2*s.* 7½*d.*

Item 6.—The additional aid, expected to produce 1,250,000*l.* The first payment in on this account was made

on April 14, 1666. The bulk was paid by September 1668, the last payment that appears being on September 28, 1670. The total produce was 1,150,794*l.* 7*s.* 10½*d.*, so that on this item there was a deficiency of 99,205*l.* 12*s.* 1½*d.*

Item 7.—The poll-tax. The first payment was made in April 1667. The bulk of the money was paid in by October 1667, though the items of arrears straggled on to July 1670. The total receipt was 264,328*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* As in the case of items 3 and 4, there had been no previous estimate of the yield of this item. I therefore take it in the calculations as producing no deficiency.

Item 8.—The eleven months' assessment, estimated to yield 1,256,347*l.* 13*s.* 0*d.* The first payments began in May 1668. The bulk was paid before December 1669, though the items of arrears straggled on to at least September 1670. The total yield was at least 1,140,539*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*, showing a deficit of 115,808*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* at the outside, possibly less.

The total of these five items of deficit amounts to 580,947*l.* 11*s.* 7½*d.*, so that in little more than six years—from 1662–1668—the parliamentary supply had failed to produce the expected or estimated yield by a matter of over half a million.

It is possible now to proceed a step further, and to show what the deficiency had been during the same years in the fixed hereditary Crown revenue.

The total payments of all kinds into the Exchequer were as follows:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
1660 ...	232,826	19	0
1661 ...	717,265	18	1½
1662 ...	1,484,721	13	1
1663 ...	1,316,963	8	1½
1664 ...	1,287,683	3	2½
1665 ...	2,372,543	8	7½
1666 ...	2,240,445	16	1½
1667 ...	1,556,302	11	10½
1668 ...	1,535,528	15	5½
1669 ...	1,848,606	15	8
1670 ...	874,734	9	4½

In 1660 payments only began on July 7, and in 1670 the account breaks off, deplorably, on September 28. Both these years are therefore incomplete, and I consequently exclude them from the calculations for the purpose of averaging.

Dealing only with the nine years 1661–9, the grand total of payments of all kinds into the Exchequer was 14,360,061*l.*

10*s.* 3½*d.*, which would give a yearly average of 1,595,562*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* But from the above-stated grand total certain deductions have to be made as follows:

Payments into Exchequer on account of

	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
(*a*) the Queen's dowry				115,048	11	8
(*b*) from France for the sale of Dunkirk and otherwise				282,328	8	8½
(*c*) loans on the sale of fee farms				69,999	2	9½
(*d*) sale of fee farms of the Crown				400	4	7
(*e*) loan money advanced into the Exchequer:						
(1) 1660	5,000	0	0			
(2) 1662	242,141	7	10			
(3) 1664	80,000	0	0			
(4) 1665	120,000	0	0			
(5) 1666–8, on the additional aid	329,204	19	4			
(6) 1667–8, on the 11 months' assessment	271,585	0	0			
(7) 1668, general	141,856	11	8½			
(8) 1668, on wines	228,753	6	6			
(9) 1669, on customs	303,459	0	0			
				1,722,000	5	4½
Total				2,139,776	13	1½

Deducting, therefore, from the grand total of receipts this total of borrowed money and money adventitiously raised, we arrive at a total of 12,220,283*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* as representing the receipts of the Exchequer from the two great branches of the revenue, the hereditary and the parliamentary, for the years 1661–9, thus representing an average of 1,347,809*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* per annum. But of this total of 12,220,283*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* so arrived at, the parliamentary supply as indicated above had yielded not less than 7,068,498*l.* 17*s.* 6½*d.* Therefore the remaining branch, the fixed hereditary revenue of the Crown, had produced only 5,151,785*l.* 0*s.* 3½*d.*, or a yearly average of 572,420*l.* 11*s.* 1½*d.* instead of the 1,200,000*l.* per annum which the Parliament pledged itself in 1660 to raise for the support of the dignity, strength, and glory of the government of the country.

It is to this fatal shortage, this astonishing shrinkage of the fixed hereditary revenue of the Crown, that all the troubles of Charles's II.'s government were due. For it is to

be borne in mind that in the main the parliamentary supply which had been separately voted had been granted, not so much with the idea of reinforcing the deficient fixed revenue, as of meeting the extraordinary requirements of the Dutch war and other abnormal extra-governmental demands, such as the disbanding of the forces at the Restoration, the payment of the debt of the navy, and so on.

We are thus driven to the strange conclusion that, of the ordinary fixed revenue of the country which had been estimated as sufficient to keep the governmental machine in motion, not one half ever came in.

The surprising fact is that under such circumstances Charles's government was able to stave off the inevitable bankruptcy even until 1672. As a second incidental but equally inevitable result, it is not surprising that a man of Charles's want of principle should have turned in his financial distress to the subsidies of Louis, to sell the honour and future of his country for French gold. Had he not been handicapped by the questionable nature of a good deal of his own expenditure, he could easily have invited inquiry into the state of the national finances, and have thrown upon the House of Commons the responsibility of making up the deficiency of the fixed hereditary revenue. But the mutual trust, which had existed up to 1663, had been killed by the events of the Dutch war, and when in 1667 the Commons attacked the Administration and voted its commission to examine public accounts, it was in a suspicious, savage, and fiercely partisan mood. From that moment the hope of patriotic action on its part was as completely gone as it was on the part of Charles himself.

Although, unfortunately, the figures given above break off in September 1670, I think they have fairly and conclusively shown that the administration was drifting swiftly into bankruptcy. It is the object of the second part of this paper to show how the mechanism of loan-making—of anticipation of revenue—was worked during these same years 1660–70.

At the outset, and without hyperbole, it may be said that for the first six years after the Restoration the City of

London, and a small coterie of London bankers, held the government of Charles II. in the hollow of their hands.

To anyone acquainted with the methods of Commonwealth finance, this statement will not appear novel so far as it refers to the City itself. But what is surprising is the apparent diminution in the financial resources of London after the Restoration, as compared with the early civil war period, when the City so splendidly financed the Long Parliament.

At the actual moment of the Restoration the Exchequer system was not working. It was not until the end of June that it opened its doors, and money began to trickle slowly in. On June 30, 1660, the total cash in the hands of the four Tellers was as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Stone	106	19	1
Brage	5	0	11¾
Downing	4	18	10
Fleetwood	24	9	0¼
Total	141	7	11[19]

A fortnight later the total cash amounted to 72*l.* 11*s.* 0¼*d.*

If the Administration had been able to lay its hands on any of the cash balances of the Commonwealth committees, it would have been only too glad, and it made a great show of bringing the various accomptants to book, by procuring their accounts to be declared and sworn, according to the ancient course of the Exchequer. In addition to this Parliament passed an Act confirming the pre-Restoration ordinance for a three months' assessment of 70,000*l.* a month.[20] It further enacted that all the outstanding arrears of any and every Commonwealth assessment should belong and be paid to the King.

The accounts of the receipts of the Exchequer, however, show that from all these sources hardly a single penny ever came in. And as an immediate expedient for getting cash, which was the crying need of the moment, they were absolutely useless. The situation is succinctly summed up by Clarendon as follows:

[19] *Weekly Certificates* (Tellers), vol. xii.
[20] 12 Car. II. c. 2, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 179.

In the meantime here were two particulars which the King, with much inward impatience, though with little outward communication, did most desire: the disbanding the army, and the settling the revenue, the course and receipt whereof had been so broken and perverted, and a great part extinguished by the sale of all the Crown lands, that the old officers of the Exchequer, auditors or receivers, knew not how to resume their administrations. Besides that the great receipt of excise and customs was not yet vested in the King, nor did the Parliament make any haste to assign it, finding it necessary to reserve it in the old ways and not to divert it from those assignments which had been made for the payment of the army and navy; for which, until some other provision could be made, it was to no purpose to mention the disbanding the one or the other, though the charge of both was so vast and insupportable, that the kingdom must in a short time sink under the burden. For what concerned the revenue and raising money, the King was less solicitous; and yet there was not so much as any assignation made for the support of his household, which caused a vast debt to be contracted, before taken notice of, the mischief of which is hardly yet removed. He saw the Parliament every day doing somewhat in it; and it quickly dissolved all bargains, contracts, and sales, which had been of any of the Crown lands, so that all that royal revenue (which had been too much wasted and impaired in those improvident times which had preceded the troubles) was entirely remitted to those to whom it belonged, the King and the Queen his mother; but very little money was returned out of the same into the Exchequer in the space of the first year: so difficult it was to reduce any payments, which had been made for so many years irregularly, into the old channel and order. And everything else of this done, how slowly soever, with as much expedition as from the nature of the affair, and the crowd in which it was necessary to be agitated, could reasonably be expected; and therefore his Majesty was less troubled for those inconveniences which he foresaw must inevitably flow from thence.[21]

In order to find the King in petty cash, and keep his royal state going, the House voted a present of 50,000*l.* to him, and appointed a committee to borrow the sum from the City at six per cent. interest,[22] offering for the same whatever security the City desired.

The greater immediate need of the moment, however, was the disbanding of the army. So long as that body remained together it was a menace to the government as well as a charge; but it was absolutely impossible to discharge it without first paying its arrears. It was estimated that 400,000*l.* would be needed to provide for the

[21] *Continuation of Life*, i. 332–3 (ed. 1827).

[22] *C. J.* viii. 4.

disbandment. It was for the speedy provision of money for this disbandment that the pre-Restoration ordinance for the three months' assessment had been confirmed, and to this was subsequently added the poll bill.[23] When, therefore, the Commons' committee waited on the Lord Mayor and Aldermen with the request for a loan of 50,000*l.*, a further request was made for an additional loan for the purpose of the disbandment. The reply of the City was that they would take the speediest course they could to raise 100,000*l.*, that they desired this advance to be secured on the three months' assessment, and further that, to make the security inviolate, the money arising from the said three months' assessment should be paid, not into the Exchequer, but into the Chamber of the City of London at the Guildhall. To these proposals the House punctually agreed,[24] and as a consequence Sir Thomas Player, the Chamberlain of London, was made the treasurer for the receipt and disbursement of what was a national tax.

In making such an arrangement the House of Commons and the government of Charles were only continuing the financial methods of the Commonwealth; but it is a matter of some surprise that at a time when the Dutch had come to thoroughly understand and practise a system of national credit or debt, the English government should have been so unskilled and unenlightened financially. The proper method of anticipating revenue would have been to take in public subscriptions on the security of the incoming taxes, taking care to retain the administration and receipt of those taxes in official hands. Instead of that, so crude were the financial ideas of Charles's government, and so low was the credit of that government, that in order to anticipate the revenues of the customs he was driven to farm them out and ask for an advance from the farmers; and similarly, in order to anticipate the incoming taxes, he was driven to practically farm out those also, and to get an advance upon them from the City.

The arrangement once begun endured for several years

[23] *Statutes of the Realm*, 12 Car. II. c. 9:
[24] *C. J.* viii. p. 10; May 3, 1660.

after the Restoration. It therefore forms one of the factors (but not the chief one) in the series of financial entanglements which led to the crash of 1672.

It may be sufficient for the moment to indicate in tabular form the various public taxes which were thus not only hypothecated, but handed over bodily to the City.

(1) The three months' assessment for 70,000*l.* a month, leviable as from January 24, 1660.

(2) The poll-tax (12 Car. II. c. 9). The terms of the Act for this tax are unusually strange. The Chamberlain of London and five others, City men, were appointed treasurers for the receiving and issuing of all sums raised under the Act. It then proceeds to ask for subscriptions of loans of 100*l.* and upwards from private individuals, offering a discount of 6 per cent. on all loan subscriptions paid in to the Guildhall on the security of the tax before August 1, 1660; conclusively showing that, whilst the government had not credit enough to ask for subscriptions on its own account and direct into the Exchequer, the City of London had credit enough to ask for subscriptions of loan into the Guildhall, and secondly that the City Council and magnates were not able to finance the advance of the tax themselves without calling in the aid of the general public.[25]

(3) The two months' assessment of 70,000*l.* a month, leviable as from November 1, 1660.[26]

(4) The six months' assessment of 70,000*l.* a month, leviable as from January 1, 1660–1.[27]

As far as the relations between the Exchequer and the Guildhall were concerned the general arrangements in these cases of hypothecated or farmed taxes were as follows:

The City Treasurer (Sir Thomas Player) received at the Guildhall the money that came in from the assessments, taking it out of the hands of the receivers, who had been

[25] *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 224.
[26] 12 Car. II. c. 20, *Statutes of the Realm*, p. 250.
[27] 12 Car. II. c. 27; ibid. p. 269.

appointed by Parliament (and who were, throughout this small series of taxes, the sheriffs of the counties). Player's receipt was a sufficient discharge to the receiver, and when taken to the Exchequer entitled the receiver to strike a tally importing his payment in of so much on the head of that tax. As the money came in, Player and his co-treasurers first of all paid off with 6 per cent. interest the loan which the City, or any private individuals under cover of the City, had made in advance on the tax. The balance remaining was not paid into the Exchequer, but was to be issued by Player and his co-treasurers to the army or navy in accordance with warrants or precepts made upon them by a body of Commissioners specially named for that purpose in the Act for the particular tax.[28] The Commissioners were twelve in number—the Duke of York, the Duke of Albemarle, and so on, none of the twelve being officially connected with the Exchequer. As between Player and the Exchequer the production of the warrant of these Commissioners was a sufficient discharge *pro tanto* by enabling him to strike a tally, but the actual method of accompting prescribed to the treasurers by the terms of the Act was more roundabout. The treasurers were to accompt direct with the Parliament, and the Exchequer only received a certificate of the accompts of the treasurers' charge and discharge through the medium of the Commissioners.

The episode is one of the most curious in the whole history of our national finance. For clumsiness there is probably no parallel to it even in the most chaotic times of Civil War finance. The one main—and most excellent—idea of the English Exchequer system had always been that of accountability. An accomptant, be he who he might, had to have his accompt declared by the auditor, he had to swear it, he got his quietus upon it, or if there were a deficiency process of the Exchequer issued against him, woe betide him.

In these arrangements with the City there is no such provision for accompting. The City was practically left to receive and pay large national taxes without being subject to audit or being punishable for deficiency. For this

[28] 12 Car. II. c. 15, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 238.

reason the accounts of these taxes are not known to exist. They could not occur among the 'declared accounts,' as they were not subject to declaration; and certainly, if ever the accounts were presented to Parliament, all trace of them has vanished from the Commons' Journals. It will be seen, however, from the Appendix to this article (p. 421), that the City kept its own records of these transactions most scrupulously, and there is no doubt whatever in my mind that they were conducted throughout with the most absolute rectitude on the City's part. Among the charters in the Town Clerk's department, there is one dated October 24, 1671, being a release from the King to the City of the arrears of the royal aid, conclusively proving that a final account had been actually presented by the City.

One would naturally suppose that as the government of Charles gathered financial strength, credit, or backbone, it would feel the conditions of such transactions with the City as too utterly humiliating. And when we find that government ceasing to renew such transactions, we might be led to suppose it due to a growing consciousness of financial strength and dignity in the government. It is demonstrable, however, that such a conclusion would be false. It would appear rather to be the case that the government turned away from the City, and put itself in the hands of a small coterie of bankers, only for one all-impelling reason. The City could not raise sufficient loans to finance the extremest needs of the State, and what loans were made were not made expeditiously enough. The bankers, to whom the government turned in its distress, could raise at a day's notice six times the ready cash that the City Council could raise by the lengthy process of subscriptions. Not that the City was entirely beaten out of the lucrative field of government finance operations. It still continued to lend on the taxes,[29] but its advances were small as compared with those made by the bankers, and it did not again attain to the position of actually farming the taxes in their entirety.

The little coterie of bankers, in whose hands the government henceforth placed itself almost without reserve, was

[29] See also Appendix, p. 421.

composed of the following: (1) Alderman Backwell; (2) the two Viners, Sir Thomas and Robert (the King's goldsmith, afterwards Sir Robert); (3) Alderman Francis Meynell; (4) John Colvill, whose death almost precipitated a crisis among the bankers in 1670. To these may be added a fifth, viz. Sir John Shaw, the chief among the farmers of the customs and a co-paymaster of Dunkirk along with Alderman Backwell. A possible sixth at the time would have been Sir Christopher Packe. But Packe's virulent Commonwealth partisanship put him out of court for a season, and it is not till 1667 that he occurs as lending money to the Administration. Less well-known names than these occasionally occur; Sir Thomas Allyn, Sir John Laurmer, Sir John Cutler, Sir Thomas Foote and Sir Edmund Turner. But in the main the bulk of the business fell into the hands of the first five named. As three of them are accounted for at length in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, I need not linger over their personal history. There can be no reasonable doubt that they had grown wealthy in the troublous times of the Civil War; that starting from that basis they had organised a completely-equipped deposit and loan banking business; that they controlled large sums of deposits; and that, long before the Restoration, they had financed Cromwell's government both in England and Ireland.

In its dealings with these men the government seems to have made every type or kind of arrangement, including even that weak, cumbersome and dangerous one which it had tried with the City, viz. of (what was practically) farming out particular portions of this or that tax to this or that banker.

Clarendon gives us a very near view of the method of transacting business with these magnates: [30]

> From the time of the King's return, when though great and vast sums were granted, yet such vast debts were presently to be paid, the armies by land and sea to be presently discharged, that the money that was to be collected in six and six months would not provide for those present unavoidable issues; but there must be two or three hundred thousand pounds gotten together in few days, before they could begin to disband the armies or to pay the seamen off; the deferring whereof every month increased the charge to an incredible proportion: none could supply those occasions but the bankers, which brought the King's ministers first ac-

[30] Clarendon, *Continuation of Life*, iii. 8–10.

quainted with them; and they were so well satisfied with their proceedings, that they did always declare 'that they were so necessary to the King's affairs, that they knew not how to have conducted them without that assistance.'

The method of proceeding with them was thus. As soon as an Act of Parliament was passed, the King sent for those bankers (for there was never any contract made with them but in his Majesty's presence): and he being attended by the ministers of the revenue, and commonly the Chancellor and others of the Council, the Lord Treasurer presented a particular information to the King of the most urgent occasions for present money, either for disbanding troops, or discharging ships, or setting out fleets (all of which are to be done together, and not by parcels); so that it was easily foreseen what ready money must be provided. And this account being made, the bankers were called in, and told 'that the King had occasion to use such a sum of ready money within such a day; they understood the Act of Parliament, and so might determine what money they could lend the King and what manner of security would best satisfy them.' Whereupon one said 'he would within such a time pay one hundred thousand pounds,' another more, and another less, as they found themselves provided; for there was no joint stock amongst them, but every one supplied according to his ability. They were desirous to have eight in the hundred, which was not unreasonable to ask, and the King was 'willing to give,' but upon better consideration amongst themselves, they thought fit to decline that demand, as being capable of turning to their disadvantage, and would leave the interest to the King's own bounty, declaring 'that themselves paid six in the hundred for all the money with which they were intrusted,' which was known to be true.

Then they demanded such a receipt and assignment to be made to them by the Lord Treasurer, for the payment of the first money that should be payable upon that Act of Parliament. or a branch of that Act, or tallies upon the farmers of the customs or excise, or such other branches of the revenue as were least charged; having the King's own word and the faith of the Treasurer, that they should be exactly complied with; for, let the security be what they could desire, it would still be in the power of the King or of the Lord Treasurer to divert what was assigned to them to other purposes. Therefore there is nothing surer, than that the confidence in the King's justice, and the unquestionable reputation of the Lord Treasurer's honour and integrity, was the true foundation of that credit which supplied all his Majesty's necessities and occasions; and his Majesty always treated those men very graciously, as his very good servants, and all his ministers looked upon them as very honest and valuable men. And in this manner, for many years after his Majesty's return, even to the unhappy beginning of the Dutch war, the public expenses were carried on, it may be with too little difficulty, which possibly increased some expenses; and nobody opened his mouth against the bankers, who every day increased in credit and reputation, and had the money of all men at their disposal. . . .

At the time to which this extract refers Clarendon was no longer officially connected with the Treasury. Southampton was Lord Treasurer, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury. By the aid of the entry books, which cover the period of their Treasury administration, it is possible to amplify Clarendon's words and to get a nearer view of the relations between the government and the private loan market.

For the moment the extracts must necessarily be disjointed.

In March 1661–2 Robert Viner undertook to advance 100,000*l.* for the King's great and weighty affairs in Ireland. By the King's express command this was ordered to be secured and repaid to him out of those portions of the eighteen months' assessment which were to be levied within the counties of Northampton, Norfolk, Worcester, Derby, Salop and Leicester. A warrant for this accordingly passed the Great Seal in the form of letters patent. And in order to bring the Exchequer into line with the requirements of this agreement, Southampton wrote to the Auditor of the Exchequer on March 22, 1661–2, to take care that none of the moneys already arisen from the assessment upon those places should be otherwise disposed of or diverted from Viner, 'or if any of the receivers of the assessments within those counties shall tender the payment thereof unto the Exchequer, that you direct them to the said Mr. Vyner at his house in Lumber Street, London: Mr. Vyner being obliged to strike tallies for the same.' Similarly, the receivers of the assessment were ordered by separate letter from Treasurer Southampton to pay their receipts to Mr. Viner in Lombard Street, 'or if he shall make any assignment upon you, that you pay all such monies as shall be in your hands as he shall direct, whose acquittance shall be your sufficient discharge. And when you have paid him any considerable sum, tallies shall be likewise struck for the same in the Exchequer for your more formal discharge.'

In this transaction, which is quite a typical one, the government had proceeded by three separate steps: (1) out

of the eighteen months' assessment 100,000*l.* was assigned or allocated by the King to the Earl of Anglesea, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, the same being for the weighty occasions of Ireland. (2) Having thus created a fund the government raised a ready money loan upon it by the above arrangement with Viner. (3) As, however, the portions of the assessment which were thus handed over to Viner were estimated to produce 130,199*l.* 14*s.* at the same time that Viner was empowered to receive these assessments direct from the sheriffs and to deduct for himself his 100,000*l.* clear of all expenses, he was expressly required to account with the Exchequer for any overplus. Usually the interest account appears to have been a separate account from the principal, and to have been paid by warrant on the Exchequer after proper statement of the account by the Exchequer auditors.

In other cases the fund, upon which the bankers advanced loans, was not permitted to be intercepted and impounded by the bankers in this way. It would be a fund which was due to be paid into the Exchequer. In this case repayment would take the form of a Treasurer's warrant to the auditor, but it would necessarily be more a matter of arrangement, as depending entirely on the state of cash in the Exchequer. The following entry is entirely indicative of such arrangements.

Treasurer Southampton and Chancellor of the Exchequer Ashley write to Alderman Backwell on June 13, 1662:

> Mr. Vyner had one and twenty thousand and odd hundred pounds assigned him for plate &c. served unto the King: you had ten [thousand on your loan advanced] for the Household; you and Mr. Alderman Meynell and Mr. Vyner had 24,000*l.* [assigned for your loan advanced] for the same [i.e. for the Royal Household]. In this order we have resolved the first moneys paid [or to be paid into the Exchequer] by Signior de Sylva [on account of the Queen's dowry] shall be paid. And therefore pray pay in the 1600*l.* for Mr. Vyner, and out of the next 20,000*l.* Mr. Vyner is to be paid off his order: then you are to receive your 10,000*l.* But both for this 10,000*l.* and the 24,000*l.* the Cofferer [of the Household] must first give discharges at the Exchequer. And the 24,000*l.* formerly struck upon the Excise which at present you waive, the Cofferer must likewise discharge the same, and pray comply with this order, which is equal towards you all.

In the case of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, the discreditable harshness with which the Portuguese ambassador was treated in London was simply due to the fact that the bankers had advanced upon it, and that they were clamouring for repayment.

> Of the total million [of crusadoes] there has been paid 217,785 crusadoes to Lord Sandwich in Portugal and 510,000 to divers bankers here in England, leaving 272,215 unpaid, which at 3*s*. 6*d*. a crusadoe is equal to 47,637*l*. Treasurer Southampton therefore prayed that the ambassador be moved to have this forthwith paid into the Exchequer, 'it being assigned to some bankers who have advanced the same for his Majesty's publique services and who are much disappointed by their so long attending for the same after it was due.'

But by far the most curious of all these transactions with the bankers were those connected with the sale of Dunkirk. The purchase money (4,500,000 livres) was received in France on behalf of the English government by Backwell and Sir John Shaw, who also held the position of Paymaster of Dunkirk garrison. The money was brought over in the form of silver 'crowns' (or, as we should say, écus) in hundreds of chests, and lodged for greater safety, not in the Exchequer, but in the Tower. One would have thought it a perfectly easy matter to send these silver crowns to the Mint, to have them recoined into English money, to despatch them to the Exchequer, and to let the Exchequer pay its way with them. But unfortunately the Mint was in such a state of ineptitude that it was ridiculously unequal to the task of recoining so large a sum at a moment's notice. The government could not wait. It needed money instantly. What could it do? The only resource was to use the chests of silver crowns as a fund of credit—to borrow upon them from the bankers. In order to do this it had actually to deliver into the bankers' hands a sufficient number of the chests to cover the various advances. Accordingly, whilst one third of the Dunkirk money was sent to the Mint to be coined into English coin, the other two thirds were used as security for loans—loans contracted separately by the branches of the administration as well as by the central government itself. For example,

Stephen Fox, the Paymaster of the Guards, was empowered to raise a loan of 30,000*l.* for the pay of the Guards. Chests of the Dunkirk money sufficient to assure that amount were delivered to him out of the Tower, and he was authorised to deposit them as security wherever he should effect the loan. The Victualler of the Navy was similarly entrusted with 10,000*l.* worth of the Dunkirk money, the Treasurer of the Chamber with 5,000*l.* worth, Sir Charles Berkeley with 1,000*l.* worth for the Privy Purse and 3,500*l.* for the Queen, Thomas Pavie with 14,000*l.* worth for the Tangier garrison, and so on. Finally Backwell, Meynell, and Robert Viner themselves, the three chief bankers, contracted directly with the government for advances, made on the same security, of 70,000*l.* for the Navy, and 36,000*l.* for the Royal Household.

As the two guardians of the Dunkirk money in the Tower were the Lieutenant of the Tower and Backwell himself, we reach the odd result that the warrants from the Lord Treasurer authorising the delivery of chests of the Dunkirk money to Backwell were addressed to Backwell, so that he was in effect authorised to take the said boxes out of his official custody into his private custody:

Lord Treasurer Southampton and Lord Ashley to Alderman Backwell and to the Lieutenant of the Tower, the officers of the Mint, and others concerned, Yourself [Backwell], Mr. Alderman Meynell, and Mr. Robert Vyner having already advanced to the Cofferer of his Majesty's Household the summe of 30,000*l.*, and you three being now to advance a further summe of 30,000*l.* to Sir George Carteret, Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, for the use of the Navy, for security whereof his Majesty hath directed that soe many boxes of the Dunkirk money which may be computed to that value be delivered unto yourselfe and them to lye deposited according to his Majesty's order untill the same shall be returned into the Tower, which is intended as soone as soe much other money be coyned to pay off the two debts abovementioned; these are to desire you accordingly to deliver soe many boxes of the said money as shall amount to those summes unto yourselfe and the persons aforesaid. And that you may be assured the same boxes and money shall be redelivered and noe prejudice thereby come unto yourselfe [who will have finally to account for the whole money as Treasurer thereof] let them be weighed and sealed with the Lord Treasurer's seale and your owne in the Tower; and for your discharge of soe many boxes of money as shall be delivered to the

value abovementioned an acknowledgment for receipt thereof signed by you three, together with this warrant, shalbe a sufficient discharge to the Lieutenant of the Tower for permitting the same to be carryed out and to the officers of the Mint and yourselfe: which warrant and receipt you are to redeliver when the boxes of money shalbe returned. All which boxes are to be returned into the Tower againe when from the Mint coyned you receive the aforesaid summes of 36,000*l.* and 30,000*l.*

Without carrying such merely illustrative extracts any further, I shall have attained a great portion of the preliminary object of this paper if it has already succeeded in establishing and conveying two conclusions, viz.:

(1) That Charles's government was in the keenest distress from the very first moment, not only from want of proper provision on the part of the Parliament, but also from the want of ready cash and from an inexplicable ignorance as to the proper method of anticipating, or getting advances upon the credit of, supply.

(2) That, however keen its distress and however bungling its financial methods, Charles's government was still determinedly honest. The arrangements it made with the City and with the bankers it kept to their satisfaction. As the various aids and assessments came in from the country they were used to pay off outstanding debt, both principal and interest. Entries are not few in Southampton's letter-books in which, when soliciting further loans of the City, he refers to the honesty with which the administration had hitherto acted, and to the perfectly satisfactory nature of the security offered. It is, on the whole, during the earlier years the exception to find payments being made to the bankers for 'forbearance of moneys lent to the King,' or, as we should say, for renewal of a loan.

With a brief glance at one very important point I must leave this more general subject of the nature of the relations between the government and financiers. If that government felt sufficiently strong to boast of the solid nature of the security it had to offer, why did it not attempt to go behind the little coterie of bankers into whose grip it was gradually sinking? Why did it not venture to appeal to the general investing public and get subscriptions direct,

thus raising money at 5 per cent., instead of at 6 + 4 + x per cent.[31]

The answer is that in the end the government did actually make the attempt. It is indicative of the gross ignorance in matters of finance of Charles's advisers that the attempt should not have been made before 1665, and that when it was proposed it should have met with the bitterest opposition from such a man as Clarendon. The author of the proposal was Sir George Downing, whose long sojourn in Holland sufficiently warrants us in concluding that he was simply trying to introduce into England the methods of Dutch national finance. Clarendon's account —a most extraordinarily jaundiced one—is as follows:

> There was a man who hath been often named, Sir George Downing, who by having been some years in the office of one of the tellers of the Exchequer, and being of a restless brain, did understand enough of the nature of the revenue and of the course of the receipt, to make others who understood less of it to think that he knew the bottom of it, and that the expedients which should be proposed by him towards a reformation could not but be very pertinent and practicable. And he was not unhurt in the emoluments of his own office, which were lessened by the assignations made to the bankers upon the receipts themselves, without the money's

[31] The legal rate of interest was 6 per cent. In addition to this the Government, according to its necessities, paid a reward of sometimes 3 per cent., but mostly 4 per cent. In addition to this it paid all the accomptant's charges in connection with the loan and repayment. The following extract will sufficiently illustrate the process:—1665, September 4. Treasurer Southampton's endorsement of a royal warrant for a sign manual for authorising Sir George Carteret, as Treasurer of the Navy, to make half-yearly payments of interest of all such loans as he hath made or shall make in order to the former or to this present naval expedition. 'The repayment of which loans, by the assignments which wee by way of tally on the Royal Aid and other branches of our revenew doe give for the same, being like to be very remote, so as a great part of the principall soe borrowed will not be repayed in several particulars under one yeare, in others under a yeare and a halfe, and others under twoe: now unless the interest of the principall (which we allow after 6 per cent., and the charges and reward which we allow after 4 per cent., in all 10 per cent.) be halfe yearly payd by those assignments, it will much diminish our credit and means of borrowing: which interest in this case will amount unto so great sums that it will neither be prudent nor safe for our Treasurer of our Navy to deferr the allowing thereof untill the usuall time of allowing interest upon his accounts (which in the ordinary course is after the principall is payed, and then calculated by one of our auditors according to the exact time of the loane and repayment of the principall, and then the same by a distinct privy seal is warranted and allowed), and therefore for his greater security (and yet without interrupting the course before mentioned in its due time) he hath represented unto us how needful it will be unto him to have some extraordinary warrant and allowance for what he shall doe herein.'

ever passing through the tellers' office; by which, though they did receive their just fees, they had not what they would have taken, if the money had passed through their own hands. He was a member of Parliament, and a very voluminous speaker, who would be thought wiser in trade than any of the merchants, and to understand the mystery of all professions much better than the professors of them. And such a kind of chat [? cheat] is always acceptable in a crowd (where few understand many subjects), who are always glad to find those put out of countenance who thought they understood it best; and so they were much pleased to hear Sir George Downing inveigh against the ignorance of those, who could only smile at his want of knowledge.

This gentleman was very grateful to Sir William Coventry as well as to Lord Arlington, and was ready to instruct them in all the miscarriages and oversights in the treasury, and to propose ways of reformation to them. 'The root of all miscarriage was the unlimited power of the Lord Treasurer, that no money could issue out without his particular direction, and all money was paid upon no other rules than his order; so that, let the King want as much as was possible, no money could be paid by his, without the Treasurer's warrant;' which, to men who understood no more than they did, seemed a very great incongruity. 'But,' he said, 'if there were such a clause inserted into the bill which was to be passed in the House of Commons for money, it might prevent all inconveniences, and the King's money would be paid only to those persons and purposes to which his Majesty should assign them; and more money would be presently advanced upon this Act of Parliament, than the credit of the bankers could procure;' for he foresaw that would be a very natural objection against his clause and the method he proposed.

He made his discourse so plausible to them that they were much pleased with it; and it provided for so many of their own ends that they neither did nor were able to consider the reverse of it, but were most solicitous that there might no obstructions arise in the way. If it should come to the knowledge of the Chancellor, he would oppose it for the novelty, and the consequences that might attend it; and if the Treasurer had notice of it, he would not consent to it for the indignity that his office was subjected to: they therefore discoursed it to the King as a matter of high importance to his service, if it were secretly carried; and then brought the projector, who was an indefatigable talker, to inform his Majesty of the many benefits which would accrue to his service by this new method that he had devised, and the many mischiefs which would be prevented.

There were many things which were suggested, that were agreeable to some fancies that the King himself had entertained; there would not need now so many formalities, as warrants and privy seals, before monies could be paid; and money might hereafter issue out and be paid without the Treasurer's privity; in which many conveniences seemed to appear, though besides the innovation and breach of all old order, which is ever attended by many mischiefs unforeseen, there were very great inconveniences in

view in those very particulars which they fancied to be conveniences. But it was enough that the King so well liked the advice, upon conference with them three, that he resolved to communicate it with no others; but appointed, that when the bill for supply should be brought into the House (it being to be, as was said before, for the sum of . . .), at the commitment Downing should offer that proviso, which had been drawn by himself, and read to the King and the other two. And because it was foreseen that it would be opposed by many of those who were known to be very affectionate to the King's service, they had all authority privately to assure them that it was offered with the King's approbation.

Against the time that the Bill was to be brought in, they prepared the House by many unseasonable bitter invectives against the bankers, called them cheats, blood-suckers, extortioners, and loaded them with all the reproaches which can be cast upon the worst men in the world, and would have them looked upon as the causes of all the King's necessities, and of the want of monies throughout the kingdom: all which was a plausible argument, as all invectives against particular men are; and all men who had faculties of depraving, and of making ill things appear worse than they are, were easily engaged with them. The bankers did not consist of above the number of five or six men, some whereof were aldermen, and had been Lord Mayors of London, and all the rest were aldermen, or had fined for aldermen. They were a tribe that had risen and grown up in Cromwell's time, and never were heard of before the late troubles, till when the whole trade of money had passed through the hands of the scriveners: they were for the most part goldsmiths, men known to be so rich, and of so good reputation, that all the money of the kingdom would be trusted or deposited in their hands. . . . The Solicitor General brought in a bill for supply, according to course, in that form as those bills for money ought and used to be: and after it had been read the second time, when it was committed, Downing offered his proviso, the end of which was to make all the money that was to be raised by this bill to be applied only to those ends to which it was given, which was the carrying on the war, and to no other purpose whatsoever, by what authority soever. . . . [After the Solicitor General's offering a stout resistance, Charles sent for him and told him] 'that this would be an encouragement to lend money, by making the payment with interest so certain and fixed that there could be no security in the kingdom like it, when it should be out of any man's power to cause any money that should be lent to-morrow to be paid before that which was lent yesterday, but that all should be infallibly paid in order; by which the Exchequer (which was now bankrupt and without any credit) would be quickly in that reputation that all men would deposit their money there; and that he hoped in few years, by observing the method he now proposed, he would make his Exchequer the best and the greatest bank in Europe, and where all Europe would, whenit was once understood, pay in their money for the certain profit it would yield, and the indubitable certainty that they should receive their money.' And with [the substance of] this discourse the vain man [Downing], who had lived many years in Holland,

and would be thought to have made himself master of all their policy, had [beforehand] amused the King and his two friends, undertaking to erect the King's Exchequer into the same degree of credit that the Bank of Amsterdam stood upon, the institution whereof he undertook to know, and from thence to make it evident 'that all that should be transplanted into England, and all nations would sooner send their money into the Exchequer than into Amsterdam or Genoa or Venice.' And it cannot be enough wondered at that this intoxication prevailed so far that no argument would be heard against it, the King having upon those notions, and with the advice of those counsellors, in his own thoughts new-modelled the whole government of his Treasury, in which he resolved to have no more superior officers. But this was only reserved within his own breast, and not communicated to any but those who devised the project, without weighing that the security for monies so deposited in banks is the republic itself, which must expire before that security can fail; which can never be depended on in a monarchy, where the monarch's sole word can cancel all those formal provisions which can be made (as hath since been too evident), by vacating those assignations which have been made upon that and the like Acts of Parliament, for such time as the present necessities have made counsellable; which would not then be admitted to be possible.

And so without any more opposition, which was not grateful to the King, that Act passed the House of Commons. . . .

For the moment I am only concerned with this experiment from the point of view of its effect upon the machinery of the Exchequer, and its effect upon the general lending public. If that experiment had succeeded and perpetuated itself, then the Exchequer would have become a national bank, and the foundation of the Bank of England might have been indefinitely postponed. Certainly all the later financial developments, which gradually led to the Bank of England being exalted over the Exchequer, and finally crushing it out of existence, would not have taken place. It was a momentous experimeut, but it received its death-blow in the bankruptcy of 1672. In order to secure even an initial success for the experiment it was necessary in the first place to give the investing public faith in the probity of the Exchequer. It was commonly known that intrigues took place in order to get Treasury warrants for payments out of their proper course. In order to prevent this injustice it was necessary that payments should take place in course, i.e. in the fixed order in which the creditors

stood according to date. In order to do that it was necessary to have a register of such creditors, and further, to provide that the due and exact order of payments should not be interrupted on any pretext whatever, either by the King himself or by the Lord Treasurer. The Act for the additional aid [32] prescribed all the necessary mechanism requisite for the experiment, and Treasurer Southampton set himself at once honestly to carry out its provisions. Writing on December 19, 1665, from Oxford, whither the administration had moved because of the plague, Southampton and Ashley lay down the following regulations to Sir Robert Long, Auditor of the Receipt:

Wee understand that severall persons are ready, upon credit of the last Additional Act of 1,250,000*l.* [the additional aid], to make loanes unto his Majesty of money which they will pay into the Exchequer, and others are ready to serve [the needs of the navy and other branches of the administration in the matter of delivering] in wares into the Office of the Navy and Ordnance: both which persons are by the Act of Parliament, the one upon his tally of loan, the other upon registering his certificate [of delivery of goods certified] from the officers where he hath served in his wares, immediately to receive orders for their repayment of the money so lent with interest after the rate of 6 per cent., and of the money by the certificate acknowledged to be due for their wares: These are to authorize you, by virtue of the said Act, forthwith upon any such tally of loan or certificate from the Office of Navy or Ordnance to draw up one or more orders of the date you register the tally or certificate. . . . And we require you your registers be kept very plain and distinct, that so all lenders or servers in of commodities as aforesaid may readily and justly [i.e. exactly] see who are to be paid before them, and precisely in what course or order they shall be paid, which is the chief aim of the Act, in order to the encouragement of such as lend or furnish wares as aforsayd. And because their quick despatch likewise is a great part of their encouragement, we direct you some clerk be forthwith appointed to keep the registry [i.e. register] in your office at Westminster, where all men may have free recourse thereunto: and some one Teller (which we think fit shall be Sir George Downing or his deputy) to receive all loans there. . . . Further, with a view to the convenience of lenders, some of whom may not wish or be able to present their orders instantly for payment, that no distinction of payments be made between the 3 sorts, viz. loans, money due upon certificates of goods, and payments appointed by his Majesty, but each to come in course and the order of date as entered in the register, and

[32] *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 573–4.

that the said order of date as in the register shall be the final order or course of payment, whether a payee take out and perfect his order immediately or not.

Thus was evolved that method of paying 'in course' which was subsequently, under William III., made the basis of the scheme for working Exchequer bills. Had Charles's experiment not been interrupted by the stop of the Exchequer in 1672, it is possible—even likely—that the Exchequer would have evolved something like the later Exchequer bill much earlier than 1696.[33] As it was, the experiment was a modified success. Money began to come from the public by way of loan on the additional aid in January 1665–6, and the table on p. 400 *supra* will show how much money was subscribed into the Exchequer by this method between 1666 and 1670.

The above few pages are intended only as an introduction to the history of the events of the years 1667 to 1672 which led to the financial crash and to the creation of the item of bankers' debt, well known as the first article of the National Debt. From considerations of space, this more extended study must be reserved for another occasion.

W. A. SHAW.

[33] The extent to which the experiment created innovation and upset in the then Exchequer system may be illustrated by one particular. Until an imprest accomptant's accounts were disclosed and sworn in the Exchequer he could not get credit for his own payments. But the Act required him to pay for wares delivered in, in an inexorably fixed chronological order. He might, therefore, in the ordinary course of the Exchequer be a long time before these payments were credited to him in his account. To alleviate this official responsibility letters patent were passed at the end of December 1665, prescribing as follows:—'because the present course herein prescribed differs from the former course of the Exchequer, part of the charge of the Navy and Ordnance being to be accompted for by the Treasurer of the Navy and Paymaster of the Ordnance and other part of the charge of both these officers being paid immediately [to those that furnished wares] . . . not by way of imprest or to be accompted for but by way of payment: to the end therefore that we may duly understand the complete and entire charge of our Navy or Ordnance for each year, the Auditor of the Receipt shall, in the prest certificates to be made out as above, particularly certify by way of memorandum, though not by way of charge, the several sums that have been issued upon certificates as aforesaid.'

APPENDIX (to p. 407.)

The City of London lent 60,000*l.* on the one month s assessment in 1661 and 200,000*l.* on the eighteen months' assessment in 1662. The former of these loans was repaid to the City by the Government before October 31, 1661 (*Cal. S.P.D.* 1661–2, p. 130). The latter loan the City could not manage to complete. As late as April 25, 1662, less than 100,000*l.* of the loan had been found by the City, although the security offered by the Government was equal to 300,000*l.* (ibid. p. 350). At later dates the City also advanced to the Government 50,000*l.* on the four subsidies (September 1663), and 200,000*l.* on the fire-hearth tax (1665).

It is not to be supposed for a moment that the City, although freed from the usual routine of Exchequer Audit, did not actually keep its own accounts of these tax-farming transactions. It kept its accounts of them most carefully, and they are still extant at the Guildhall in a long series of folio volumes in the Chamberlain's department. These records are as follows:

1. A series of volumes in the Chamberlain's strong room, described officially as Day Books for receipts for the loan of 100,000*l.* which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council have undertaken to advance to the King on the three months' assessment, from June 24, 1660, &c.

The first eleven of these volumes extend from 1660 to 1670, and contain entries of receipts into the Chamberlain's office from the taxes—the entries being arranged according to Counties.

2. A volume of receipts upon account of the loan to the Duke of York (1667–9).

3. Miscellaneous books relating to the following loans, taxes, aids, or subsidies.

(*a*) Royal Aid, 1664–1678. This book contains the minutes of the proceedings of the Commissioners under the Acts 16 and 17 Car. II. for the royal aid of 2,477,500*l.*

(*b*) Subsidies. Amounts assessed upon various persons in the City, pursuant to 15 Car. II., arranged under wards and parishes.

4. Miscellaneous papers, being the actual receipts and other forms in use in the various following transactions, viz.:

(*a*) Receipts of the Treasurers for moneys advanced on the credit of the six months' assessment granted from January 1, 1660–1. (On the *dorso*

are the signatures of the lenders, acknowledging repayment of the moneys lent.)

(*b*) Receipts of the Treasurer for moneys advanced towards the loan of 100,000*l.* which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council had undertaken to advance and lend for the immediate service of the King and kingdom, to be repaid, with interest, out of the three months' assessment of 70,000*l.* per month, commencing June 24, 1660. (On the *dorso*, as before, are the signatures of the lenders, acknowledging repayment.)

(*c*) Receipts of the Treasurers for moneys advanced towards the loan of 100,000*l.* which the Lord Mayor &c. had undertaken to endeavour to advance and lend for the immediate service of the King and kingdom, to be repaid with interest out of the two months' assessment of 70,000*l.* granted, to commence from November 1, 1660. (Endorsed with signatures as before. Arranged in wards.)

(*d*) Receipts of the Chamberlain for moneys advanced on the credit of the four months' assessment of 70,000*l.* per month for his Majesty's coronation, 1661. (Endorsed with signatures as before.)

(*e*) Receipts of the Chamberlain for moneys advanced towards the loan of 100,000*l.* to the King, promised by the Common Council June 21, 1666. (Endorsed with signatures as before.)

(*f*) Receipts of the Chamberlain for moneys advanced towards the loan of 100,000*l.* promised by the Common Council, to be advanced on the credit of 412,925*l.*, being a branch of an Act of Parliament for granting a supply of 619,388*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.* for disbanding the army, 1678.

XVI

THE MORAVIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL IN ENGLAND, 1742 *TO* 1755

I.—The Beginnings of English Moravianism

If the reader consults any standard history of the Evangelical Revival in Britain during the eighteenth century, he will probably conclude that the part played in the movement by the Moravians was almost entirely confined to their well-known influence over John Wesley. But this was far from being the case. From the day when Wesley left the Fetter Lane Society in July 1740, the influence of the Moravians in England began, not to decrease, but to increase. For the next fifteen years they were busily engaged, in various parts of the country, in vigorous evangelisation. The Fetter Lane Society, under Molther and Toeltschig, became the centre of renewed activity.[1] For two years it still preserved its avowed character as an ordinary Religious Society. But the arrival of Spangenberg, an influential Moravian, was the signal for a fresh spurt of zeal. The Society was thoroughly reorganised, and became more and more Moravian in character. Steadily, surely, irresistibly—Anglican though the Society was supposed to be—the Moravian type of teaching became the order of the day. James Hutton, the bookseller, published a collection of Moravian hymns and tunes, a Moravian Manual of Doctrine, and a translated volume of Zinzendorf's Berlin discourses.[2] The public were admitted to the

[1] *The Beginnings of the Brethren's Church in England*, by Gerhard Wauer; translated by Rev. John Elliott (Moravian Publication Office, 1901).

[2] *Memoirs of James Hutton*, by Daniel Benham (1856); a useful but exasperating work: useful for details, but exasperating because the sources are not indicated.

meetings; the services took a more stereotyped form; new societies were founded in other parts of the city; and, finally, owing to mob disturbances, the chapel in Fetter Lane was licensed, and the Brethren took upon themselves the name of 'Moravian Brethren, formerly of the Anglican Communion.'[3] In one sense this was a dangerous step. As soon as the Brethren asked for licenses they practically, in the eyes of the law, assumed the position of Dissenters. The next step was still more important. A number of the members of the Fetter Lane Society applied to Spangenberg for full admission to the Moravian Church. At first Spangenberg did not know what to do. As yet there was no Moravian congregation in England, and whether there ever should be was a question which, in his opinion, no man was competent to decide. In this dilemma he consulted the 'Lot,' which gave a favourable answer. With this assurance of Divine guidance, Spangenberg admitted seventy-two of the applicants; and thus was constituted the first congregation of the United Brethren in England (Oct. 1742). At least half of these members were office-bearers. The Congregation, like the model at Herrnhut, was divided into 'choirs.' Each choir was under the supervision of Elders. In addition to these there were two Congregation Elders, two Wardens, two Admonitors, two Censors, five Servants, and eight Sick-Waiters.[4] For the first time there existed in England a congregation of English people with a foreign Moravian organisation. Nevertheless, the Fetter Lane Society was still continued on the old basis. It was only a part of that Society that formed this first Moravian congregation.[5] From that time there were two distinct classes of people in connection with the Moravian Church in England: first, Moravians proper, i.e. those admitted to full Church communion; second, Society members, i.e. those who belonged merely to religious societies in union with the Moravian Church. The first class was generally small, the second often larger. And neither element even now regarded itself as having left the Church of England. Each rejected the

[3] Benham, p. 79. [4] Wauer, p. 90; Benham, p. 89.
[5] Benham, p. 105, Marshall's letter.

name Dissenters; each professed loyalty to the Anglican Church; and each was, doubtless, thoroughly sincere.

Nor was the work of the Moravians confined to London. At the urgent request of Benjamin Ingham, and also of the societies under his care, they undertook the evangelisation of a large district in Yorkshire. With Smith House, near Halifax, as a centre of operations, they preached to thousands in the surrounding district. The Brethren were welcomed with great enthusiasm. The petition for them to undertake the work was signed by twelve hundred. The members of the societies 'flocked together to Smith House like hungry bees.'[6] With equal success, John Cennick preached for four years in the district round Chippenham, and then handed over a number of societies to the care of the Moravians.[7] Other preachers were sent to other parts of the country, and thus the work extended.

In this work the aim of the Brethren was evangelism pure and simple. From the outset they made little or no attempt at systematic church extension. At the end of two years' work in Yorkshire, the number of Moravians was only sixty-two, the number of society-members twelve hundred.[8] Instead of encouraging their converts to enter the Moravian Church, they threw obstacles in the way and made reception as difficult as possible. If a man in those days wished to become a Moravian, he had, in truth, a hard task before him. If he obstinately persisted in his application, he was presented with a curious 'testimonial,' signed by the superintendent for the time being of the work in England. In this 'testimonial' he was informed that he would have to wait at least two years. During that time he was a member on probation. His name was brought before the Bishops; the Bishops subjected him to a searching examination; and at the end of this tedious process he was as likely to be rejected as accepted.[9] The reason given was clear enough. If the

[6] Details in Wauer; cf. Benham, pp. 107, 229.

[7] John Cennick's Diary, quoted freely in Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Moravian Publication Office).

[8] Wauer, p. 91.

[9] *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia*, published 1749, Appendix lxxiv., where the 'testimonial' is given in full.

applicant for admission could reconcile it with his conscience to dispense with the benefits of the strict Moravian discipline, he was politely urged to remain in his own communion and worship at his own parish church. Not one person, according to James Hutton, did the Brethren ask to join their ranks.[10] However ready they might be to evangelise, they were very loth to proselytise. From first to last—during the whole of this period—the Moravians adopted a self-repressive and almost suicidal policy. From society-members came repeated complaints that they were not admitted to Church Communion. If any bystander asked the question, why did the Brethren 'contract' Societies at all, they replied that they acted from religious motives which they could not conscientiously resist. But to those that murmured at their exclusion from membership the Brethren had four answers to give. First, their moral discipline was so strict that candidates could only be admitted with caution. Second, they did not wish to disturb those whose outward mode of religion was already fixed. Third, they laid stress on a mystical communion with Christ which was certainly not the avowed experience of most other Christians. Fourth, the Brethren, having a deep respect for all other denominations in Christendom, refused to rob any such of their members, and preferred to act 'as a seasonable assistant in an irreligious age, and as a most faithful Servant to the other Protestant Churches.'[11] They regarded schism with horror; they urged their converts to abide in the Church of England; they issued a public and emphatic protest against the separatist tendencies of Methodism;[12] they maintained a constant friendly intercourse with several prominent Bishops of the day; and they earnestly appealed to Anglican clergymen to undertake the spiritual care of Moravian converts. For the Brethren desired to help the Church, and not to steal her sheep.

Nevertheless, they soon found themselves in trouble.

[10] Benham, p. 162.

[11] *Consolatory Letter to the Members of the Societies that are in some connection with the Brethren's Congregations*, 1752. Rev. L. G. Hassé's collection. The pamphlet is very rare.

[12] Notice in the *Daily Advertiser*, August 2, 1745; Benham, p. 162.

For some time there was a good deal of popular confusion as to who and what they were. To some they were known as 'Moravian Brethren'; to others as 'Herrnhuters'; to others as 'Antinomians'; some called them the 'Germans'; others again 'the Quiet in the Land.' For the next three years (1742–45) there was a steady growth of popular opposition. The causes of this were various.

The first cause was their foreign origin. The mere fact that the Moravians came from Germany was enough to excite suspicion and alarm. The Hanoverian line was far from popular. The people might tolerate a German on the throne, but they did not desire Germans in the Church as well; and the Brethren brought with them German ideas and German theological expressions.

The second cause was the Moravian system of church-discipline. As many of the country parishes were so large that a vicar, however diligent and enthusiastic, could exercise little personal supervision over the majority of his parishioners, and as, in consequence, a great deal of licentiousness was necessarily allowed to pass unchecked, the Moravians endeavoured to remedy the evil by introducing a somewhat regimental system of oversight. They appointed censors, admonitors, and elders; they divided their congregations, not only into choirs, but also into bands and classes; they insisted, even in public worship, on a strict separation of the sexes; they laid down the law that all proposals of marriage should be submitted to the approval of the elders; and they even exercised some control over the way in which their members should dress. At Herrnhut and other German settlements this system had produced good results; but it is doubtful whether it was quite so well suited to the independence of the English character.[13]

The third cause was their quietistic methods. In striking contrast to the noisier Methodists, the Moravians avoided ecstatic excitement, and laid great stress on the religious value of calm devotional meetings. In consequence of this they were soon suspected of holding secret dangerous principles. According to an anonymous London

[13] Arvid Gradin, *Short History of the United Brethren*, 1743.

writer, they persistently hid their real doctrines[14]; and strange rumours were soon afloat as to what took place at their private gatherings. It was said they practised an adventurous use of the lot; that they had a mysterious method of 'purging out the accursed thing'; that they pledged each other in liquor at their lovefeasts; that they disposed of each other's persons in marriage; and that they had 'an artful regulation of their convents.'[15]

The fourth cause was the peculiar Moravian phraseology. If the Brethren did not exactly preach novel doctrines, they at least preached old doctrines in a novel way. At that time they laid great stress on what they called their 'Blood and Wounds Theology,' and preached it in a crude and startling manner which exposed them to misunderstanding and ridicule.[16] In spite of their adherence to the Augsburg Confession, and also, later, to the Thirty-nine Articles, they were soon regarded as odd in doctrine. Instead of presenting their religious beliefs in the form of precise dogmatic formulæ, they appealed to the heart rather than to the intellect, and endeavoured to impress the minds of their hearers by vivid pictures of the Passion History. The great burden of Moravian teaching was *Ecce Homo*. They made frequent reference to 'Blood and Wounds'; introduced novel religious terms such as 'Man of Smart' and 'Sinnership'; and employed a sensuous mode of expression which was not at all in consonance with the cold deistic conception of religion so dominant at the time.

The last cause, but by no means the least, was the hostile attitude of John Wesley. With his love of definite dogmatic statement, he did not appreciate the Moravian type; and as the Brethren did not insist on good works in quite the way which he desired, he drew the conclusion that they were Antinomians, and that they despised the commands of Scripture. At several synods held at this period the Brethren laid the most emphatic stress on the necessity of

[14] Preface to Gilbert Tennent's *Some Account of the Principles of the Moravians*, quoted in John Roche's *The Moravian Heresy*, 1751.

[15] Roche, passim.

[16] *Extracts of Minutes of Several German Synods*, published 1749 in the *Acta Fratrum*.

a gradual growth in inherent righteousness of character, and thus by implication condemned the very antinomianism of which Wesley and others accused them.[17] However antinomian their teaching may have sounded—which is as far as we are entitled to go—they expressly denied any trend that way. And yet the accusation persisted. From antinomian teaching the step was easy to antinomian conduct; and the rumour gained ground that the Moravians neglected on principle the commonest Christian duties, such as prayer, fasting, the sacraments, and good works. According to one critic they were 'licentious spirits and men of careless lives.'[18]

Thus the Moravians soon found themselves in difficulties. As the popular feeling was reflected and fostered by a number of controversial pamphlets—one by Sir John Thorold,[19] another by Gilbert Tennent,[20] and two or three by John Wesley[21]—they had to face the question, how far a reply should be attempted. They decided to give no reply at all, and thus probably stimulated suspicion. The opposition soon took serious form. The rumour that they cherished secret principles aroused popular alarm. At Broad Oaks, in Essex, where they had established a boarding-school, a mob of three hundred surrounded the building under the impression that the Brethren were 'Papists' harbouring the Young Pretender, and that they had even stored ammunition to set fire to Thaxted. At Pudsey the Brethren were searched for arms and ammunition, and Ockershausen, a Moravian preacher, was arrested and imprisoned in York Castle. At Dukinfield the Brethren were forbidden to preach, and all young men who attended their meetings were threatened with impressment into the royal

[17] *Extracts of Minutes*, 1740 to 1743.

[18] J. Wesley's *Short View of the Difference between the Moravian Brethren, lately in England, and the Rev. Mr. John and Charles Wesley*, 1745; second edition, 1748.

[19] *Extracts of Letters Relating to Methodists and Moravians*, 1742. Cf. Benham, pp. 82–84.

[20] *Some Account of the Principles of the Moravians*, 1743.

[21] (*a*) *A Short View of the Difference &c.*, 1745; (*b*) *A Dialogue between an Antinomian and his Friend*; (*c*) *Reply to Rev. Mr. Church.* For descriptions of these see Tyerman's *Life of Wesley.*

navy.[22] At Swindon John Cennick was drenched with water from a fire-engine, and at Stratton, on account of his 'Blood Theology,' was squirted with blood saved up by a butcher.[23] If the Earl of Stair had not intervened several other Brethren would have been imprisoned.[24] In the *Universal Spectator* Count Zinzendorf was accused of kidnapping young women for Moravian convents; and in London the Brethren suffered so severely that they were even compelled to make an arrangement to keep their trade to themselves.[25]

The measures of defence adopted by the Brethren did not serve the desired purpose. In vain five Moravian bishops appealed to Gibson, Bishop of London, to give them a commendatory letter as a protection against the attacks of Gilbert Tennent and others in Pennsylvania; and in vain two Brethren called upon him to explain that they had no share in the conduct of which he complained on the part of Methodists. The Bishop naturally remained suspicious. As the Brethren were suspected of disloyalty, James Hutton, Benjamin Ingham, and William Bell, in the name of all the societies united with the Moravian Church, presented an address to the King, assuring him of their unswerving loyalty and their attachment to the Church of England.[26] But manifestoes were insufficient. The situation was uneasy. The country, on account of the Young Pretender's rebellion, was in a state of excitement. For more reasons than one, the Brethren resolved to take stronger defensive measures. At Fulneck, near Leeds, they had obtained some land, and were preparing to build a settlement. The time had come to appeal to Parliament and court a public inquiry. How such an inquiry would result was an interesting question.

II.—The Moravians before Parliament.

As the legal status of the Brethren in England was very indefinite and unsatisfactory, they found themselves in

[22] Benham, pp. 135, 187, 180.
[23] Cennick's *Diary*: Hamilton, *History of the Moravians*.
[24] *Plain Case of the Representatives of the Unitas Fratrum*, 1754, p. 13.
[25] Benham, pp. 174, 156. [26] Benham, pp. 150, 159, 181.

constant danger of interruption and annoyance. As long as they took out licenses for their places of worship—a necessary measure of self-defence—they were on the same level as Dissenters; and yet, on the other hand, as adherents of a foreign Protestant Church, they were constitutionally entitled to unrestricted liberty. But the slander and opposition which they endured compelled them to take a more definite stand. The immediate impulse came from the Colonies,[27] where the Moravian missionary zeal had for some time found an active field. In 1744 the Assembly of New York passed an Act forbidding vagrant preachers, Moravians, and disguised Papists to preach and teach among the Indians without first taking the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. The Moravian missionaries were expelled from Shekomeko, and the mission station there was destroyed. The Moravians were obviously suspected of disloyalty, and of seducing the Indians from the British interest. The news of the Act soon arrived in England. James Hutton was furious. For the descendants of an ancient Protestant Church to be officially bracketed with vagrant preachers and Papists in disguise was, he felt, a grievance not lightly to be borne. He feared that if such a coercive measure could be passed in an American Colony, a similar measure might soon be passed in England. The reputation and position of the Brethren were at stake. 'We ought,' said Hutton, in an indignant letter to Zinzendorf, 'to improve this or some other favourable opportunity for bringing our cause publicly before Parliament.'[28] His idea was that the Privy Council should at once order the New York Assembly to revoke their measure (1745). At Hutton's suggestion, Abraham von Gersdorff, the Moravian official 'Deputatus ad Reges,' appealed to Lord Granville and the Board of Trade and Plantations for protection in the Colonies. The appeal appears to have been successful; and the Act, which was renewable every year, seems to have fallen into abeyance.[29]

Next year (1746) Zinzendorf himself began to take

[27] Benham, pp. 169, 170.

[28] Benham, p. 171.

[29] Benham, pp. 204 and 205; Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, p. 118. Schweinitz refers to *Documentary History of New York*, iii. 1019 and 1020.

decisive steps to define the Brethren's position in England. But the steps he took were rather curious, and scarcely what the English Brethren desired. His power was almost that of an autocrat. He was 'Advocate and Steward of all the Brethren's Churches.' His authority was paramount at home and abroad—in Germany, in England, in America, in the missions, wherever Moravians were to be found. Without his foreknowledge and consent no step of importance could be taken.[30] He came to England, summoned a conference, and persuaded the Brethren to sanction a scheme whereby the English branch of the Moravian Church was to be incorporated with the Church of England. With his old familiar Spenerian idea of 'ecclesiola in ecclesia' still uppermost in his mind, he now designed 'to bring back to the Church of England all its members which had left her.'[31] He wrote to Archbishop Potter on the subject, and even talked the scheme over with him. But Potter did not accept the offer, and so the scheme fell through.[32]

Baffled thus in one direction, Zinzendorf tried another plan. He consulted with Thomas Penn, proprietor of Pennsylvania, and General Oglethorpe, the famous philanthropist, the founder of Georgia. In their opinion, the wisest method was to appeal at once to Parliament. Oglethorpe, who was himself a member of the House of Commons, undertook to state there the Brethren's cause. He wrote to the Board of Trade and Plantations, and pointed out that if the Moravians in Georgia were only given a little more encouragement, instead of being harassed to take oaths and bear arms, they would settle there in greater numbers, promote the prosperity of the colony, and increase the King's subjects in America by thousands. Thomas Penn wrote in much the same strain to the Duke of Newcastle.[33] With two such men to testify to their conduct, the Moravians could no longer be suspected of disloyalty; and accordingly, in 1747, on the motion of Oglethorpe, an Act was passed that the privilege of affirming instead of taking the oath be extended to all

[30] *Acta Fratrum*, App. II.

[31] *Plain Case of the Representatives of the Unitas Fratrum*, 1754. This was probably written by Zinzendorf.

[32] Wauer, p. 99.

[33] *Acta Fratrum*, App. XXXVIII. and XXXIX.

foreign Protestants in all the American Colonies. The Moravians were specially referred to in the preamble, and for their sakes the Act was passed.[34]

But this was not precisely what the Brethren needed. What they desired was, not this or that privilege, but a thorough Parliamentary examination of their position. The new Act did their cause more harm than good. It aroused the opposition of their critics. According to Zinzendorf, there now appeared a number of hostile pamphlets.[35] It was needful to bring matters to a head. With the advice of several good friends in the Cabinet, the Moravians drew up another declaration in 1748, lodged it in the several offices of the Primate, the Lord Chancellor, the Secretaries of State, and the Master of the Rolls, and inserted it in the leading newspapers. Again they complained of being confounded with all sorts of sects, protested their loyalty to Church and State, and declared their willingness to submit to any legal examination of their principles, confessions, ritual, customs, and daily conduct. In response to the reiterated imputation that they kept their principles secret, they now begged for inquiry. 'If any man of undoubted sense and candour,' so ran the final clause of the declaration, 'will take the pains upon himself to fix the accusations against us in their real point of view, hitherto unattainable by the Brethren, and perhaps the public too, then we will answer to the expectations of the public as free and directly as may be expected from honest subjects of the constitution of these realms.' But this appeal was issued in vain. The particular man of sense and candour did not appear.[36]

At last, however, the Brethren adopted a more English mode of procedure. To appeal to Parliament for an inquiry was useless. The practical method was to appeal for some privilege, and thus bring on an investigation as to whether they deserved the privilege demanded. For the second time Zinzendorf acted by the advice of Oglethorpe and Thomas Penn. Against his will he finally agreed to the presentation of a specific petition that the Brethren in America be

[34] Ibid. App. XL. [35] *Plain Case*, p. 14.
[36] *Acta Fratrum*, App. LXXVII. *Plain Case*, p. 16.

henceforth exempted, not only from taking oaths, but also from service in the militia.[37]

The petition was presented by Oglethorpe in the House of Commons on February 20, 1749. In his opening speech he gave a summary of the history of the Brethren's Church. He told the House how the 'Unitas Fratrum' was founded in Bohemia in the fifteenth century from among the followers of John Hus; how they settled in the barony of Lititz; and how they received their episcopal orders from Stephen, Bishop of the Waldenses. As the Brethren were regarded by some as a new sect, this information was essential. He pointed out further that the forefathers of the Brethren had already received great benefits from England; that John Amos Comenius had appealed to the Church of England for help on behalf of his exiled Brethren; that Archbishop Sancroft and Bishop Compton, of London, had published a pathetic account of their sufferings; and that George I., by the advice of Archbishop Wake, had issued letters patent for their relief. He spoke further of the Moravians as he knew them himself. 'In 1735,' he said, 'they were disquieted in Germany, and about twenty families went over with me to Georgia.' He had found them industrious, patient, and pious. As the Moravians had spent over £100,000 in various industries, it was, he argued, to the advantage of the State to give them every encouragement. Already most of those who had settled in Georgia had withdrawn because they were compelled to bear arms. The colony had suffered in consequence. As the Brethren were grateful for the recent Act, and asked for nothing but liberty of conscience, he proposed that the petition be sub-

[37] *Universal Magazine*, April and May 1750. According to a note in an early catalogue in the Archives at Fetter Lane, this account of the parliamentary proceedings was written by Oglethorpe, which is not at all unlikely. According to Wauer, it was worked up from earlier accounts in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *London Magazine*. But the *Gentleman's Magazine* gives no account of the debates. It merely alludes to the presentation of the petition in the March number, 1749. The *London Magazine* I have not seen. For further details compare Schrautenbach, *Zinzendorf*; Benham; Cröger's *Geschichte der Brüder-Gemeinde*; and two articles in the *Moravian Messenger* for August and December 1865. The *Universal Magazine*, of course, uses disguised names, most of which are easy to interpret. The article was reprinted and published by the Moravians. Schrautenbach, Zinzendorf, and Nitschmann were present at the debates, and could thus test the authenticity of the report.

mitted to a committee. Velters Cornwall, the member for Herefordshire, seconded the motion.

As colonial questions were then beginning to attract a good deal of public attention, a motion of this nature was of national interest. But the prejudice against the Moravians was still very strong. They lived, in fact, between two fires. As foreigners in origin, they were distrusted by the populace; as Evangelicals they were opposed by the Court party.[38] The rumour that an edict had been passed against them in Hanover rendered the situation very critical. The motion was vehemently opposed. According to one speaker, whose identity is uncertain,[39] the Moravians were a dangerous body. He said that they were a new sect: that they scorned to be tolerated; that, like the Papists, they submitted to a Church which they acknowledged to be supreme in temporals; that they destroyed thereby the coercive power of the civil magistrate, and rendered the penal laws ineffectual. 'He intended,' he said, 'to bring forward an amendment that the Moravians be restrained from making converts, and that all who joined their ranks be punished.' It was absurd to encourage doctrines subversive of government. If the Moravians converted the whole nation to their superstition, and everyone objected to bearing arms, the country would be without navy and army, and succumb to the first attacks of her enemies.

But this argument was probably felt to be outside the range of practical politics. At that time the Brethren all told—with the exception of a few concealed in Moravia, Bohemia, and other places, and children under the age of fourteen—were only about twenty thousand in number. In reply to this speaker it was pointed out that, even if the Moravians objected to bearing arms, they were at least willing to pay; that their case was similar to that of the

[38] On the Continent the Moravians were regarded as Pietists, and the Court was anti-pietistic in tendency. This probably accounted for the opposition, Ziegenhagen, the Court chaplain, had used his influence against the Brethren Cf. Benham, pp. 17, 20, 21, 82, 110.

[39] Referred to in Benham as 'Plumtree, the Treasurer'; in the *Universal Magazine* he is concealed under the name 'M. Furiu Publicola.' Is this Henry Pelham, the Prime Minister?

Quakers; that the Quakers had not as yet endangered the defences; and that even Quakers had been known to fight and sink a privateer.

As this view had the appearance of common sense, the Brethren gained what they desired. A Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry was formed. General Oglethorpe was chairman. The history, doctrine, and conduct of the Brethren were thoroughly investigated. The Committee had material in abundance. David Nitschmann, the Syndic, presented a hundred and thirty-five vouchers, and of these seventy-seven were subsequently printed in full and published.[40] By the aid of these documents, two leading sets of facts were brought to light. In the first place the Brethren were able to show, to the full satisfaction of the Committee, that they were descendants of the ancient Moravian Church, and had preserved unbroken the Moravian episcopal succession. In order to prove this, they produced letters from the Polish bishop, Daniel Ernest Jablonsky, grandson of John Amos Comenius, attesting, first that Jablonsky had been consecrated a bishop at the Synod of Lissa (March 10, 1699), and secondly, that Jablonsky had in turn consecrated Count Zinzendorf. From another letter of Jablonsky it was shown that, in 1716, Archbishop Wake had declared that the Moravian Episcopacy was genuine.[41] But possibly the most convincing evidence on this point was that of Archbishop Potter. In an interview with Count Zinzendorf he had expressed the opinion: 'That the objections against the Moravian Church were frivolous; that no Englishman who had any notion of ecclesiastical history could doubt of their succession; and that they ought to vindicate and defend the constitution of the Moravian Church.'[42] Again, at a meeting of the associates of Dr. Bray for instructing the negroes of the British Plantations, he had declared, in still clearer language, that the Moravian Brethren were Apostolical and Episcopal, not sustaining any doctrines repugnant to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.[43]

[40] This constitutes the Appendix to the *Acta Fratrum*.
[41] *Acta Fratrum*, App. VII. [42] Ibid. No. 11. [43] Ibid. App. X.

Lastly, when Zinzendorf himself was consecrated, Archbishop Potter wrote to congratulate him.[44] With the aid of this and other evidence, the Committee was convinced of the genuineness of the Moravian episcopal succession. When the report of the Committee was read, General Oglethorpe laid stress on this fact.

At the same time the Brethren took care to clear themselves of any imputation of rivalry with the Church of England. However firmly they might believe in the Apostolic origin of their own episcopacy, they recognised that none but an Anglican bishop had the right to diocesan authority in England.[45] 'There are,' they contended, 'no more than two Episcopal Churches among Protestants: the one known through all the world under the name of Ecclesia Anglicana; the other characterised for at least three ages as the Unitas Fratrum, comprehending generally all other Protestants who choose episcopal constitution. The first is the only one which may justly claim the title of a national church, because she has at her head a Christian King of the same rite; which circumstance is absolutely required to constitute a national church. The other episcopal one, known by the name of Unitas Fratrum, is far from pretending to that title.'

But the next set of facts brought to light was, for practical purposes, of still greater importance. For Parliament the main point to consider was, what sort of lives did the Brethren lead, and what sort of citizens did they make? From first to last, as the speeches showed, the colonial interest was uppermost; and the cause of the Brethren was supported by men of whom one speaker sarcastically remarked that he never thought them guilty of religion. From various testimonials brought forward by the Brethren it appeared that they were a remarkably industrious people. They had settled down in Pennsylvania; had done good work at Bethlehem, Nazareth, Gnadenthal, Gnadenhütten, Frederick's Town, German Town and Vley; had won the approval of Thomas Penn; and had done their best to

[44] Ibid. No. 20, August 4, 1737. Letter in full, in Latin.
[45] *Acta Fratrum*, App. IV.

attach the Indians more firmly to the British interest. In less than ten years they had doubled the value of an estate in Lusatia. They had built two fine villages in Silesia; had taught many negroes in the West Indies to be sober, industrious, and obedient; had tried to educate the Hottentots in South Africa; had begun a mission in Ceylon, had built settlements for the Eskimos in Greenland, and had toiled in plague-stricken Algiers.[46] Wherever the Brethren went, it seemed, they proved themselves useful citizens. They promoted trade; they fostered morality; they strengthened the Empire, and therefore they deserved encouragement.

With such facts as these before them, the Committee presented such a favourable report that leave was at once granted to bring in a bill 'for encouraging the people known by the name of Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, to settle in His Majesty's colonies in America.'[47] But the bill was not precisely true to its title: that is, it comprised more than the title implied. According to the title, the bill was prepared with a view merely to the American Colonies; in fact, however, its terms applied to Great Britain and Ireland as well. The preparation of the bill was entrusted to Oglethorpe and Cornwall, but it was actually drafted by White, the Brethren's counsel. Briefly, the chief terms were as follows: First, in the preamble, the Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren were officially recognised as an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church, and a sober, quiet, and industrious people. Second, they were encouraged to settle in the American Colonies. Third, in Great Britain, Ireland, and the American Colonies and Dominions, they were to be allowed, instead of taking an oath, to make the following affirmation: 'I, A. B., do declare in the presence of Almighty God the witness of the truth of what I say.[48] Fourth, no member of the Moravian Church was to be 'qualified, by this Act, to give evidence in criminal causes, or to serve on juries.' Fifth, the Brethren were exempted from any obligation 'to bear arms or do military service,'

[46] All the above facts were proved by testimonials from local residents.

[47] 22nd Geo. II. cap. 30.

[48] It is worth recording that this so-called affirmation had something in it of the nature of an oath.

on condition that they paid in the same proportion as those disabled from undergoing the militia ballot by age or infirmity. Sixth, any person claiming to be a member of the Unitas Fratrum was to prove his claim by producing a certificate from the nearest Moravian bishop or pastor.[49] Seventh, the Advocate of the Brethren was to supply the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations with a complete list of Moravian bishops and pastors, together with their handwriting and seal. Eighth, any person falsely claiming to belong to the United Brethren was to be treated as a wilful perjurer.

The bill was read for the first time on March 28. In the discussions which followed, some important points arose. At the second reading, on April 1, General Oglethorpe was asked to explain why the privilege of affirming should be granted to the Moravians in Great Britain and Ireland. Would it not be enough if that privilege were confined to the American Colonies? His answer was satisfactory to the House. He explained that to confine the privilege to America was to render it null and void. All cases tried in the Colonies could be referred to an English Court of Appeal. It was useless to give the Brethren a privilege in America which might be repeatedly wrested from them by vexatious appeals to England.[50] As this explanation could not be controverted, the bill was read the third time; a new Committee re-examined the report of the first Committee; and the bill passed the House of Commons unaltered.

In the House of Lords, too, the bill had a smooth passage. The Bishops, with the exception for a time of Sherlock, of London, resolved not to oppose the measure. Dr. Maddox, Bishop of Worcester, gave the Brethren his hearty support. 'Our Moravian Brethren,' he said, 'are an

[49] I have not seen a copy of the certificate used; but in 1803 the clause referring to military service was re-enacted, after which the certificate ran as follows:—'This is to Certify, that the Bearer, ——, of ——, in the Parish of ——, in the County of ——, is a Member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, known by the name of Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren, and as such is entitled to the Privileges granted by an Act of Parliament [22 Geo. II. cap. 30] in the Year 1749; and also by an Act of Parliament [43 Geo. III. cap. 120] in the Year 1803, exempting the Members of the said Church from personal Military Services. Witness my Hand and Seal this —— Day of ——, One Thousand Eight Hundred and ——.'

[50] *Universal Magazine.*

ancient episcopal church. Of all Protestants they come the nearest to the Established Church in this kingdom, in their doctrine and constitution. And, though the enemy has persecuted them from several quarters, the soundness of their faith and the purity of their morals have defended them from any imputation of Popery and immorality.' Such testimony as this was bound to carry weight. With Bishops in their favour, the Brethren had every chance of success. The Court party raised a little opposition, but soon gave way. The only clause that was seriously contested was that which provided that a person could prove himself a Moravian by producing a certificate from his bishop or pastor. According to Lord Halifax, by this clause a Moravian bishop had greater authority than an Anglican bishop.[51] He proposed that the claimant should prove his case, not by procuring a certificate, but by calling witnesses. When Zinzendorf heard of this suggestion he was seriously alarmed. He suggested, however, an amendment, which was carried, that those bringing such certificate should also 'be examined in the matters contained in the said certificate.' Then, on May 12, the bill went through without a division. Its passing was no mean success for the Moravians. It declared for the first time in our history that a religious body is entitled to free activity on the ground of its usefulness to the State.

III.—The Moravians Denounced: 1753 to 1755

From 1749 to 1753 the Moravians enjoyed comparative peace and prosperity.[52] As Zinzendorf was now resident in London, he took more interest in English affairs, and the work was in consequence better organised. At a conference

[51] Tyerman, *Life of Wesley*, ii. 98, gives an erroneous account of this point. He says that by the original clause power was to be conferred on Zinzendorf 'to enjoin upon the *bishops and ministers of the Church of England* to give certificates; and that now he had to abandon the words which would have put the Church of England under his power. Tyerman's idea is that Zinzendorf had a scheme to get power over Anglican bishops. The idea is preposterous, and has no authority whatever.

[52] Benham, pp. 218–265.

held in London, January, 1749, the Brethren decided on the erection of 'choir-houses' in England. At Fulneck and Bedford this was done. At Fulneck, also, the Brethren conducted what was called a 'Diacony,' i.e. a business conducted by the Church and for the Church; and thus, though in a rather tentative fashion, an attempt was made to introduce into this country the German Moravian settlement system. The object of this was largely ethical. If the members of the Church lived close together in a settlement where none but Moravians were allowed, they would not only be freer from the temptations of the world, but would also be under more systematic supervision. In days when a great deal of popular evangelism was unaccompanied by any moral discipline, the Moravians felt such measures a necessity. James Hutton was elected 'Secretary of the Unity'; a commissariat committee of management was formed; the congregations were given the benefit of systematic episcopal visitation; and the 'labourers' met in frequent conferences to discuss the affairs of the Church. The Moravian Litany was revised by Bishop Sherlock, and thus more adapted to English ideas. At this time, too, John Cennick, who seems, in his own sphere, to have been almost as popular as Whitefield, was preaching with great success in Dublin and the North of Ireland. His audiences were sometimes ten thousand in number, and he certainly laid the foundations of several new congregations in Ulster. The cause of the Brethren was rapidly extending. According to one of their severest critics they were now more formidable than the Methodists.[53] With their smiling faces, with their singular customs, with their quaint mode of speech, they were bound to attract attention. They walked round the graves of their deceased friends on Easter Day. They refused to go into mourning for the dead, and were more joyful at a funeral than at a christening. The distinctions of rank were almost obliterated. The poor were clothed the same as the rich, the servants the same as their mistresses. It was impossible to

[53] John Roche, author of *The Moravian Heresy* (Dublin, 1751). His attention appears to have been drawn to the Moravians by the preaching of Cennick, who made a great sensation in Dublin.

distinguish a person who in other circles would be classed with beggars from a lady of the first rank. Among the Brethren beggars did not exist; and the deacons and deaconesses, the orphan-fathers, orphan-mothers, and sick-waiters attended, free of charge, to those in need.[54] The spread of the Brethren was now so rapid that John Wesley became alarmed. He still regarded them as Antinomians, and accused them of having deceived Parliament. He denounced them again in a lively pamphlet. He appealed earnestly as a Methodist to those Methodists who had joined the Brethren, and urged them to quit their diabolical delusions, to dwell no longer on the borders of Sodom, and to leave these Brethren who loved the darkness and rejected the Holy Scriptures.[55]

From 1753 to 1755 the Moravians endured a bitter paper attack. The little Church was nearly wrecked. The first trouble was finance. At the time when the Brethren were poorest in purse, their critics attacked them the most fiercely.

For part of the misery the Moravians themselves were to some extent responsible. The monetary troubles were due to several causes.[56] First, as the finances of the Unitas Fratrum were practically all one concern, any disastrous occurrence in one part of the Church was liable to affect the Church as a whole. Second, in 1750, the Brethren abandoned the notorious settlement at Herrnhaag in the Wetterau, and thus lost large sums of money. Third, the Moravians in Holland had borrowed heavily, and were thus unable to help their English brethren in time of need. Fourth, in consequence of the encouragement received from Parliament, the English Moravians had been spending money in a somewhat reckless fashion. The recent parliamentary negotia-

[54] Zinzendorf, *Rationale of the Brethren's Liturgies*, published in 1749 in second part of *Acta Fratrum*.

[55] *The Contents of a Folio History of the Moravians or United Brethren, printed in 1749, and privately sold under the title of 'Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia,'* by a 'Lover of the Light,' published in 1750. There is little doubt that Wesley was the author. It is written in his clear incisive style, but is hastily and carelessly put together.

[56] Benham, pp. 265–280; James Hutton, *Additions to Zinzendorf's Exposition* (1755).

tions, the despatch of colonists, the purchase and lease of land for building purposes, the erection of choir-houses, and the support of preachers in the country congregations had all increased the expenses in England. Fifth, in 1751, Mrs. Stonehouse, a wealthy Moravian, died, leaving a will by which her property, on the death of her husband, who survived her, was to be devoted entirely to the support of the Church Diaconies. Sixth, in reliance possibly on this prospective capital, the managers of the English Diaconies, especially William Charlesworth, the manager of a cloth manufactory at Fulneck, in Yorkshire, engaged in business speculations beyond their means. Seventh, at the same time over 11,000*l.* was spent on a huge establishment at Lindsey House, Chelsea. Thus, by the close of 1752 the Church was about 30,000*l.* in debt. Zinzendorf had been kept in the dark. He was not aware how recklessly the managers of the English Diaconies had been borrowing. As soon, however, as he discovered the truth, he rushed to the rescue. In spite of the sums he was spending on Lindsey House, he at once gave security for 10,000*l.* The managers of the Diaconies were dismissed in January 1753, and a new board of administration was formed.

At this moment, however, a still greater disaster occurred, The managers had been even more reckless than was at first supposed. With a simplicity that was perfectly marvellous, they had invested 67,000*l.* with one Gomez Serra, a Portuguese Jew; and now this financier suddenly stopped payment. Instead of being merely 30,000*l.* in debt, they had to meet liabilities of 100,000*l.* Again Zinzendorf came to the rescue. As he inquired more closely into the matter, he discovered that many of the English Brethren had invested money in the Diaconies, and were now in danger of destitution and imprisonment. He at once convened a meeting of the creditors, engaged himself for the whole sum, and suggested an arrangement to pay off the debt in four years. He informed them that he himself did not possess enough for the purpose; he relied on his Brethren to come to his aid. Meanwhile he was willing to take the Church's debts upon himself. With this arrangement most of the creditors were

satisfied; as long as the Brethren could get such good credit, only time was needed to weather the storm.

At this critical point George Whitefield interfered, and almost precipitated their ruin (April 24, 1753). As Moses rose in holy indignation against the Israelites when they made the golden calf, as Paul withstood Peter and Barnabas when carried away by the dissimulation of the Jews,[57] so now this prince of preachers arose to expose the offences of the Moravians. He wrote a public 'Expostulatory Letter to Zinzendorf,' which was circulated even in Germany. At the time when Zinzendorf was doing his utmost to save the English Brethren from ruin, Whitefield accused him and the Moravian leaders of wholesale robbery and fraud.[58] Zinzendorf, he said, was 40,000*l.* in debt, and small was the hope that he would ever pay. His allies were not much better. At the very moment when the Moravian leaders were boasting in Parliament of wealth untold, they were binding down their members in England for thousands more than they could ever pay. They drew bills on tradesmen without their consent: they compelled simple folk to sell their estates, seized the money, and then sent the owners abroad; and they claimed authority to say to the rich: 'Either give us all thou hast or get thee gone.' With such accusations as these before the public, the Moravians were in danger of losing their credit. The letter caused a panic. The creditors pressed. The very people whom Whitefield was supposed to be defending were the ones his accusations injured most. And yet the crisis was safely tided over. In a letter to the publisher of the *Public Advertiser* of June 2, 1753, James Hutton called upon him to answer for libel for publishing part of Whitefield's letter. As Zinzendorf still continued the expensive establishment at Lindsey House, public confidence was gradually restored. The English Brethren—i.e. those whom the leaders were supposed to have robbed—rose to the occasion. Instead of being thankful to Whitefield for his defence of them in their supposed distresses, they formed a committee and issued a pamphlet in defence of the

[57] This is Whitefield's own comparison.

[58] The letter contained a number of silly stories, which need not be repeated here.

Moravian leaders.[59] They asserted that, so far from having been robbed, they had even received substantial benefits from the Church. In the same way, there appeared a proof of the inaccuracy of one of Whitefield's assertions. Instead of confining himself to general statements, he had rashly mentioned a certain Thomas Rhodes, whom the Brethren were supposed to have robbed. His story was that they prevailed on Rhodes to sell a valuable estate, and seized part of the money to pay their debts; and that Rhodes was reduced to such a state of poverty that he was compelled to sell the Brethren his watch, bureau, horse, and saddle, and then, with only 25*l.* left, fled to France, leaving behind him a destitute mother, who died shortly afterwards. But Rhodes himself, in a letter to his lawyer, contradicted the whole story, and James Hutton published extracts from the letter. From this it appeared that Rhodes sold his estate of his own free will; that he had really driven an excellent bargain; and that both he and his mother were living in comfort.[60] The Brethren's credit was partially restored. During the next twelve months, according to Zinzendorf, they experienced several providential interpositions, the money always coming in precisely when it was needed.

The Brethren now experienced still worse trials. The source of these was Herrnhaag, in the Wetterau. For twelve years—September 1, 1738, to March 6, 1750—there lived at Herrnhaag a colony of Moravian settlers outside the bounds of Moravian discipline.[61] The settlement was founded by the Counts of Büdingen, and the settlers rebelled against the authority of the Church. They sang their own hymns, they practised their own ceremonies, they made their own regulations. The result was an outbreak of fanatical excesses, which lasted four or five years. In the hope that these rebels would soon reform, the Moravian authorities never expelled them from the Church; and that hope was not disappointed. At

[59] *The Representation of the Committee of the English Congregations in Union with the Moravian Church*, published May, 1754. Dedicated to the Archbishop of York.

[60] Benham, p. 306. It is not clear, however, when the letter was made public. It was written October 3, 1753. James Hutton refers to it in his 'Additions,' written in 1755, but it was probably made use of before this.

[61] Zinzendorf, *Peremptorisches Bedencken*, published in English, 1753.

one stroke—by a circular letter, January 28, 1749—Zinzendorf broke the fanaticism all to pieces, and the settlement at Herrnhaag was soon afterwards abandoned. But that was not the end of the affair. For a short period—1746 to 1749—some of the English Moravians were affected by this spiritual epidemic.[62] They spoke of themselves as 'cross-air birds'; [63] they prated about the side-wound of Jesus in a familiar and offensive manner; and developed a trifling spirit of conduct that was a disgrace to the Church. Of these offences they soon repented; Zinzendorf rated them soundly for their sins; and by the time the Act of Parliament was passed the disease had almost, if not entirely, ceased. But not so the consequences thereof. For the temporary sins of the Herrnhaag fanatics the English Moravians had now to pay in full. Again their foreign associations did their cause serious damage. At this time their most formidable opponent was a certain Henry Rimius. He had been Aulic Counsellor to the King of Prussia. He now lived in Oxenden Street. For two years he devoted his energies to a vigorous attempt to paint the Moravians in such odious colours that the Government would expel them from the country. As his works came out in rapid succession, the picture he drew grew more and more hideous.[64] According to Rimius, the Moravians were a danger to both Church and State. Instead of being a Protestant Church, they were really a vile gang of political conspirators. They claimed to be independent of government. They were setting up an empire within the empire. They employed a secret gang of informers. They had their own magistrates, their own courts of justice, and their own secret laws. They exercised absolute authority over the persons and property of their members. The Moravian

[62] Benham, pp. 236, 252, who quotes from the diary of the Fulneck congregation.

[63] I.e., 'birds soaring in the atmosphere of the cross.'

[64] The works of Rimius are:—(*a*) *A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters* (1753, two editions). (*b*) *A Solemn Call on Count Zinzendorf* (1754). (*c*) *A Supplement to the Candid Narrative* (1755). (*d*) *A Second Solemn Call on Mr. Zinzendorf* (posthumous, 1757). (*e*) *Animadversions on Sundry Flagrant Untruths advanced by Mr. Zinzendorf* (no date.) (*f*) Another lengthy work, *The History of the Moravians from their first Settlement at Herrnhaag* (1754), was translated by Rimius from the German, but does not bear his name.

Elders had enormous power. At any moment they could marry a couple againt their will, and at any moment divorce them. With the same authority they tore children from their parents, and despatched them to distant corners of the earth. In spite of their pretended piety, they were atheists in disguise. They sang hymns to the devil. They revelled in the most silly and filthy expressions, chanted the praises of lust and sensuality, described carnalities in vivid detail, recommended immorality, revived the Eleusinian mysteries, and practised a number of sensual abominations too hideous to be described. As Rimius supported these sweeping assertions by numerous quotations from a certain German Moravian hymn-book, which had appeared when the Herrnhaag epidemic was at its height, it is probable that he did the Moravian cause a considerable amount of damage. His works were racy, prolix, and disgusting; and he pandered to the depraved taste of the age by detailing anecdotes of the coarsest stamp. And yet his works showed a striking omission. In eight hundred closely-printed pages, he had scarce one direct word to say about the Moravians in England. From first to last he wrote of the Moravians in Germany, and fathered the sins of the Herrnhaag fanatics on the English Brethren.

Nor was Rimius alone in his statements. During four years there lived among the Brethren a certain Andrew Frey.[65] He travelled about helping to form societies on the Continent, and finally settled down at Marienborn, just when the excesses were at their height. At Marienborn, according to his story, he saw and heard strange things. The Brethren gave way to gluttony and drink, and gloried in their debauchery. 'All godliness, all devotion, all piety,' said Rubusch, the general Elder of all the single Brethren on the Continent, 'are no more than so many snares of the devil.' The whole aim of Zinzendorf and his followers was sensual gratification. They sneered at all discourse on virtue; they spoke with railing contempt of the Bible; they robbed the poor, and paraded in fine array. In vain Frey endeavoured

[65] *A True and Authentic Account of Andrew Frey* (1753), translated from the German. The book is written in an hysterical style, and is concerned almost entirely with Herrnhaag. Frey came to Europe from America.

to reform them, and lead them in the paths of righteousness. Disgusted beyond measure, he told them at last that they were the wickedest sect that had appeared since the days of the Apostles; whereupon they cut him off as a mortified limb, and he turned his back on them for ever.

Improbable though Frey's story was, it gained a certain amount of credence; for the next to denounce (anonymously) these filthy dreamers, as he called them, was Lavington, Bishop of Exeter. He was celebrated already for his denunciation of Methodism, and now he attacked the Moravians in still more vigorous style.[66] He accepted the assertions of Rimius and Frey, and openly declared that his purpose was the suppression of the Brethren in England. He suggested that they should be banished to a herd of swine, as the only fit abode for impurity. He regarded the Moravians as the incarnation of immorality, and did not hesitate to say so.

For the Moravians the situation was far from pleasant. In a series of popular polemical works they found themselves described as debauchees of the vilest order. In spite of their consistently modest attitude, they were now attracting a great deal of public attention, and became the subject of a lively controversy. In one sense this was good for their cause, for it brought them into still greater prominence. But, on the other hand, the attack was so violent that the Moravians must certainly have suffered. With Whitefield, Wesley,[67] Lavington and Rimius all denouncing them, they were certainly very hard pressed. To answer so many accusations was difficut. How far the success of the Moravians in England was affected by the writings of their critics it is, of course, impossible to say; but if the pen be mightier than the sword, the pamphlet may sometimes be more effective than the thumbscrew; and it is, at any rate, not improbable that the failure of the Moravians to establish a strong branch of their Church in this country, was due to

[66] *The Moravians Compared and Detected*, by the author of the *Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared* (dated 1755, but referred to in a letter to the *London Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, December 1754). The book is very scurrilous in tone.

[67] In his Journal, where he says that Rimius had told him nothing which he did not know before.

some extent to the fierceness with which they were attacked. According to James Hutton, Rimius wrote under direction. It is probable that he was instigated by the Court party, which had been hostile to the Moravians from the first. In Parliament the opposition to the Brethren had failed; in the country it had a measure of success.

IV.—The Moravian Defence.

As the writings of Rimius, Frey, and Lavington were of such a nature as to cause alarm, the Moravians were almost morally bound to give some account of themselves; and in response to the just demands of the public, Zinzendorf, James Hutton, Frederick Neisser, and other Moravians issued a number of defensive pamphlets.[68] But the chief measures of defence adopted by the Brethren were of a less controversial nature. Instead of taking too much notice of their accusers, they endeavoured to set their own house in order. The first step, taken in 1754, was of fundamental importance. As nothing had brought greater ridicule upon the Brethren than the silly and indecent hymns they were supposed to sing, they now issued, for the first time, an authorised official Moravian Hymn-Book. This action was both wise and timely. As the Anglican Church possessed no hymnal, the Moravians were herein leading the way in a hitherto little-tried religious movement. In time the leading ideas of these hymns became a fundamental element in the hymnology both of Church and Dissent, and thus exercised

[68] Of these the most important were the following:—(1) *Peremptorisches Bedencken: or, The Ordinary of the Brethren's Churches, His Short and Peremptory Remarks on the Way and Manner wherein he has been hitherto treated in Controversies* (1753), by Zinzendorf; translated by John Gambold. (2) *A Modest Plea for the Church of the Brethren* (1754), anonymous. (3) *The Plain Case of the Representatives of the Unitas Fratrum* (1754), anonymous. (4) *A Letter from a Minister of the Moravian Branch of the Unitas Fratrum to the Author of 'The Moravians Compared and Detected'* (1755), attributed to Frederick Neisser. (5) *An Exposition, or True State of the Matters objected in England to the People known by the name of Unitas Fratrum* (1755), by Zinzendorf. (6) *Additions* to No. 5, by James Hutton. (7) *An Essay towards giving some Just Ideas of the Personal Character of Count Zinzendorf* (1755), by James Hutton. (8) *A Short Answer to Mr. Rimius's Long Uncandid Narrative* (1753), anonymous; given in Benham, App I.

a permanent influence on the religious life of the nation. The hymn-book was a mirror of Moravian life. The chief burden of the hymns was the Passion History, every detail of which was commemorated in vivid realistic phrases. At times the language was almost gruesome, and the literary quality was decidedly poor. And yet the book was of historic importance. With all their extravagances, the Moravian hymns contributed towards the diminution of the stern Calvinistic conception of Christianity associated with the Puritans, and the substitution of a gentler, broader, and more humane type of piety.

The next step, though apparently trivial, was also significant. In order to lay more emphatic stress on the ethical side of their religion, the Moravians now inserted (1754) in their Litany a number of petitions referring definitely to the prosaic duties of everyday life. In addition to the loyal orthodox petitions on behalf of the King, the Church, the Parliament, the magistrates, and all concerned in the government of the country, the Moravians now, by means of their Litany, expressed their belief in the paramount necessity of good works of a beneficent nature. Again, as in the hymns, the stress was laid on the humane element in Christianity.

The third step was the most important of all. With all their strict discipline and censorship, the Brethren felt that something more was needed to enable them to live lives above reproach. At a synod held in Lindsey House, Chelsea (November 1754), they resolved that a Book of Statutes was essential, and with this in view they appealed to Zinzendorf and requested him to draw up a set of rules for daily conduct.[69] For some time Zinzendorf was in doubt what to do for the best. It was clear that a Book of Statutes was needed, but it was not so clear what form it should take. If the Brethren framed their laws in their own words, their enemies, he feared, would accuse them of departing from Scripture; and if they adhered to the very words of Holy Writ, the same enemies would taunt them with indefiniteness. At last, however, Zinzendorf decided on the latter

[69] Benham, p. 294.

method as the wiser. He was so afraid of creating a false impression that, Greek scholar though he was, he felt bound to adhere to the Authorised Version.[70] In response, therefore, to the appeal of the Synod, he issued for the Brethren a manual of conduct entitled *Statutes: or, the General Principles of Practical Christianity, extracted out of the New Testament.* It was designed for the use of the English congregations, and was ready on May 12, 1755. The date of the month was significant. On May 12, 1724, the foundation stone was laid of the first meeting-hall at Herrnhut. On May 12, 1727, the Herrnhut congregation agreed to the first Statutes of the Renewed Church of the Brethren. On May 12, 1749, the Moravians were recognised by Act of Parliament. On May 12, 1755, they adopted this Book of Statutes. The book was thorough and systematic. For fathers and mothers, for sons and daughters, for masters and servants, for governors and governed, for business men, for bishops and pastors, the appropriate passages were carefully selected from the New Testament. Every precept was in the precise words of Scripture. No peculiar or narrow interpretations were allowed.[71] For the Brethren the book was invaluable. Alone among the Churches of England, they claimed to possess the ethical injunctions of the New Testament combined in a convenient and handy form. As the book was meant to be a daily companion, and also to be learned by heart, it was issued in such size and form that it could be carried about in the pocket. In the various congregations the 'Statutes' were used, and became in time the Scriptural basis of a definite 'Brotherly Agreement.'[72] It was thus that the Moravians endeavoured to reply to the imputations of antinomianism so frequently brought against them. The result was a strengthening of their position. The year when the attack upon them was at its height (1755) was the year when their strongest settlements were founded. At Fulneck, Gomersal, Wyke, Mirfield, Dukinfield, and Bristol they established powerful congregations, with the full Moravian organisation. The work of building went on

[70] Preface to the *Statutes*, pp. 6–9.
[71] Advertisement on title-page of *Statutes*.
[72] Benham, p. 506.

apace; the settlements were centres of religious zeal, with numerous preaching places around them; the Diaconies ministered to the needs of the Church; and the Moravians, no longer attacked by pamphleteers, pursued their gentle way in peace.

What that way was the foregoing narrative has, it is hoped, served to show. We may safely draw the following conclusions:

(1) That the Moravians played a more prominent part in the Evangelical Revival than has been hitherto recognised. The mere fact that they were so bitterly attacked, and that so much literature was directed against them, is sufficient to prove this.

(2) That, however antinomian their teaching may have appeared to John Wesley and other critics, the Moravians laid exceptional stress on the ethical side of Christianity. In view of this fact such a statement as Tyerman's, that in 1751 the Moravian Church in England was 'a luscious morsel of antinomian poison,'[73] must be received, to say the least, with caution.

(3) That in doctrine the Moravians were broad Evangelical Protestants, professing a general adherence to the Thirty-nine Articles.

(4) That they endeavoured to prevent schism in the English Church, and to keep the revival within her borders.

(5) That their failure to become a powerful body in England was due to (*a*) their own self-repressive policy, and objection to proselytism; (*b*) their foreign origin and peculiarities; (*c*) the misapprehensions from which they suffered.

(6) That in avoiding the characteristic excesses of Methodism—the excitement, the terrorism, the narrow theology—they fell for a time into excesses of their own, the chief symptom being an exaggerated sentimentality of expression.

(7) That the chief result of their evangelistic efforts was, not the establishment of their own church in this country, but the impetus they gave to evangelical doctrine, broadness of view, and ethical strictness within the Church of England herself.

J. E. HUTTON.

[73] *Life and Times of John Wesley*, ii. 96.

XVII

NAPOLEON: THE FIRST PHASE

'Les généraux-en-chef sont guidés par leur propre expérience, ou par leur génie. La tactique, les évolutions, la science de l'ingénieur et de l'artilleur, peuvent s'apprendre dans des traités, à peu près comme la géometrie; mais la connaissance des hautes parties de la guerre ne s'acquiert que par l'expérience et par l'étude de l'histoire des guerres et des batailles des grands capitaines.'—NAPOLEON, *VII^e note sur l'ouvrage intitulé* 'Considérations sur l'Art de la Guerre.'

I PROPOSE to trace the development of the military genius of Napoleon Bonaparte during that first phase of his career which culminated in the capture of Toulon and ended with his transfer, in March 1794, to the headquarters staff of the army of Italy. It is impossible within the limits of an essay to carry the systematic inquiry beyond this first period, but the investigation was occasioned by the study of the subsequent period, to which therefore, by way of introduction, some reference must be made.

In July 1795, Nelson, with a small naval force, was instructed to co-operate with the allied Austro-Sardinian armies at that time opposed to the French army of Italy. The army of Italy was acting under instructions of which for more than a year the inspiration had come from Bonaparte. The Frenchman's object was to advance along the Riviera as far as Vado, and by the occupation of that place to gain access to the passes near Montenotte, which would lead him into the interval between the Austrian and Sardinian forces. Thus, in memoranda written in July 1795, Bonaparte says:

The moment we shall have seized Vado, the Austrians will prefer to move to those points which cover Lombardy, while the Piedmontese will protect the entrances to Piedmont; and the promptitude with which we follow up the victory we acquire . . . . at Vado will be the guarantee of our success in the attack upon Montenotte.

The Englishman understood perfectly the importance of preventing the French from pushing along the Riviera, and hoped to help the Austrians to establish themselves on the Var. 'If the admiral will support the measures I have proposed, I expect by the middle of September we shall be in Nice' (Nelson to his brother, July 29, 1795). Neither the admiral (Hotham) nor the allied generals understood, as Nelson did, the importance of co-operation between fleet and army, and Nelson was not adequately supported by either of them. In November, Schérer, urged by instructions dictated by Bonaparte at Paris, won the battle of Loano and became master of Vado. 'My campaign,' wrote Nelson, 'is closed by the defeat of the Austrian army and the consequent loss of Vado and every place in the Riviera of Genoa.' He remained on the same service, however, until the following summer, unable, from the insufficiency of his force, to stop as effectually as he wished the sea and land communications of the French.

On February 23, 1796, Bonaparte was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Italy. In the campaign which then began he displayed a genius that has never been surpassed. What was the nature of this supreme talent, and how did it develop? This question, so interesting to military students, received in 1889 a remarkable answer from General Pierron, one of the most learned officers of the French army.[1]

General Pierron in 1886 had had occasion to read an old official history[2] of an episode of the war of the Austrian succession, which, as it ended in failure and had no important results, has fallen into oblivion.

In 1745 Louis XV. lent an army under Marshal Maillebois to the Infant Don Philip, who with two Spanish armies was attempting to conquer the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza from Maria Theresa, at this time in alliance

[1] *Comment s'est formé le Génie militaire de Napoléon* 1^er^ ? par le Général Pierron. Paris, Baudoin et Cie. 1889.

[2] *Histoire des Campagnes de M. le Maréchal de Maillebois en Italie pendant les Années* 1745 *et* 1746, dédiée au Roi, par M. le Marquis de Pezay, mestre de camp de dragons, aide-maréchal général des logis. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie royale, 1775.

with the King of Sardinia. Maillebois, with a Franco-Spanish army, advanced through the county of Nice and the Riviera of Genoa, and was joined near Genoa by a second Spanish army under M. de Gages. The united forces encamped near Marengo, covering the siege of Tortona against the Austro-Sardinian army posted between Alessandria and Bassignana. The Spaniards then became anxious to occupy Piacenza and Parma, though Maillebois thought that prudence required him first to cover his communications with France by the capture of Alessandria, the strong places of Montferrat and the fortress of Ceva. Maillebois had as chief of his staff his son, the Comte de Maillebois, who drew up a plan for separating the Austrian and Sardinian armies. The Spaniards were to make their move towards Parma, and the French to follow them across the Scrivia; at the same time a bridge was to be thrown across the Po near Stradella and a division sent across the river to attack Pavia and to ravage the Lomellina. This would lead the Austrian general to think it his duty to defend the Milanese territory, and he would cross the Po at Valenza and march on Pavia. Then the Spanish and French forces would concentrate on the Scrivia and march to the attack of the Sardinian positions on the Tanaro. The plan succeeded; Maillebois not only defeated the Sardinians, but took Valenza, Casale and Asti, and invested Alessandria. But, as the winter of 1745–6 wore on, the Spanish generals grew more and more eager to seize Parma and more and more indifferent to their communications. They separated from Maillebois and appealed too late for his aid and advice; the Franco-Spanish army was beaten near Piacenza, and all the talents of Maillebois merely enabled him to carry out in safety the retreat to the neighbourhood of Toulon.

The official history of these events was written, in order to justify the policy of Louis XV., by Pezay, a good staff officer, trained under Bourcet, the engineer and trusted adviser of the Comte de Maillebois. It is a model of lucidity, and is supplemented by a volume of official papers giving the orders of march from day to day throughout the campaign, as well as the strategical memoirs or projects

drawn up by the Comte de Maillebois at each of the critical moments of the campaign. Having read Pezay's volumes, General Pierron was convinced that Napoleon had taken from Maillebois his plan of campaign in 1796, and that 'Napoleon is the pupil of Marshal Maillebois, or rather of his son the Comte de Maillebois, from whom he borrowed his great principles of war, especially those of his defensive strategy.'

In order to prove that Napoleon in 1796 had copied Maillebois, General Pierron was not content with the internal evidence which he found in the resemblance between the conditions and circumstances of the campaign of 1796 and that of 1745–6. He searched for external evidence that Napoleon had read Pezay's volumes. He discovered the two following documents:

(1) On p. 236 of *The Napoleon Museum, collected, arranged, and described by John Sainsbury*, 1845, occurs this entry:

Bonaparte, General-in-Chief of the Army of the Interior. Letter to General Calon requesting some books and maps, dated Headquarters, Paris, 11 ventôse, an IV (1st March, 1796); viz. *Mémoires de Maillebois, Description of Piedmont*, 2 vols., *Military History of Prince Eugene*, 3 vols., *Campaigns of Vendôme*; Map of Piedmont and Lombardy .... &c., which General Calon, as director of the Military and Naval Depôt, authorised by a letter from the Ministry of War, has to furnish him. 'Send them to me in the course of to-morrow, as my baggage-waggon sets out on the 13th (March 3) at 6 o'clock in the morning.'

(2) General Pierron also found in the archives of the Dépôt de la Guerre this letter and minute:

Le Général Calon, Directeur du Dépôt général de la Guerre et de la Géographie, au Ministre de la Guerre.

Paris, 12 ventôse, an IV.

Le général Bonaparte, commandant en chef l'armée de l'Intérieur, demande pour son service à l'armée d'Italie, où il est envoyé, les objets ci-après:

1. *Mémoires de Maillebois*, avec l'atlas;
2. *Description du Piémont*, 2 vol. in-folio;
3. *Histoire militaire du Prince Eugène*, 3 vol. in-folio;
4. *Campagnes de Vendôme;*
5. *La carte du Piémont et de la Lombardie, corrigée sur Borgognio;*
6. *Une grande carte de toute l'Italie;*

7. *Une carte de France en divisions militaires;*
8. *Une carte de France avec les étapes;*
9. *Une carte du Dauphiné et de la Provence, par Cassini, grande échelle;*
10. *Plus une lunette acromatique.*

Les quatre premiers articles manquent au Dépôt, et on ne peut en faire l'acquisition qu'en numéraire effectif, ce qui exigera une dépense assez considérable, puisque, pour la description du Piémont seule, qui est en ce moment fort rare, on demande une somme de trois cents (300) livres en numéraire effectif.

Le général de brigade, directeur du Dépôt général de la Guerre et de la Géographie, pense qu'il est aussi utile qu'advantageux de pourvoir les généraux des objets nécessaires à la direction de leurs opérations. Il propose au Ministre de statuer sur les objets qu'il jugera convenable de fournir au général Bonaparte.

CALON.

Accordé ce que le Dépôt pourra fournir.

Le Ministre: PETIET.

These documents prove that on his appointment to command the army of Italy Napoleon was anxious to have Pezay's work (called by him *Mémoires de Maillebois*) as well as other accounts of previous campaigns in Italy. A note of Napoleon's, given in Sainsbury's catalogue and written in the evening of March 1, asks Calon also for 'the campaigns of Villars, Vendôme, and Coigny in Italy which I forgot to place in the list I sent you.'

General Pierron concludes that Bonaparte's anxiety to take Pezay's volumes with him to Italy proves that he knew and appreciated them, and thinks it probable that he had studied them, if not earlier, at least in the course of 1794 and 1795, when he was deeply engaged upon the strategy of the Italian theatre of war. An anonymous French writer, defending Bonaparte against what he took to be the charge of plagiarism made by General Pierron, urged that there was no evidence proving that the volumes were ever really sent to Bonaparte, or that he in fact received them.[3] In 1895, in reading Nelson's correspondence, I came upon evidence which seemed to settle this point. On May 31, 1796, Nelson, on board the 'Agamemnon' off Oneglia,

[3] *Comment s'est formé le Génie militaire de Napoléon 1er?* Réponse au Général Pierron, par X. Paris, Baudoin, 1889.

reports to Sir John Jervis his capture of two vessels of war and five transports; and on June 2, he writes again giving some account of the information concerning the French army which he has extracted from the captured papers. He adds: 'I have got the charts of Italy sent by the Directory to Bonaparte, also Maillebois' *Wars in Italy*, Vauban's *Attack and Defence of Places*, and *Prince Eugène's History*; all sent for the general. If Bonaparte is ignorant, the Directory, it would appear, wish to instruct him; pray God he may remain ignorant.'

It still remained possible that Bonaparte had read Pezay's book before 1796, and I was therefore anxious to obtain a copy of it. In 1896 I came upon the title of the book in the catalogue of a Vienna bookshop, with a note that the copy contained an inscription relating to Napoleon. I sent for the copy and ascertained that it came from the library of a country-house in the Southern Tyrol, of which the owner's name was Giambatta Sardagna. It bears on the fly-leaf preceding the title-page of volume I. the following inscription: 'Fut oublié cet ouvrage par Napoléon Bonaparte, Général en Chef, depuis Empereur des Français et Roi d'Italie, etc., etc., dans la maison de Monsieur Emili l'an 1796.' The inscription is written in a flourishing hand by an inexpert penman, who has had to rule lines to help him, a naïve proceeding little suggestive of forgery, and the price of the book was too small to admit of the hypothesis of a forgery for the purpose of enhancing its value. But who was Monsieur Emili, where was his house, and when was Napoleon there? During the last three months of 1796 Napoleon's headquarters were for some weeks at Verona. At this time we are told by Stendhal[4]: 'Toutes les belles dames de Vérone cherchaient à le rencontrer chez le provéditeur vénitien, ancien ambassadeur et fort grand seigneur, qui, en présence du général en chef, avait l'air d'un petit garçon.' This grand seigneur is referred to in Napoleon's Memoirs[5] as 'le provéditeur Émili.' There is thus good reason to believe that, in spite of Nelson's capture, Napoleon in 1796

[4] *Vie de Napoléon*, ch. xx.

[5] 8vo ed. 1830, vol. ii. p. 223.

had Pezay's volumes, whether he had the other books that he had asked for or not.

There can be no doubt, then, that Bonaparte attached much importance to the *Memoirs of Maillebois*.[6] But a study of the volumes, and of the campaigns which they describe, seems to me by no means to justify the whole of General Pierron's conclusions. I can find no instance in which Bonaparte 'copies Maillebois.' He found in Pezay's history, and in the documents which accompany it, the details of a series of operations which he could not follow without acquiring a flood of light upon the strategical conditions of the theatre of war in Northern Italy, and upon the weak points of a coalition between Sardinia and Austria, as well as upon the importance to a French army of the Riviera of Genoa. These are the elements of which he makes use in the formation of his own plans, but his designs are governed by his own purposes and adapted to the situation of his own time. Maillebois may well have been his guide to the analysis of the problems which he had to solve, but the solution is in each case his own. Bonaparte's mind is never dominated by Maillebois, whom he uses as a master, but does not follow as a pupil. In a word, the genius of Napoleon is revealed in the use which he makes of Maillebois; it is, therefore, not in the conception of Maillebois that we can find the explanation of that genius. We must look, therefore, further back, and examine the development of Napoleon in an earlier phase.

In 1895 the publication by MM. Masson and Biagi in *Napoléon Inconnu* of the whole of Napoleon's early manuscripts provided the materials by which the course of his training can be followed, and which have been used with much judgment by Captain J. Colin in his recent volume entitled *L'Éducation militaire de Napoléon*, Paris, 1900. Captain Colin conclusively proves the nature of the part played by Bonaparte in the army of Italy between the siege of Toulon and his departure for Paris, and has traced in detail

[6] Among the works forming the library at St. Helena was the *Histoire de Maillebois*. On Monday, October 20, 1817, Napoleon dictated to Montholon some notes on the Italian campaigns of Maillebois. See Gourgaud, *Sainte-Hélène*, ii. 369, and appendix.

the course of his work as chief of the staff directing the operations during this period. M. Georges Duruy, in his introduction to the *Memoirs of Barras*, had already refuted the arguments of those who denied that Bonaparte was entitled to the credit of having brought about the capture of Toulon. The researches of these writers will be freely used in the following pages, and the attempt will be made to answer the fundamental question which seems to have evaded their researches: How did Bonaparte qualify himself to be the captor of Toulon?

An army is a social organism, and in any society the spirit and the will are as vital as the intelligence. Accordingly, soldiers have in all ages laid the greatest stress on discipline and *esprit de corps*. These are acquired only by living the military life as a part of the organism, and in practice by regimental life, the regiment being the medium of discipline and *esprit de corps*. Every military system requires from those who are to qualify for command a period of regimental service, which, however, must not be too long, lest the aspirant to the higher branches should have his intelligence and initiative crushed by too much conformity.

The regiment is usually also the school in which the young officer acquires a practical familiarity with the nature and use of the arm of the service to which he belongs, or, in technical language, with its formal tactics, as well as with the traditions, the regulations, and the organisation of the army. In the regiment, in short, the officer is initiated into the freemasonry of the army and absorbed into the military caste. The transformation of a civilian into a soldier involves as it were a new birth, and this is accomplished in the regimental life.

The foundation of Bonaparte's military career is the training which he received as a regimental officer. Born in August 1769, he passed through the military schools of Brienne and Paris. Neither of these gave a military education, the titles referring only to the destination of the pupils. The school at Brienne was under the supervision of a religious order and taught French, Latin, mathematics, geography and history. At Paris the course included mathematics, geography, history, German grammar, dancing,

fencing and fortification, which was the only military subject taught. There was a riding school, which Bonaparte did not attend; he learned to ride afterwards in Corsica. In November 1785, at the age of sixteen, he joined at Valence the artillery regiment of La Fère. Here his military education began in conditions peculiarly favourable. The French artillery was the best in Europe, and the regiment of La Fère was one of the best in the army. *Esprit de corps* was strong; the officers lived on terms of intimacy with one another, and much care was given by the senior officers, men of good professional attainments, to the instruction of the subalterns. The young subaltern on joining did duty for three months, first as a private and then as a non-commissioned officer, afterwards taking his place as a second lieutenant. Bonaparte was admitted as an officer after his three months' probation in January 1786. In those days the artillery practised the infantry drill, in which La Fère was specially proficient. The artillery training was thorough; and it may be assumed that in a first-rate regiment the elementary training of the young lieutenant would be well directed. At that time each artillery regiment in turn was quartered at one of the stations possessing an artillery school, so that officers and men should have the best theoretical and practical instruction. The schools of Valence and Auxonne both enjoyed a high reputation. It was customary for the officers to take long leave each year, and on September 1, 1786, Bonaparte had his first leave, which was prolonged so that he did not rejoin until June 1788, when the regiment was at the school of Auxonne. He then served continuously for a year and three months, until September 1789, at which date his colonel, considering that he had no need of further instruction,[7] approved his request for a second leave of absence. The tradition that in his regimental service he kept aloof from his comrades is completely upset by M. Chuquet. On the contrary, he was closely associated with the regimental life and was selected to draft a constitution for the 'Calotte,' a society composed of the subalterns and exercising a sort of surveillance over their behaviour. It might be described as an association for

[7] Chuquet, *La Jeunesse de Napoléon*, i. 361.

the protection of the rights of its members and for the maintenance of 'good form' among them. The constitution written by Bonaparte at Auxonne is couched in a solemn style which parodies more serious constitutions, and its reading was doubtless a great occasion of amusement to the committee which approved the draft. This document and the fact of its acceptance sufficiently prove that Bonaparte had an established position among his comrades, and that he was thoroughly one of them.

At Auxonne Bonaparte made a serious study of his profession under favourable auspices. The Commandant of the school of artillery was the Maréchal du Camp, Baron Jean Pierre du Teil, a disciple in artillery matters of the new school of Gribeauval. The professor of mathematics was Lombard, the translator of Robins' *Principles of Artillery*. Bonaparte also enjoyed the acquaintance of Naudin, the commissary, who had served in the Seven Years' War and had afterwards been Gribeauval's secretary. Bonaparte was therefore in an environment saturated with modern views of artillery and its use, and probably also with modern views of war. What is certain is that he studied the nature and use of the arm with keen intelligence. A number of his note-books of Auxonne are preserved. The first is an abstract, dated January 1789, of a memoir by De Vallière. It is in the main an argument against the reduction of weight with a view to mobility, which had been carried out in the *matériel* of the artillery, the writer urging that the new lighter and shorter pieces had not the range of the older ones. The most interesting passage is :

> Une batterie de pièces longues, capable de porter à 1000 toises, peut, au gré du général, réunir tous ses feux sur telle partie de la première ligne qu'il voudra, rompre cette ligne et mettre la confusion jusqu'à la seconde et troisième ligne.[8]

Here we have in a nutshell the essential doctrine of modern artillery, that of the concentration of fire; the kernel of the tactical practice of Napoleon on the battle-field.

The next note-book is numbered the fifth, proving that

[8] Masson and Biagi, i. p. 245.

three have been lost. It is an examination, based upon Lombard's translation of Robins, of questions concerning the length of guns and the weight of powder charges in relation to the velocity and penetration of the projectiles. This paper shows that Bonaparte fully understood these problems so far as they were known at the time, and it is doubtful whether any serious advance on the doctrines of the note-book was made before the experiments of Whitworth in 1857. Another note-book contains extracts from Saint-Remy's memoirs on artillery and shows that Bonaparte acquired a close acquaintance with the history of the *matériel* of his arm. In August 1788 Baron du Teil ordered a series of experiments upon the means of firing bombs from guns instead of mortars. The experiments were supervised by a committee of officers; Bonaparte, though the junior, acted as secretary, had charge of the preparation of the experiments, and had to write the report, which is preserved. The report is clear, precise, and to the point.[9] A letter of Bonaparte's to Fesch, of August 22, refers to these experiments. He says:

> Je suis indisposé; les grands travaux que j'ai dirigés ces jours derniers en sont cause. Vous saurez, mon oncle, que le général d'ici m'a pris en grande considération, au point de me charger de construire au polygone plusieurs ouvrages qui exigeaient de grands calculs, et, pendant dix jours, matin et soir, à la tête de deux cents hommes, j'ai été occupé. Cette marque inouïe de faveur a un peu irrité contre moi les capitaines.[10]

In March 1789 Bonaparte wrote a further memoir to Du Teil on the mode of placing cannon for the discharge of bombs, in which he reviews the experiments that have already been made and proposes further experiments.

From the evidence thus given us of the special interest taken by Du Teil in Bonaparte, it seems safe to infer that the young officer would imbibe the ideas of his general on the subject of the use of artillery in the field. Captain Colin has shown what these were. Du Teil has left no papers on the subject, but his brother, the Chevalier du Teil, also an artillery officer, had written an essay *Sur l'Usage*

[9] See the text in Du Teil, *Une Famille militaire au XVIII Siècle*, p. 515.
[10] Du Teil, p. 254 n.

de l'Artillerie nouvelle,[11] from which the following extracts are taken :

Il faudra réunir le plus grand nombre de troupes et une plus grande quantité d'artillerie sur les points où l'on veut forcer l'ennemi tandis qu'on fera illusion sur les autres.

Il faut multiplier l'artillerie sur les points d'attaque qui doivent décider de la victoire. L'artillerie, ainsi soutenue et multipliée avec intelligence, procure des effets décisifs . . . . s'il se trouve des retranchements fermés ou des redoutes, en multipliant les feux sur elles, il sera facile de les écraser.'

Such were the doctrines held by the best artillery officers of the day, and it seems reasonable to suppose that they were taught by Baron du Teil to Bonaparte, his favourite pupil. These views, current in the artillery of the French army, are summarised by Guibert, who says :

L'objet de l'artillerie ne doit point être de tuer des hommes sur la totalité du front de l'ennemi ; il doit être de renverser, de détruire des parties de ce front. Il faut que les batteries soient fortes, alors elles procurent des effets décisifs, elles font trouée.[12]

It is probable that Bonaparte read Guibert's *Essai de Tactique générale*, which was in every military library. In a project written at Paris in July 1795 he says : 'Nous devons, dans la direction de nos armées, être conduit par le principe que la guerre doit nourrir la guerre.'[13] This is almost certainly a reminiscence of Guibert's words : 'Il faut que la guerre nourrisse la guerre, disait Caton dans le Sénat.'[14]

Enough has been said to establish the probability that Bonaparte left Auxonne imbued with the doctrine of the concentration of the fire of artillery on the decisive point. But from the principle to its application is a long step, the difficulty in practice being to find the decisive point. We shall see hereafter by what means Bonaparte took this long step.

We must now interrupt the special inquiry into the process of Bonaparte's military training, in order, by a sketch of his life between the ages of 17 and 24, to form

[11] Colin, p. 75.
[12] Colin, pp. 74, 75.
[13] *Correspondence*, i. No. 49.
[14] See Colin, p. 17.

some idea of his general development, and of the processes through which his mind and character received their bent.

His professional studies were a part, and only a small part, of his intellectual training. As a boy he had formed a taste for reading, and at Valence, at Auxonne, and during his visits to Corsica he was a constant and careful reader. From the period between 1785 and September 1791 no less than fifty-two of his manuscripts are preserved, including the notebooks on artillery already described. Some of these papers are mere fragments; several of them are original essays; the bulk of them are notes taken from the books he was reading. In 1788 he makes an abstract of Rollin's *Ancient History*, which fills 49 octavo pages in the printed text given by M. Masson. He takes notes of Raynal's *Philosophical and Political History of the European Trading Establishments in the Indies*. He makes an abstract of Barrow's *History of England from the Earliest Times to* 1689. He takes notes from a History of Frederick the Great. In 1789 he reads the memoirs of Baron de Tott on the Turks and the Tartars; Mirabeau on *Lettres de Cachet*; the *Espion Anglais*, a sort of *chronique scandaleuse* of the recent history of France, and Buffon's *Natural History*. He notes particularly dates and figures. He is greedy of facts and of details, but appears to need no help from the pen to enable him to retain a general grasp of the substance of the books he has read. During 1789 he reads Mably's *Observations on the History of France*, Lacroix's *Geography*, and Necker's *Report to the States General on the State of the Finances of France*. His studies appear to have been carried on constantly in spite of other occupations, and we must infer that books were his constant companions and that he had the habit of finding time in all circumstances to read those which interested him. In 1789 there was a riot at Seurre, and Bonaparte was sent there in command of his company, the captain being away on leave. He took with him Marigny's *Histoire des Arabes* and La Houssaie's *Histoire du Gouvernement de Venise*, and apparently read both works during his two months' duty at Seurre.

An examination of the note-books proves that Bonaparte

read with close attention, and soon acquired the power and the habit of going through a book, not in order to gratify the vanity which congratulates itself on having finished a volume, but in order to master its substance. The possession of this habit shows a disciplined mind, the power of concentrating the intelligence in obedience to the will.

The fragments of his own composition leave no doubt as to the purpose which dominated him at the period when his spontaneous studies began. He was possessed by a patriotic ambition. His native country, Corsica, had been conquered and annexed by France in the period immediately preceding his birth, and his boyish recollection was filled with the story of the successful revolt of the Corsicans against their Genoese masters, of the national hero, Paoli, and of his glorious but unsuccessful struggle against the French.

Napoleon had left his Corsican home at the age of nine and did not return until he was seventeen. During all those years he felt himself a stranger and a foreigner in France. At the school of Brienne, in the geography lessons, Corsica was described, not as French soil, but as a foreign country. The first time he sits down to put his own thoughts on paper it is to express the patriotic fire that burns within him. 'To-day,' begins the earliest of his papers that have been preserved, 'Paoli enters on his sixty-first year,' and this thought is the text for a rhapsody on the right of the Corsicans to their freedom, the justification for their insurrection against the Genoese, and of their right to shake off the yoke of the French. A month later he writes a fragment in the style of Rousseau to justify the idea of suicide by his solitude in a foreign land and by the fact that his fellow-countrymen are in chains. This was at Valence in 1786.

His first leave of absence naturally takes him home. No sooner is he at Ajaccio (September 1786) than he feels and acts as head of the family, though he is only seventeen, and the second son. To settle a matter of family business he goes to Paris, and once there he obtains a prolongation of his leave in order that he may go back to Corsica as the stay of his family. When he returns to his regiment at Auxonne

it is with the determination to serve his country, Corsica. He will write its history, which he studies with avidity, and will qualify himself to be a second Paoli, a great statesman, and a great general. He has the wish to be first, the impulse to direct and command, and his studies are manifestly inspired by these aims. Thus his intelligence is invariably directed by his will. It is never discursive and speculative, but always practical and to the point. When, towards the close of what may be called the educational period, he returns to the subject of love and to the ideas of Rousseau, it is to denounce the tender passion as an obstacle to man's practical utility, and to dissent most emphatically from the fundamental ideas of the sentimental philosopher.[15] The year which he spent at Auxonne reveals a vigorous and persistent effort at self-education with a view to fit himself for the career to which he aspired—that of the leader of Corsica. The fact that he has found a channel for his energies inevitably reconciles him to life and society, and he becomes a sociable person and a good comrade. But his studies and his intercourse with comrades and friends produce a gradual change of which he is unaware. The books which he reads, his comrades and instructors, the ladies he meets and the girls with whom he falls in love are all of them French, and the unconscious process of spiritual and moral acclimatisation goes on apace.

At this moment the Revolution is beginning. Napoleon, the reader of Rousseau, the student of Montesquieu, of Raynal, and of Voltaire's *Essai sur les Mœurs*, is steeped in the ideas of which the new movement is the practical expression. Inevitably he throws himself into it heart and soul. When, in September 1789, the period of annual leave comes round, he is off at once to Ajaccio, and within a month is the leader of the revolution in Corsica. He writes the address to the National Assembly praying for the incorporation of Corsica with France—the Assembly is asked 'to restore to the Corsicans the rights which nature has given to every man in his own country'—he reads his draft to the patriots assembled in the church of St. Francis, he is the first to sign it, and does not

[15] See Masson and Biagi xlix and l.

hesitate to add to his signature the description, 'officer of artillery.' A week later he is at Bastia, where he organises from behind the scenes the movement by which the populace possesses itself of the weapons stored in the citadel. The effect of these actions corresponds to his hopes; the National Assembly declares Corsica an integral part of France, and invites the former champions of Corsican independence, with Paoli at their head, to return to their country as French citizens. Bonaparte's object has thus been fulfilled; Corsica is to be free, and that by the will of the French nation. His reconciliation with France, of which we have seen the unconscious preparation, is far advanced. He is a Frenchman, but a Frenchman of Corsica, on the way to realise his ambition of being the leader in his native land. He joins in the great reception given to the returning Paoli. Then comes the first disappointment. Paoli is full of himself. The young officer, who has played so important a part in bringing about the new state of things, is patronised by the old chief as a mere boy, and Paoli himself shows little sign of any assimilation to the French nation. Moreover, Bonaparte's leave, already extended, has now expired, and he has to rejoin his regiment.

In February 1791 he is again at Auxonne, whence, in June, he is transferred as first lieutenant to the regiment of Grenoble, now called the Fourth Artillery Regiment, and stationed at Valence. He has not been two months at Valence when a new opportunity offers itself for playing the part to which he aspires in Corsica. On August 4, 1791, the National Assembly authorised the formation, in every department, of battalions of volunteers, of which the officers were all to be elected, except the adjutant-major, who was to be appointed by the general commanding the military district. Numbers of Bonaparte's comrades obtained in the new volunteer battalions posts higher than those which they held in the artillery. What more natural than that he should seek advancement by becoming an officer in the Corsican volunteer battalion? He applied for leave to go to Corsica. But the ordinary leave had just been suspended by the Minister of War, and special leave was greatly

curtailed. His request was refused. Thereupon he paid a visit to his old friend Baron du Teil, at this time Inspector General of Artillery in the district of Grenoble, which included Valence. Du Teil was at his château of Pommier, in the Isère, and was delighted to see his favourite pupil, whom he kept several days at the house, during which time they were constantly at work, talking about the military art, and studying maps spread out on large tables.[16] Bonaparte went back to Valence, carrying in his pocket his leave on full pay for three months.

In September 1791 he landed at Ajaccio. Good regular officers were scarce, and he had no difficulty in obtaining his appointment as adjutant-major of the Ajaccio Volunteer Battalion. But meantime a new law had been passed in Paris which rendered it impossible for him to remain adjutant-major without losing his post in the artillery. The new law, however, allowed officers of the regular army, without forfeiting their posts, to be lieutenant-colonels of volunteer battalions.

Bonaparte resolved to be a lieutenant-colonel. There were two such berths, that of the commandant and that of the second in command, and both were to be filled by election, the men of the regiment being the constituents. In order to secure his election it was necessary, in accordance with Corsican habits and with the state of factions in the district, for Bonaparte to employ a mixture of intrigue and force. Of his five competitors only two were dangerous; with one of these, Quenza, he made a bargain, agreeing that he and his friends would vote for Quenza as commandant, in return for the support of Quenza and his adherents given to Bonaparte as second in command. This, however, was not enough to secure the election, which, according to the custom of the country, was likely to be swayed by the three Commissioners whose duty it was to preside. Two of the Commissioners came to stay in the houses of members of the Bonaparte faction; the third made his way to the house of the leader of the opposite faction. Bonaparte's friends invaded the house, intimidated the host, and induced the Commissioner

[16] Du Teil, *Une Famille militaire au XVIII^e Siècle*, p. 311.

to accept the hospitality of the Bonapartes. The election was then carried, and Bonaparte became lieutenant-colonel second in command on April 1, 1792. Almost immediately afterwards there was a serious disturbance at Ajaccio, apparently in the nature of an attack on the volunteers by the townspeople. Several people were killed and wounded, and for two or three days the town was in a state of terror, which was ended only by the arrival of the Commissioners of the civil government of the island, in which Paoli was by this time supreme.

Of the real nature of this disturbance, and of the rights and wrongs involved, no opinion is justified by the evidence which has been preserved; but it appears that Bonaparte was on one side and the regular colonel commanding the garrison of Ajaccio on the other side, a position dangerous for the junior officer. Moreover, Bonaparte, during the negotiations which preceded the arrival of the Commissioners, made an unauthorised use of the name of Paoli which the dictator was sure to resent. Bonaparte's name, too, had been crossed off the roll of his regiment at Valence for non-attendance at a muster prescribed by law. Accordingly, after the disturbance was over, Bonaparte left Corsica and went to Paris. There he had no difficulty in explaining at the Ministry of War his absence from his regiment and in obtaining his reinstatement, this time as captain, without prejudice to his position as lieutenant-colonel of volunteers. He remained in Paris from May 28 to September 4, and saw the attack on the Tuileries on August 10. Then he returned to Ajaccio, where he landed in October 1792.

The condition of Corsica was now very different from what it had been in September 1789. There had been in the island no large class, such as there was in France, prepared by a long course of reading and discussion for the revolutionary movement. Corsica up to 1789 was a conquered country in which the officials and those who depended upon them were the partisans of France, while the majority hated France and the French and sighed for independence. To them the Revolution meant Corsica for

the Corsicans, or rather all the public posts in the island for themselves and their relations.

The return of Paoli placed him at the head of the purely Corsican party, and gave him also, in the first instance, the enthusiastic support of those who held with the Revolution, only the officers and officials still holding with the *ancien régime*.

But as the Revolution proceeded, and as the constitutional party gave place to the Gironde and to the Montagne, Paoli, finding himself practically ruler of the island, drifted further and further away from sympathy with the powers that were dominant in France, and trusted less and less the men of the young generation who had made the revolution in Corsica. Bonaparte had from the beginning been in touch with the Corsican representatives of the Tiers-État in the Constituante, especially with Saliceti. The future course of events, both in France and in Corsica, was uncertain, and Bonaparte could not be sure whether it was for him to make his career as a Corsican or as a Frenchman. During his stay in Paris he had not yet entirely dismissed from his mind the idea of Corsican independence. But Paoli received him coldly, and, by quartering in different places the several companies of his battalion, prevented his having any opportunity to exercise his command, even as second to Quenza. It was becoming clear that Paoli was anxious to be rid of the Bonaparte family.

Towards the close of 1792, France being already at war with the King of Sardinia, the French Government determined upon an expedition to the island of Sardinia, to be made from Corsica. This was not to Paoli's taste, for Paoli regarded the King of Sardinia as a possible ally in a future struggle against France. The expedition was delayed. The Marseillais troops sent to take part in it were an undisciplined rabble, and behaved so badly in the island that everyone was anxious to be rid of them. Accordingly they were sent at the beginning of 1793 with a small flotilla of men-of-war to attempt the capture of Cagliari, at the south end of Sardinia. The attack was a complete failure, owing to the indiscipline of the Marseillais troops. At the same

time, by way of diversion, a smaller expedition was sent to seize the island of La Maddalena, on the Sardinian side of the Straits of Bonifacio. The force was under the command of Colonel Colonna-Cesari, a nephew of Paoli, and consisted of 150 regular infantry, 450 men of Quenza's Volunteer Battalion, and four guns. Bonaparte accompanied his battalion. The troops were embarked at Bonifacio on sixteen small vessels, and were accompanied by a corvette which carried the commanding officer. After a first start rendered futile by bad weather, the ships reached La Maddalena on February 22, and anchored near the western end of the channel between that island and the smaller island of Santo Stefano, which separates La Maddalena from Sardinia. The troops were landed on Santo Stefano, where, on February 23, the small Sardinian fort was taken. Bonaparte then established two guns and a mortar on a position on the north side of Santo Stefano, within range of the fort of La Maddalena. On the 24th he bombarded the fort, and Colonna that evening decided that next morning the troops should be ferried across to storm the place. But next morning the corvette with Colonna on board put to sea, leaving his written order to Quenza for the retreat of the troops. The bulk of the force was re-embarked during the day, and Bonaparte, occupied with his battery, only learnt in the evening of the order to retreat, brought back his guns with great difficulty, and was then compelled to embark without them. On the 26th the force was disembarked in Corsica in the Gulf of Santa Manza. Bonaparte was furious. Colonna's excuse was that the sailors had mutinied, had carried him off, and had compelled him to send the order for retreat. Bonaparte believed that the mutiny was got up by Colonna, under instructions from Paoli, to secure the failure of the expedition. He reported in this sense to the representatives of the Convention, and drafted a plan for a new attack on La Maddalena.

Meantime the relations between the French Republic and Paoli were becoming strained. On February 5 the Convention sent three Commissioners, with full powers, really to find out what Paoli was doing, nominally to provide for the

security of the ports of Corsica. From Toulon they invited Paoli to join them there, but the wary old man excused himself on account of his age, and at once took steps to strengthen his hold on the island, appointing his own creatures to all important posts, and, in particular, putting troops devoted to himself into such strong places as he could, especially into Ajaccio.

In April the three representatives, of whom one was Bonaparte's friend Saliceti, reached San Fiorenzo, in the extreme north of Corsica, a few miles west of Bastia. There they commenced negotiations with Paoli. Bonaparte met them and was commissioned by them to report on the defences of the ports of Corsica. He then went to Ajaccio, where he exerted all his ingenuity to get possession of the Fort, but in vain. Meantime the crisis had been precipitated, without the knowledge of Bonaparte or of the representatives, by the spontaneous action of Lucien Bonaparte, who was at Toulon, and there denounced Paoli to the Republican Club. The Club sent a heated address to the Convention, and the Convention ordered Paoli's arrest. Paoli and his adherents were from that moment in open opposition to the French Government and its representatives, and the Bonapartes were as good as proscribed. Bonaparte, after a series of perilous adventures, made his way from Ajaccio to Bastia, and shortly afterwards, accompanied by the representatives, conducted a small expedition to the Gulf of Ajaccio in the hope of seizing the town. But the attempt was found hopeless, the French party in the town being overawed by the Paolists, and the expedition returned. Bonaparte conducted his mother and younger brothers and sisters to Calvi, whence a few weeks later they sailed for Toulon.

Leaving his family at Lavalette, near Toulon, Bonaparte rejoined the Fourth Regiment of Artillery at Nice. There he met General Jean du Teil, the younger brother of his old friend, and was employed by him apparently as adjutant. Early in July he was ordered to Avignon, but found the place in possession of the Marseillais insurgents, whereupon he attached himself to the column under Carteaux, sent from Lyons against them. Carteaux entered Avignon on the

26th July, and on the 29th Napoleon completed his pamphlet *Le Souper de Beaucaire*, probably written at Beaucaire, opposite Tarascon. Carteaux, having dispersed the insurgents at Aix, marched on Toulon, and on September 7 attacked them at Ollioules. In this action Captain Dommartin, commanding the artillery of Carteaux's force, was wounded. The representatives with the army, of whom Saliceti was one, immediately sent for Bonaparte to replace Dommartin. Bonaparte reached the camp before Toulon on the 16th of September 1793, and at once took command of the artillery.

The proscription of Bonaparte by the Paolists necessarily put an end to his particularist ambition, and completed the change of which we have traced the growth, by which the Corsican boy became a Frenchman. From this moment he could have no doubt as to the direction in which to look for his career. He must make his way as a French officer.

The adventurous life of which we have sketched the outlines reveals a will manifesting its force in incessant activity, in tenacity of purpose, and, not least, in a concentration of mind at every moment on the particular purpose in hand. This intense concentration on the problem of the hour, unrelaxed until the situation has been mastered and a definite solution worked out and determined upon, is the secret of Bonaparte's military success. It is also the key to the process by which he prepared for that success, as we shall see by following in detail his military work during the period of which the outlines have just been sketched.

No sooner had he obtained the position of lieutenant-colonel than he wrote out 'Regulations for the Police and the service of the Battalion of Volunteer National Guards,' which reveals his mastery of the interior service of a battalion, laying down clearly the duties of the adjutant-major and of captains, lieutenants, sergeant-majors, sergeants, corporals and volunteers. This is the first of an enormous series of administrative papers which he produced during more than twenty years. It has the terse, precise exactitude which marks them all, and which may in part be attributed to the excellent traditions of the army in which he had been trained. There is evidence of the neatness of his military habits

dating from the period preceding the embarkation of the expeditionary force at Bonifacio. The local tradition asserts that at this time he experimented on the effect of his projectiles, and that the volunteers were astonished at the accuracy with which they were directed. Several witnesses report that at this time he took pains to be perfectly informed of everything that was going on, and that he was especially attentive to the cleanliness of his person and the neatness of his dress.[17] During his second holiday in Corsica he lost no opportunity of visiting, examining, and forming an opinion of the positions which during the War of Independence had been defended by the Corsicans.[18] For our purpose the essential matter is to follow the development of his tactical judgment, and of his faculty for the design of military operations.

The instruction at the Artillery School at Auxonne went beyond the mere communication of tactical doctrines. It was the practice of the Director to instruct the officers by dividing them into two groups of some fifteen on each side and setting them to work out, the one side the defence, and the other the attack of a post, position, or village. In this way Bonaparte at Auxonne must have had his first exercises in applied tactics, in the art of grasping and judging a situation, and of making up his mind as to its decisive point. A series of memoirs which were the fruits of his last stay in Corsica show the power of concentration and analysis applied to specific military problems. The first is a memoir on the necessity of obtaining possession of the Isles of La Maddalena. Bonaparte was anxious that the failure with which he had been associated should be redeemed by a successful expedition, for which, therefore, he must give good reasons. He begins with giving, in six lines, the names, sizes, and sites of the islands. Next he says that, if the French are masters of these islands, they have the best base of operations for incursions into Sardinia; that with slight fortifications they can not only render the islands safe from attack but also protect a fleet against an attack by superior force. In case of a

[17] Chuquet, *La Jeunesse de Napoléon*, iii. 40.
[18] Chuquet, ibid. ii. 108, 130.

struggle for the command of the Mediterranean the position of La Maddalena must be most useful, because it commands the Straits of Bonifacio and neutralises the Gulf of Porto Vecchio. In case of a maritime war upon trade, the possession of La Maddalena is essential to French trade with the Levant, because otherwise the harbour would be a nest of corsairs. Further, from La Maddalena the southern half of Corsica is exposed to attacks, and would require defences much more costly than would be the capture and occupation of the islands. Their occupation, moreover, would assure the passage of supplies of provisions from Sardinia to Corsica. Lastly, the honour of the French arms requires that the tricolour should float over the islands where the expedition was defeated, and that the guns left at Santo Stefano should be recovered.

This memoir is an example of thinking clearly and to the point, and of terse expression. Bonaparte is not the authority who has to decide whether the expedition shall be undertaken, but is an advocate marshalling reasons in its favour. The reasons which he gives are every one of them good, taken from realities, not from mere speculation. The analysis is exhaustive. The paper contains all the materials necessary to enable the authorities to judge of the utility of the enterprise ; it is for them, not for Bonaparte, to determine whether stronger reasons exist for employing the force elsewhere.

The second memoir is headed, ' Project for a new attack on La Maddalena.' In this, as in the preceding paper, Bonaparte goes straight to the point. There is no detailed exposition of the topography of the place, such as too often is the preface to a memoir of the kind. Bonaparte begins with examining the actual means possessed by the Sardinians for the defence of the islands. There are six small vessels propelled by oars, drawing very little water, and therefore more mobile than frigates. The arms of the sea between the islands, and between the islands and the mainland of Sardinia, are narrow and exposed to artillery fire from the coast. The town of La Maddalena is protected by two forts and two batteries, and the island has two coast batteries.

The island of Santo Stefano has three guns, and a redoubt may have been built. On the Sardinian coast there are a few guns protecting the channel and enfilading the harbour of Santo Stefano. What are the means of overcoming these defences? We must be absolute masters of the sea. It is not enough to be stronger at sea. A single corvette would be superior to the six Sardinian boats, but it could not stop the communication between Sardinia and the islands, nor could it pursue or capture the Sardinian vessels. To command the sea we must have a corvette, a brig, and two gunboats propelled by oars. With them we can bar all the channels, and, unless we do this, the Sardinians may quickly collect a large force on the Sardinian shore and reinforce the islands. Besides being masters of the channels we must have guns sufficient to overcome the enemy's guns and to silence them before the assault. Our transports must be small boats propelled by oars.

There is no trace, in this analysis, of military learning. Its author perfectly understands the tools of his trade, the use of guns, the qualities, relative to the purpose in hand, of different sorts of ships. He has clearly established in his mind the principle that in order to attack a position you must first silence the enemy's guns with your own guns. All the rest is common sense applied to the facts of the case, which he has perfectly mastered and sees absolutely as they are, in due perspective. These are all the elements of success, of perfection in the art of the design of operations, which is the intellectual part of generalship. The details of the plan of attack, which complete the memoir, show the same qualities. Everything has been thought out, and the last paragraph explains the mode by which the channel of La Maddalena, when conquered, is to be used as a base for the protection of trade through the Straits of Bonifacio.

The two papers, of course, are not those of a naval officer. We must not expect to find developed in them the enormous importance of the harbour of La Maddalena in the strategical arrangements of a great naval war, but Bonaparte's judgment, as far as it goes, is confirmed on all points by that of Nelson, who on October 24, 1803, announced his intention

of taking his squadrons to the Maddalena Islands to water, reached them on November 1, and wrote on December 22:

God knows, if we could possess one island (Sardinia), we should want neither Malta nor any other. This, which is the finest island in the Mediterranean, possesses harbours fit for arsenals, and of a capacity to hold our Navy, within twenty-four hours' sail of Toulon; bays to ride our fleets in and to watch both Sicily and Toulon; no fleet could pass eastwards between Sicily and the coast of Barbary, nor through the Faro of Messina. Malta in point of position is not to be named in the same year as Sardinia.

The project for the defence of the Gulf of San Fiorenzo exhibits the same qualities as the preceding memoirs, attributable to the same cause—the determination to probe the subject to the bottom and to reduce it to its essential elements; or, in a word, to go absolutely to the point. Bonaparte begins by examining the importance of the Gulf of San Fiorenzo. It should be observed that these memoirs are written after the declaration of war against England, and that therefore at this time the defence of Corsica is primarily its defence against attack from the sea.

For twenty years (writes Bonaparte) much money has been spent on the fortifications of the different places of Corsica; money could not have been worse spent. No point on the island is in a position to resist the smallest squadron. The reason is simple. It is that there has been a wish to fortify a great number of different points, while it has not been observed that it is impossible to prevent disembarkation in an island which has so many gulfs. We ought to content ourselves with a single gulf, choose it well, and fortify it with all the resources of art; in case of attack concentrate the defence there; make it the centre of the correspondence with the Continent, and of a resistance by which to defend step by step the rocks of the interior. The place chosen should be the nearest possible to France, should have an anchorage capable of holding a fleet, should be susceptible of a great defence, and should join to the advantage of being on the coast that of being a suitable starting-point for the defence of the interior. All these advantages are united at San Fiorenzo.

This business-like introduction is followed by a somewhat discursive apostrophe to the Commissioners in favour of the chosen gulf. Bonaparte then says 'I have visited with attention the different parts of this gulf, I have taken myself the distances and the soundings,' and he suggests that the harbour can be provisionally fortified so as to secure it against

a *coup de main*. For this purpose he carefully discusses the whole of the bay in order to ascertain what are the possibilities of attack from the sea.[19]

The anchorage proper is on the left-hand side, between Mortella and Fornali. No serious landing is here possible, the coast being too rocky, but three batteries must be built to command the anchorage and deny it to the enemy. There is a landing-place at the south end of the gulf, but the water is too shallow to admit of the approach of large vessels; even rowing-boats cannot reach the actual shore, the men would have to wade up to the waist; a landing here may be regarded as impracticable. On the right-hand side of the bay there are two possible landing-places between Nonza and San Fiorenzo. One of these is north of La Vecchiaja, but it must be dismissed because a party landing there could not reach San Fiorenzo except through one of the gorges through the hills to the east of the town. From the point of La Vecchiaja to San Fiorenzo the distance is more than 4,000 yards, but part of this space is filled with rocks, and the shore is not good except for an extent of 1,400 yards; that is the true place for a landing by force. Frigates can come near to cover the landing, the boats can go right to the shore, and the troops can form in order of battle upon a clear beach. It is for this beach that a well-informed enemy would make. Thus by a sifting process, with no other guide than his common sense applied to a close examination of the ground, Bonaparte puts his finger on the decisive point. He then describes in detail the provisional works by which he proposes that this exposed spot should be commanded, and discusses the means of defence of the gorges to the east of the town and of the town itself, in case, in spite of his provisional works, the enemy should effect a landing. In all this, again, there is no trace of learning. The author of the memorandum starts with the knowledge of the tools of his trade, studies the ground—not with a view to make a geographical treatise—but in order to find out exactly how it may serve or hinder the purpose in view, how it must affect the enemy's action; and then makes common-sense

[19] See inset sketch-map on p. 481.

arrangements to frustrate the various operations which alone it is open to the enemy to attempt. The requisite technical knowledge, a determination to get to the bottom of the problem, a clear head and common sense are the elements which in this case also produce a model of strategical and tactical design.

The third paper, possibly the second in order of date, is the project for the defence of the Gulf of Ajaccio. Here Bonaparte's local knowledge may be assumed to have been perfect, for it was his birthplace, the place where he had spent most of his time in Corsica, and where during this stormy period of his life he had had occasions enough to reflect both on the attack and the defence of the locality. He endeavours, as in the other memoirs, to put his finger on the critical spot.[20]

The Gulf of Ajaccio is about nine miles across at the mouth, from the Iles Sanguinaires to the Punta della Castagna, and about nine miles deep from the line joining these points to its inner end at the Campo dell'Oro, which is a flat beach about two miles long. The northern side of the gulf, from the Iles Sanguinaires to Ajaccio, is formed by a range of hills falling steeply towards the shore. The actual bay of the town is a semicircular opening about a mile and a quarter across, penetrating about a mile inwards from its mouth. At the entrance to the bay there is on its western side a small flat promontory, upon which stand the citadel and the town. On the eastern side is the promontory of Aspreto, behind which lies a hill called the hill of Aspreto. The ordinary harbour lies on the western side of this bay, and extends for about three quarters of a mile between the citadel and the lighthouse. This harbour was known as that of Santa Lucia. The western and north-western portion of the bay beyond the lighthouse, now known as the inner harbour, was called the harbour of Campo dell'Oro, and its beach La Plage de Cannes. In order to deny the whole bay to an enemy, Bonaparte proposed to place two shore batteries on the promontory of Aspreto, one of which would face the interior of the bay or port of Campo dell'Oro, so as to render it

[20] The full text of this memoir is printed in the Appendix, pp. 492–3.

Bay and Harbour of AJACCIO.

Natural Scale, 1:60,000.
1 English Mile
0 ¼ ½ ¾ 1

Walker & Cockerell sc.

II

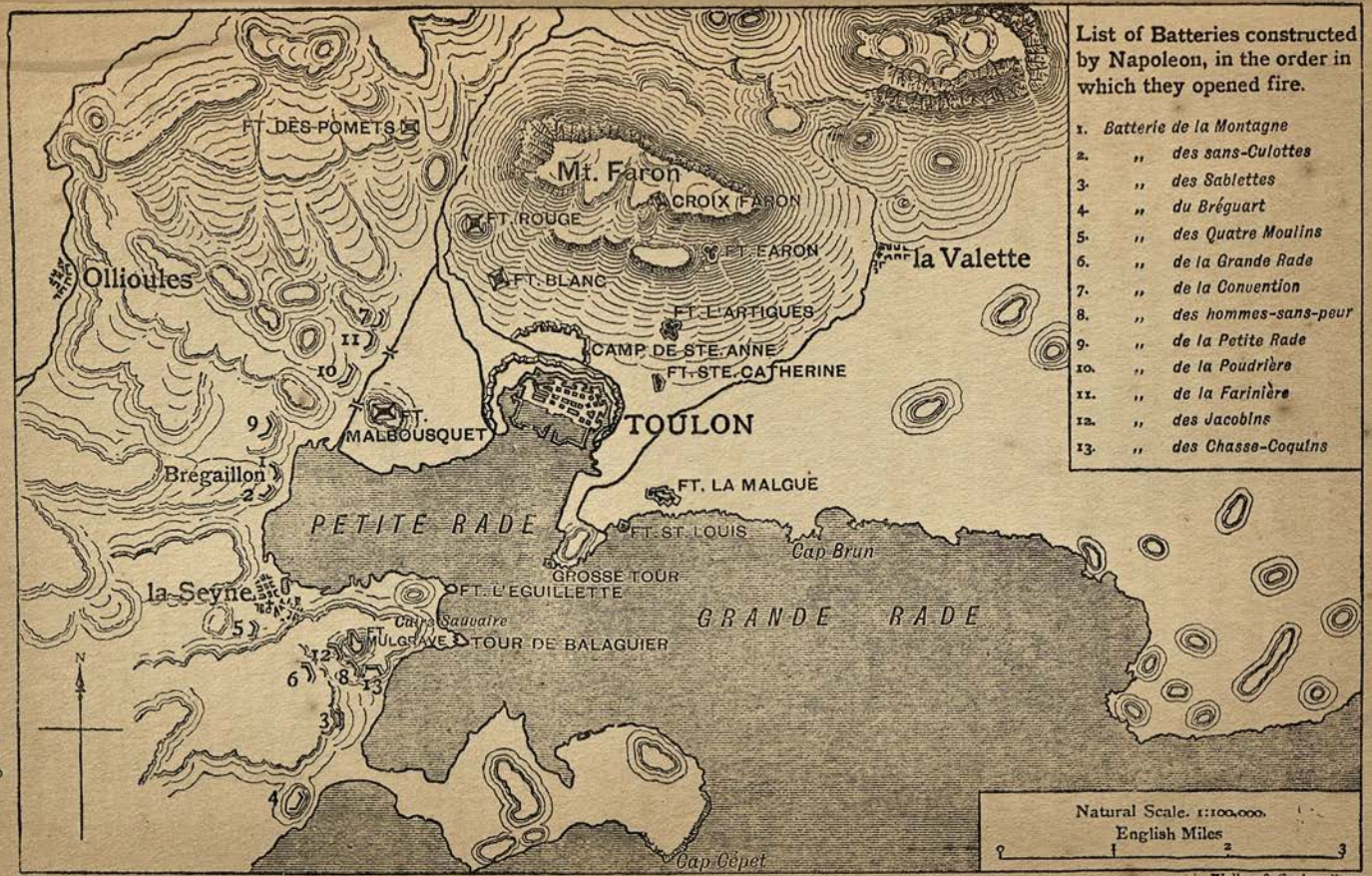
impossible for any ship to remain there, while the other would command with its fire the harbour of Santa Lucia, which would thus be under a cross fire from this battery and from the citadel. This battery and the citadel would also between them completely command the entrance to the bay. But the two batteries would both be commanded from the hill behind them. The enemy might land on the south end of the Campo dell' Oro (which must not be confused with the harbour of that name) and might advance and attack the two batteries from behind. To prevent this a redoubt must be constructed on the hill of Aspreto which would protect the two batteries, and command the bay and the approaches from the Campo dell' Oro. 'Le promontoire d'Aspreto est le point le plus intéressant du golfe d'Ajaccio, parce qu'il sépare les deux ports et qu'il les domine.'

This is the whole project. Its interest is that it explains the capture of Toulon.

Bonaparte had passed through Toulon, probably more than once, on his journeys to and from Corsica. He was appointed Commandant of the Artillery of Carteaux' force on September 16, a few months after the date of the memoir just examined.

The insurgents held the fortified town of Toulon and its outlying works; the English and Spanish fleets were in the inner harbour.

The harbour of Toulon is a great bay, nearly two miles wide at its mouth, between Cap Cépet and Cap Brun, and about four miles in depth from its entrance to its inner end in the bay of La Seyne. The great bay is divided into the outer and inner harbours by the promontories of the Grosse Tour and of Caire, which jut out, leaving an entrance not quite a mile wide between the inner and outer harbours. The promontory of Caire is, roughly speaking, an equilateral triangle of which each side is a mile and a quarter long. When Napoleon joined the besieging force, the insurgents held the town and its outlying works in a great circle from Cap Brun by Mont Faron to the fort of Malbousquet at the west end of the town and on the north side of the bay of La Seyne. The great promontory west of the harbour, which extends to



TOULON AND ITS HARBOUR

Cap Cicié and to Cap Cépet, was neglected by them, though they had a few troops on Cap Cépet. The Anglo-Spanish fleet was in the inner harbour assisting the defence. The French Republican forces formed two armies, one under La Poype between Cap Brun and Mont Faron, the other under Carteaux to the west of Mont Faron, with its head-quarters at Ollioules. The town was thus invested on the land side, and several general attacks were made, embracing nearly all the points in the great circle of the defences. On his arrival, Bonaparte, fresh from his analysis of the position at Ajaccio, immediately perceived the analogy between the promontory of Aspreto and the promontory of Caire. A battery at L'Éguillette, the extreme point of the latter promontory, would render the inner harbour untenable by the allied fleet, and therefore sooner or later bring about the fall of the town. In order to be able to construct the battery, the French must hold the hill behind L'Éguillette, which commands it. This hill of Caire was therefore the decisive point.[21]

[21] The part played by Bonaparte at the siege of Toulon has been the subject of much controversy. It may be well, therefore, to note concisely the evidence which supports the view here taken. Bonaparte joined the head-quarters on September 16. On September 20 the representatives, Saliceti and Gasparin, wrote to the Committee of Public Safety: 'You will see from the letter written to us yesterday by Citizen Bonaparte, Captain of Artillery, who was destined for the army of Nice, but whom the wound of Dommartin had obliged us to keep here to command, the situation of yesterday and the dispositions for to-day' (Colin, p. 184). On September 25 Saliceti writes:—We have established batteries on the seashore. They disturb the fleet, which we should have compelled to leave the harbour if the General had been willing to carry out the plan which we proposed to him and which was that of the Committee of Public Safety' (Colin, p. 185). Saliceti was not a soldier, but was Bonaparte's intimate friend, and Gasparin, who died during the siege, was under the influence of the two Corsicans. The assumption that 'the plan which we proposed' took its inspiration from Bonaparte is fairly safe. On September 29 the two representatives proposed that Bonaparte should be promoted Chef de bataillon (Duruy, *Mémoires de Barras*, i. lviii, lxxi). On September 30, the representatives write that 'Bonna Parte' is 'le seul capitaine d'artillerie qui soit en état de concevoir les opérations.' On October 25 Bonaparte himself writes to the Committee of Public Safety, explaining his plans and referring to an early report, now lost. On November 14 he develops his plan at some length in a letter to the Minister of War, to which is annexed a detailed report of the measures which he has taken. The substance of these letters is irreconcilable with the hypothesis that the plans which they explained were attributable to anyone but the writer himself. After the capture of the town Dugommier, in his report, writes: 'Le feu de nos batteries, dirigé par le plus grand talent, annonça à l'ennemi sa destinée.' General Du Teil the younger, who accompanied Doppet to the siege and remained to its close, wrote to the Ministry of War the day after the fall of Toulon: 'Je manque d'expression pour te peindre le mérite de Bonaparte: beaucoup de science, autant d'intelligence et trop de bravoure, voilà une faible esquisse des vertus de ce rare

The conception of operations, however important and essential, is the easier portion of a commander's task. The great difficulty lies in their execution, which requires at every stage the same penetrating judgment, the same creative originality, supported incessantly by a tenacious will.

Bonaparte, on his arrival, found only one battery in position, half a mile from Ollioules, and 2,000 yards from the nearest point of the inner harbour, yet Carteaux had the absurd idea that with this battery he would be able to fire red-hot shot and drive the enemy's ships out of the Bay of La Seyne. Bonaparte parked the guns, and set about the construction of a battery near Brégaillon, close to the bay. On September 20 this battery opened fire and drove the ships out of the bay towards Toulon. This was a necessary preliminary to an attack on the hill of Caire, which otherwise would have been taken in flank by the guns of the ships in the Bay of La Seyne. On the 22nd Bonaparte was able to induce the General to make an attack on the hill of Caire, but Carteaux sent General De Laborde with only 300 or 400 men, and the enemy was beforehand with the attack and landed a large party, so that Laborde was repulsed. Bonaparte was unable to induce Carteaux to have the attack reinforced and pressed. Next day Bonaparte opened a second battery beside his first. The enemy, however, now set about in earnest fortifying Le Caire, constructing on the hill a strong redoubt, armed with 20 guns and 4 large mortars, called by them Fort Mulgrave, and by the French Le Petit Gibraltar. Bonaparte was the first to see that the prospect of an easy victory was gone, and that a great effort would be necessary to take the hill. The construction of Fort Mulgrave had not moved the decisive point; it had only made it more difficult to capture. Napoleon's early training left him in no doubt of what he had to do. 'S'il se trouve

officier. C'est à toi, ministre, de les consacrer à la gloire de la République.' (Duruy, p. lix). These documents, as has been shown by M. Duruy and Captain Colin, contain convincing evidence that the plan of operations was due to Bonaparte and no other. Bonaparte's memorandum on the defence of Ajaccio supplements and clinches the proof by revealing the origin of the plan in his mind. See Appendix, pp. 492–3.

des retranchements fermés ou des redoutes, en multipliant lés feux sur elles, il sera facile de les écraser.' [22]

Between October 15 and November 30 he had constructed, armed, and opened fire from no less than 11 additional batteries, of which 8 were directed against Fort Mulgrave, or destined, like the two first built, to sweep one or other of the bays from which the enemy's ships could protect its flanks. Of the other three batteries two were destined to keep down the fire of Fort Malbousquet, and the third to bombard Toulon when the opportune moment should arise. These three batteries on the left wing had also the purpose of veiling from the enemy the nature of the plan of attack by keeping his attention at least in part directed against the weak west front of Toulon. On November 29 a vigorous sortie was made from Fort Malbousquet against the Fort of the Convention, one of the three on the left wing. The battery was taken and the guns spiked, but the French retook the battery after a hard-fought engagement in which Bonaparte greatly distinguished himself. Dugommier, in his report, written next day, says:

I cannot too highly praise the conduct of those of our brothers in arms who took part in the fight; among those who most distinguished themselves and who gave me the most help in rallying our men and leading them forward are citizens Bonna Parte, Commandant of the Artillery, Arena and Cervoni, Adjutants-General.

Saliceti also writes to his colleagues, giving Bonaparte great prominence among those who had distinguished themselves in this affair.

'It is the artillery which captures places, the infantry simply helps it,' were the words of Bonaparte in the first of his preserved reports to the Committee of Public Safety. It was long before he had convinced the higher authorities of the army of the soundness of this view, but at last the effect of his batteries produced on their minds the desired result, and it was decided that the assault should be delivered on the night of December 16. Fort Mulgrave was stormed, and as day dawned, Bonaparte, with field guns, was driving the British garrison from the forts of L'Éguillette and

[22] Du Teil, quoted by Colin, p. 75; see above, p. 462.

Balaguier, at the extremity of the promontory of Caire. During the 18th he set up a battery above L'Éguillette, and the allied fleet evacuated the harbour. Next day the Republican army entered Toulon.

Napoleon owed his success at Toulon neither to precedent nor to military history. His design was directly inspired by his recent studies of the defence of the Corsican ports, especially of Ajaccio. The appropriateness of his means of execution is sufficiently explained by three factors, of which we have seen the development: his familiarity with the tools of his trade, his good sense, or habit of thinking clearly without his mind being confused by temper or sentiment, and his strong will or unity of purpose. He is master of the use of artillery and of what belongs to it; he throws himself entirely, with all his energy, into the business in hand. The supremacy of the purpose in view is the explanation of the way in which his mind always goes to the point. There is a contrast between Bonaparte's design, coupled with his method of executing it, and the plans and projects framed at the same time by the learned men of the profession. An elaborate plan was worked out by Michaud d'Arçon, the great professional authority. It is a plan for a regular siege according to the traditions and practices of the besiegers' trade. All the points commanding the harbour are to be taken, but the project requires for its execution forces which the generals of the Convention do not possess and cannot obtain. Bonaparte's first merit consists in his having seen that the place could be taken without a regular siege. Instead of considering how to assault the points which the defenders have prepared to receive him, he considers simply what is the surest and shortest means of compelling the hostile fleet to leave the harbour. He finds that the commanding point lies outside the circuit of the enemy's prepared defences, and he tries to take it by a *coup de main*, rendered safe by the batteries which he has established, commanding the Bay of La Seyne, and therefore protecting the left flank of his storming party. When the *coup de main* fails, he sets to work systematically to reduce the decisive point, and exerts all his influence to

bring into their proper subordinate place the attacks and demonstrations which the generals wish to make upon other points of the defensive lines. The capture of Le Caire and of L'Éguillette may, perhaps, not immediately bring about the surrender of Toulon. He works out the means by which it may be supplemented, and a continuous and increasing pressure be brought to bear upon the enemy.[23] At every point he is guided, not by tradition, but by his insight into the enemy's situation, and by his judgment of the probable effect upon the enemy of each of the different measures which he contemplates. At the same time his activity is prodigious.[24]

Every one of his measures is to the point; he does

[23] See his letters of October 25 and November 14.

[24] In after years Bonaparte said that the art of war was 'all execution.' Nothing could illustrate these words better than his enclosure in his letter to the Minister of War, November 14, 1793, of which the following is the text:

'Lorsque les représentants du peuple m'ont retenu à l'armée devant Toulon et m'ont donné le commandement de l'artillerie, il n'y avait que quelques pièces de campagne, deux pièces de 24, deux de 16 et deux mortiers, sans aucun des objets qui sont nécessaires, sans aucun ordre de service, sans parc d'artillerie, sans aucun commandement ni combinaisons; depuis le général jusqu'au dernier aide-de-camp, tout le monde dirigeait et changeait à son gré les différentes dispositions de l'artillerie.

'Je me suis occupé à rendre au corps d'artillerie cette considération et cette indépendance dans ses opérations sans laquelle elle ne peut servir utilement.

'La faiblesse de l'armée, la nullité de nos moyens, le temps qu'il faut pour préparer un équipage de siège, tout me fit sentir la nécessité de ne pas penser au siège de Toulon, mais de me borner à former un équipage qui nous mît à même de chasser les ennemis des rades en plaçant une batterie à l'Éguillette.

'J'eus bientôt quatorze pièces de canon, quatre mortiers et tout l'attirail pour pouvoir construire plusieurs batteries. J'établis un parc, j'y mis un ordre de service, je chargeai des sous-officiers des détails que je ne pouvais pas confier à des officiers qui n'existaient pas.

'Trois jours après mon arrivée, l'armée eut une artillerie, et les batteries de la Montagne et des Sans-culottes furent établies, coulèrent bas les pontons et résistèrent à plus de vingt mille boulets.

'Dans ce moment-là, les ennemis, comprenant l'insuffisance de leur artillerie navale, risquèrent le tout pour le tout et débarquèrent à l'Éguillette; ils eussent dû être écrasés dans leur descente; la fatalité ou notre ineptie voulut qu'elle leur réussît. Peu de jours après, ils y eurent des pièces de 24, un chemin couvert et des palissades; quelques jours après, des secours considérables leur arrivèrent de Naples et d'Espagne. Je compris que l'affaire de Toulon était manquée et qu'il fallait se résoudre à un siége.

'Je n'épargnai rien pour pousser de front les préparatifs pour l'attaque de l'Éguillette et la formation du grand équipage.

'J'ai fait aller à Lyon, à Briançon, à Grenoble, un officier intelligent que j'ai fait venir de l'armée d'Italie pour tirer de ces différentes places ce qui pouvait nous être utile.

'J'ai requis l'armée d'Italie de me fournir les bouches à feu inutiles à la défense d'Antibes et de Monaco. Par la feuille cotée G, vous verrez ce qu'ils

nothing at random. Each of his thirteen batteries has its specific purpose and objective, and is placed and armed accordingly. Every part of the activity described in his enclosure to the Ministry of War serves its specific purpose in his preparations. The whole man is absorbed in his task, and to follow his work in detail is to get to know the whole man.

On December 22, 1793, the representatives at Toulon nominate Bonaparte General of Brigade, on account 'of the zeal and intelligence of which he had given proofs in contributing to the surrender of the rebel city.' On the 24th he reports to the Ministry of War on the condition of the fortifications of Toulon, of the artillery which he had found

peuvent fournir; la difficulté était de les faire transporter. J'ai requis le département du Var. Je me suis procuré 100 chevaux de réquisition à Marseille que j'ai envoyés.

'J'ai fait venir de Martigues huit pièces de canon de bronze qui y étaient, que j'ai fait remplacer par huit pièces de fer.

'J'ai mis à Marseille, à Aix et dans le département des Bouches-du-Rhône, en réquisition tous les objets portés dans la note cotée D.

'J'ai établi à Ollioules un arsenal où quatre-vingts ouvriers, forgerons, charrons, menuisiers, charpentiers, travaillent sans discontinuer aux objets qui nous sont nécessaires.

'J'ai établi un parc où on travaille à force à faire des saucissons, des gabions, des claies, des fagots de sape, des fascines de sape.

'J'ai requis tous les ouvriers qui faisaient à Marseille des paniers et des dames-jeannes, et je les fais travailler à faire des gabions.

'J'ai requis des chevaux auprès de tous les départements, tous les districts, tous les commissaires des guerres, depuis Nice jusqu'à Valence et Montpellier.

'J'ai fait prendre à la Seyne, à la Ciotat tous les bois que j'ai pu trouver, et l'on travaille à en faire des plates-formes de canons et de mortiers.

'Je fais faire à Marseille cinq mille sacs à terre par jour; et j'espère bientôt avoir la quantité qui m'est nécessaire.

'J'ai établi une salle d'artifice où l'on fait des fascines goudronnées, des boulets incendiaires et de la roche.

'J'ai pris des mesures pour rétablir la fonderie des Ardennes, qui est en notre pouvoir, et j'espère avant huit jours avoir de la mitraille, des boulets, et, avant quinze jours, un mortier venant de cette fonderie.

'J'ai une salle d'armes où l'on répare tous les fusils, avec un atelier de dix armuries.

'Vous ajouterez quelque mérite à ces différentes opérations, Citoyen Ministre, quand vous saurez que je suis seul pour diriger et le parc, et les opérations militaires, et l'arsenal; que je n'ai pas même un sous-officier d'ouvriers, et que je n'ai que cinquante hommes de canonniers de position, parmi lesquels encore il y a beaucoup de recrues.

'Un des objets les plus intéressants et pour lesquels je vous presserai le plus, ce sera la poudre. Je vous prie de mettre tout en œuvre pour nous en envoyer.

'Il nous faudrait aussi un officier d'ouvriers intelligent, afin que je puisse me fier sur lui de tous les détails de l'arsenal.

BUONAPARTE.'

there, and the steps he had already taken to put the place in a state of defence. During the siege he had been at one time sent off to Marseilles to set in order the two forts of that town. Immediately after the siege he was commissioned to inspect the defences of the coast, in the first instance of the Bouches-du-Rhône. On January 4, 1794, he is at Marseilles and reports on Fort St. Nicolas, which is not susceptible of holding out for a quarter of an hour; he has taken measures to put it temporarily in a state of defence. Three weeks later he reports on the want of organisation and training of the companies of coast artillery, and asks the minister for instructions, inasmuch as he is aware of no law on the formation of the personnel of the coast batteries. At this time he is much occupied in providing, for all the important batteries along the coast, reverberating furnaces for supplying red-hot shot. He visits the fort of Bouc, near Martigues, and the islands of Hyères, and on February 23 announces that he proposes to continue his tour of inspection as far as Mentone and to set all the coast batteries in order unless he receives positive orders to the contrary. On February 28 he is at Saint-Tropez. At this time the English had the command of the sea, to the great distress of the French, for not only did the army of Italy depend for its supplies on the coast traffic from Genoa, but the whole of Provence from the Var to the Rhone was dependent upon imported food borne in small coasting vessels from port to port. Bonaparte's object was to establish batteries at such points on the coast as would protect this coasting trade by keeping the British ships at a distance. The Gulf of Saint-Tropez, for example, was blockaded by the British, who had already taken a number of boats loaded with provisions. Bonaparte ordered the construction of two batteries, one on Cape Lardier, the other on Cape Taillat, and he hoped that when they were ready communication from Nice to Marseilles might be carried on even in sight of the British ships. He also established three batteries on the shore of the harbour of Hyères, which, in conjunction with two batteries already existing on the two islands, would make the anchorage secure, while at the same time giving further protection to the coasting

traffic. On March 1 he writes from Toulon to have instructions sent to the batteries near Antibes, one of which he has reconstructed, and at Saint-Tropez, that a French squadron has left Toulon and that they are to be on the watch for its signals and not to mistake it for the English squadron.

It is evident that Bonaparte's experience at La Maddalena had not been thrown away. He now applies it in directing absolutely to the point the work with which he is charged, of protecting the coast. He cannot pretend to prevent a hostile landing, for he has perceived in Corsica 'that it is impossible to prevent a landing in an island that has so many gulfs'; he therefore confines himself to what is both indispensable and possible, to giving such protection as batteries can afford to the coasting trade, upon which depend the supplies both of Provence and of the army of Italy.

Bonaparte before Toulon had displayed his pre-eminence in both branches of a commander's work, the conception or design and the execution of operations. He was therefore, in March, invited by the representatives Robespierre and Saliceti to assist them in directing the operations of the army of Italy. In the campaigns that followed the genius already developed found fresh scope, but he begins those campaigns with the faculties, of which the origin has here been traced, already matured.

The passage from Napoleon's memoirs quoted at the head of this paper gives his own idea of the elements of generalship and of the process of their development. The basis is the technical knowledge derived from professional study; the crown of the edifice is meditation upon the campaigns of the great masters; the substance of the structure is composed of the general's own experience. My endeavour has been to trace the part of experience in the development of Napoleon's own powers, and thus to supplement Captain Colin's account of his early technical studies, as well as to prepare the way for the appreciation of those studies in military history to which in after years he attached so much importance, but of which before March 1794 no trace has been discovered.

SPENSER WILKINSON.

APPENDIX

Projet pour la Défense du Golfe d'Ajaccio.

Il y a deux excellents ports dans le golfe d'Ajaccio : le port de Sainte-Lucie et celui du Campo dell'Oro. Le premier est sous le faubourg, le second sous le promontoire d'Aspretto.

La ville a pour toute défense une forteresse éloignée de 2000 toises du port du Campo dell'Oro et d'environ 1400 du port de Sainte-Lucie.

Le port de Campo dell'Oro est entre les deux points de la citadelle et du promontoire d'Aspretto. Une batterie qui serait placée au promontoire d'Aspretto croiserait son feu avec la forteresse. Elle serait éloignée d'Aspretto. Cette batterie pourrait être située de manière à pouvoir découvrir toute la plage de Cannes.

Le port de Sainte-Lucie est formé par des écueils qui suivent le prolongement de la pointe du port. Cette batterie, placée à ces pointes, enfilerait l'entrée du port, en maîtriserait tous les points et découvrirait les vaisseaux, du moment qu'ils auraient dépassé la pointe de la citadelle.

Le promontoire d'Aspretto domine et découvre dans tous les sens le port de Campo dell'Oro. Une batterie, placée sur la pointe la plus avancée vers le port et d'où l'on découvre toute la rive, maîtriserait absolument et l'entrée et l'intérieur du port où l'ennemi ne pourrait mouiller qu'après avoir fait cesser le feu de ladite batterie.

Cependant l'ennemi pourrait débarquer vers Capitello et se porter par terre pour enlever les deux batteries du promontoire, ce qui le rendrait maître des deux ports. L'on ne tentera point de fortifier les deux batteries, ce serait une double besogne, et d'ailleurs, le local où elles doivent être placées n'en serait pas susceptible, étant dominé à une demi-portée de pistolet par un mamelon fort élevé.

En construisant, sur le mamelon, une bonne redoute avec des magasins souterrains en grosse charpente, comme l'on a coutume d'en faire pour les fortifications provisionnelles, l'on remplira l'objet de mettre les deux batteries à l'abri d'un coup de main et d'être toujours maître du passage de communication entre les autres points du golfe où l'ennemi pourrait débarquer et la ville. Ajaccio et ses deux ports sont au fond du golfe, qui a deux lieues de profondeur. La tour des Sanguinaires défend un petit mouillage : elle est sur le cap le plus à la mer. L'on pourra y placer trois pièces de canon et rétablir le parapet autour d'une petite place qui est à son pied.

Redoute d'Aspretto.

Le promontoire d'Aspretto est le point le plus intéressant du golfe d'Ajaccio, parce qu'il sépare les deux ports et qu'il les domine. Du mamelon dont nous avons parlé, l'on découvre les deux ports, et il est impossible à l'ennemi de mouiller dans aucun des deux sans s'en être auparavant emparé. L'on peut de là juger si cette position mérite d'être occupée. L'on aurait dû y établir un fort en bonne maçonnerie, capable de toute la résistance d'un ouvrage permanent. Dans le moment actuel, l'on pourra se contenter d'une redoute circulaire avec un bon fossé, son chemin couvert, une bonne palissade, des magasins pour contenir l'attirail nécessaire au service des deux batteries, et des corps de garde pour à peu près deux cents hommes, et l'on placera dans la redoute deux pièces de canon de 12, une de 16, une de 24, deux mortiers de douze pouces.

Batterie de la Droite.

Cette batterie sera située sur la pointe du promontoire d'Aspretto d'où l'on découvre toute la Plage de Cannes. Elle se trouve peu éloignée de la redoute. L'on pratiquera un chemin creux, de manière que l'on puisse communiquer avec la redoute sans être exposé au feu des batteries ennemies. L'on rejettera les terres de droite et de gauche de manière que cela forme une espéce de caponnière. Du moment que l'ennemi aurait débarqué l'on traînerait de suite les pièces à la redoute.

Cette batterie contiendra cinq pièces de canon de 24, montées sur des affûts de siège afin de pouvoir les transporter facilement. Elle aura deux côtés: l'un vers la haute mer et l'autre vers l'intérieur du port. L'angle sera vis-à-vis la ville. L'on l'élèvera de plusieurs pieds pour éviter le ricochet.

Batterie de la Gauche.

Cette batterie sera exactement construite de la même manière que la précédente. Elle sera située à la pointe, sur la gauche du promontoire où l'on découvre toute la plage de Campo dell'Oro. Elle contiendra six pièces de canon, placées sur trois côtés: l'un regardant la haute mer, l'autre l'intérieur du port, le troisième enfilant l'entrée.

Note.—The spelling 'Aspretto' is that of Napoleon's memoir as given by Masson and Biagi. The spelling 'Aspreto,' which I have adopted in the text, is that of the French *Carte de l'État-major*.

The identification of the two harbours described by Napoleon is a matter of some difficulty. I can find in no modern map either the names Port de Sainte-Lucie and Port du Campo dell'Oro or the name La Plage

de Cannes. Napoleon's words, 'parce qu'il sépare les deux ports,' and the site of the Campo dell'Oro on the French staff maps, suggest that the harbour of that name was on the south side of Aspreto. But this interpretation is forbidden by the words 'Le port de Campo dell'Oro est entre les deux points de la citadelle et du promontoire d'Aspretto.' The map in Black's *Itinerary through Corsica* gives an inner and an outer harbour as in my map, with 'St. Lucie chapel' on the land between them, opposite the lighthouse. The crucial evidence, which to my mind decides the question, is a map accompanying an early edition of Boswell's work, in which the name Plage de Cannes is given, as far as I can make out, to the beach so described in my map.

I have looked through a number of books on Corsica without finding any information on the subject.

The Tour des Sanguinaires and the islands of that name are about eight miles to the west of Ajaccio, outside the area included in my map. The guns which Napoleon proposes to place there are to prevent a landing to the west of the town by commanding the only anchorage.

NOTE II.—At the last moment before going to press, I have discovered in the library of the Royal United Service Institution some old French charts of Corsica, in which two anchorages are marked at Ajaccio, one to the west and the other to the east of the group of rocks south of the hill of Aspreto. It would very much simplify Bonaparte's memoir if we could assume that these two anchorages are the two harbours referred to, and that the westerly one is the Port de Sainte-Lucie and the easterly one the Port du Campo dell'Oro. But if this were the case the third paragraph of the memoir would be unintelligible. Mr. Tait has suggested to me that in the third and fourth paragraphs of the memoir Napoleon, by a slip of the pen, has confused the two names, and written 'Campo dell'Oro' for 'Sainte-Lucie' and 'Sainte-Lucie' for 'Campo dell'Oro.' The position of the Chapel of Sainte-Lucie and of the Campo dell'Oro respectively seems to support the identification of the westerly anchorage with the Port of Sainte-Lucie and of the eastern with the Port of Campo dell'Oro. Moreover, the literal acceptance of Napoleon's statement that Aspreto divides the two harbours makes the analogy between Ajaccio and Toulon much closer than the view adopted in the text.

XVIII

THE DETENTION OF NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA

THE attention of the world has been so much directed of late to the last years of Napoleon's life that no apology is needed for setting forth some new details of his captivity that are drawn from the British Record Office. Alone, perhaps, of all the important archives of Europe, those of Great Britain have not as yet yielded up all their secrets for the years 1815–1821 on this subject. It is true that Captain Maitland's *Narrative* supplied many important facts; that Forsyth, in his very thorough and conscientious edition of the Lowe papers, threw a flood of light on a subject where misrepresentation and slander had previously held unchallenged sway; while Mr. Allardyce's *Memoirs of Lord Keith* also furnished some interesting details. But apart from these works few, if any, have appeared that are based on a study of our official papers. It is the purpose of this article to fill in some of the gaps from the materials which the writer has gained by a study of the Foreign Office, Admiralty, and Colonial Office archives of this period.

The question that meets us on the threshold of our inquiry is this; Was Napoleon justified in representing himself as coming to us as a guest, freely and without any obvious need? Or was his escape to America hopeless; and did he adopt this device at the last moment as a means of assuring liberty and comfortable treatment in England? The former view is that which is taken by nearly all French historians. The latter alternative is affirmed by Captain Maitland of H.M.S. 'Bellerophon,' as well as by British writers, almost without exception. In order to understand

the situation, we must briefly recall the chief facts. After Waterloo, Napoleon rapidly returned to Paris in the hope of stimulating the Chambers to renewed efforts on his behalf; but they refused, they urged him to abdicate, and finally gave him one hour in which to perform that act on his own initiative: he did so on June 22. He then retired to Malmaison, near Saint-Cloud, while the Chambers appointed a Commission to carry on the government and sent General Becker to guard the ex-Emperor. As the rapid advance of the Prussians endangered his safety, Becker was charged to get him away to Rochefort, where two frigates would be ready to carry him to the United States. A request was sent to Wellington to grant a permit for his passage through the British cruisers, but the Duke refused to sign one. Pursuant to an order of the Commission, Napoleon left Malmaison on the 29th and reached Rochefort on July 3. Bertrand, Savary, Gourgaud and Becker travelled with him; and he was there joined by Montholon and his wife, Las Cases, Mme. Bertrand, and a few others. But they found the British cruisers ready for them. 'There are always in sight two or three frigates,' writes Gourgaud on the 4th in his *Journal*, 'and one or two ships-of-the line.'

How came the British ships to be guarding Rochefort so closely? Our Admiralty and Foreign Office records supply us with the reason. For some time past rumours had been afloat that Napoleon intended to make off to the United States. The earliest hint of this kind that I can find in our archives is a letter from a M. de Bécourt, No. 5, Cul-de-sac Dauphin, Paris, of May 14, 1815, warning Mr. Musgrave, of the Alien Office, that this would be Napoleon's refuge in case of disaster. It was followed later on by a request for a reward for the information. 'Il est d'autant plus facile à l'Amirauté de me gratifier que le *Monstre* a dû emporter de chez nous des sommes considérables.'[1]

A considerable naval force was soon sent to the coast of Brittany to aid the Royalists there against Napoleon's government, and the coasts of Normandy and the Bay of Biscay were closely watched. As soon as news of the battle

[1] *Foreign Office Archives*, France, No. 123.

of Waterloo arrived, this vigilance was redoubled both in the Channel and the Bay of Biscay. Admiral Lord Keith, commander at Plymouth, kept as many as thirty ships cruising in the Bay, the inner line close to the principal ports, while the reserves patrolled the waters directly between Ushant and Finisterre. Admiral Hotham, in the 'Superb,' along with other warships, and eight transports having on board 16,278 muskets and stores for the Royalists, was at Quiberon Bay. The 'Bellerophon,' a seventy-four line-of-battle ship, under Captain Maitland, was off Rochefort, supported by the corvettes 'Slaney,' 'Myrmidon,' 'Cyrus' and 'Daphne.'

On July 8, 1815, after receiving Admiralty orders, Hotham wrote to Maitland that he was to use every exertion to intercept Napoleon, should he, as was expected, try to escape to America. Maitland must search every ship, and, if he secured him, must bring him at once to Torbay, keeping the transaction a profound secret: the captain had no authority to make stipulations of surrender or to treat Napoleon otherwise than as a prisoner of war.[2]

Hotham's reports show that he felt more and more anxious about Rochefort, where two French frigates were known to be ready for sea, and whither it was believed that the ex-Emperor had proceeded. On July 13 Hotham in the 'Superb' set sail for Rochefort, and the 'Liffey' was kept cruising off the mouth of the Gironde. These dispositions were taken just in time to attain the desired end.

Overtures had been made to Maitland on July 10 by Napoleon's agents, Savary (Duc de Rovigo) and Count Las Cases, with the aim of inducing him to allow the ex-Emperor and his suite to retire to the United States, for which purpose he hoped that passports would be granted by the British government. The letter written by General Bertrand on this subject, and Maitland's answer, are given by our officer in his *Narrative*, and therefore need not appear here. The captain acted with much skill.

[2] The instructions are printed in full in Sir W. Scott's *Life of Napoleon*, ix. 54; and in Maitland's *Narrative of the Surrender of Bonaparte*, pp. 16–26. They refute Thiers' assertion that we were not expecting Napoleon's escape from Rochefort.

Bertrand's letter, of July 9, only asked for information as to the passports and whether Maitland would oppose the refugees' leaving the Basque Roads, off Rochefort, in the two frigates or in a merchantman. Maitland replied that he could not allow any ship of war to leave; as to Napoleon's sailing in a merchantman, he could not allow that without having the sanction of Admiral Hotham. He at once sent off to Hotham the following note which is here published for the first time:

10th July, 1815.

I send back the 'Falmouth' without a moment's loss of time with the accompanying dispatch which I received this morning, by a schooner bearing a flag of truce, from the hands of the Duc de Rovigo and Count de las Cases. I likewise send my answer which I have given to gain time, as I do not, of course, wish that Buonaparte should be aware there are such strict orders respecting him. The two people who brought me the letter seem very anxious to convince me that the peace of Europe is concerned in Buonaparte being allowed to depart quietly, and that he will still be enabled to join the army in the centre and south of France and make some stand; and even venture to throw out a hint that if I refuse to give my sanction to the frigates passing, that they *might* endeavour to force their way, to which I replied—'As far as my power goes, I shall do my best to prevent you.' I shall therefore keep as close in as possible to prevent the attempt being made, or, if made, to frustrate it.

He seems desirous of going in a neutral, should a refusal be sent to his proposal of going in the frigates. If the frigates come out, I shall direct the captain of the corvette ['Myrmidon'] to stick to the one (if they separate) while I manage the other: and as I have the 1st lieutenant and 100 of the stoutest men in the ship ready to throw on board after having given the first fire, I hope very soon to be at liberty to join in the pursuit of the second.

It appears to me, from the anxiety the bearers express to get away, that they are very hard pressed either by the Government at Paris or from the approach of the [allied] armies. . . .

If Napoleon hoped to get the better of our officer by this overture he was disappointed. Maitland evaded giving a direct reply to the ex-Emperor's proposal to leave in a neutral ship, and in such a way as to bring Hotham on the scene. Whereas, if Napoleon had sent no letter and had directed the frigates to sail down the middle channel—that between Oléron and Ré—while he set sail in a neutral merchantman for the Pertuis Breton to the north of Ré, he

might possibly have escaped. The sending the overture to Maitland was a fatal blunder: it brought the 'Bellerophon,' 'Myrmidon,' and 'Slaney' so close to the Ile d'Aix that flight was thenceforth scarcely possible by the two practicable channels just named. There remained a third outlet, the narrow, winding, and shallow Passe de Mamusson, south of the Ile d'Oléron; but this was now watched by H.M.S. 'Daphne,' while H.M.S. 'Cyrus' cruised off the Pertuis Breton. [See the plan of the three channels and positions of ships in Maitland's *Narrative*.]

The journals of Gourgaud, Montholon, and Las Cases (I give them in the order of their trustworthiness) show us the perplexity and hesitations that meanwhile prevailed among Napoleon's suite. On the 8th they went on board the 'Saale.' On the 9th an order reached them from the Provisional Government at Paris to leave France within twenty-four hours, not disembarking on French territory. Doubtless this explains why they made overtures to Maitland. Nevertheless, four plans of escape were discussed on July 10–13: (1) to sacrifice the French frigate 'Méduse' in a fight *à outrance* with the 'Bellerophon,' while Napoleon made off in the 'Saale'; (2) to escape concealed amidst the ballast of a Danish sloop anchored near l'Ile d'Aix; (3) to proceed overland to the corvette 'Bayadère,' moored in the Gironde; (4) to slip away in two large fishing craft, *chasse-marées*, by the Pertuis Breton.

Let us see what came of these plans. The first was abandoned because the captain of the 'Saale' refused his assent, and the ex-Emperor also declined to sacrifice a ship. As to the second, Montholon states that, when all the arrangements had been made, Napoleon drew back, hesitating to trust his safety to a merchantman. Perhaps he feared treachery. The third was impossible now that the government forbade his return to the mainland, and the populace became more and more royalist. The *chasse-marée* scheme also offered scant hopes. It was known that all the channels were guarded, and that beyond the first line of British cruisers were others that searched every vessel. Gourgaud states that, when pressed by Napoleon for his counsel,

he advised him to throw himself on the generosity of the English rather than flee on a fishing-boat that would probably be taken. Savary advised the *chasse-marée* plan, but all the rest, including the officers that were to man the craft, disapproved of it; and so did Napoleon.

Montholon states that, on the 13th, Joseph Bonaparte came to l'Ile d'Aix, where the ex-Emperor then was, to propose that they should change uniforms, Napoleon proceeding secretly to Bordeaux, whence Joseph had arranged for a passage to America. It is difficult to get at the truth of this. Gourgaud, who was all day with his master and enjoyed his confidence, says nothing of it, though he refers to mysterious proposals from Bordeaux; and Bertrand, in a letter of July 14 to the ex-King, says nothing of this romantic offer. Besides, on the 12th and 13th the Danish merchantman scheme seems to have been again to the fore, and was only given up late at night. Thiers relates that this sudden change was due to the sobs of the Countesses Bertrand and Montholon, and other ladies; but we may safely assume that there was some more practical reason, such as that assigned by Montholon and stated above. It was doubtless known that Maitland would stop and thoroughly search any vessel that left the Basque Roads. Indeed, he received a letter from Captain Aylmer, of H.M.S. 'Pactolus,' off the Gironde, to warn him that Napoleon was about to attempt escaping from those roads in the Danish sloop, concealed in a cask, with tubes for breathing. Savary afterwards confessed that this had been talked of and the vessel prepared for it, but that the plan was given up as too hazardous. The vessel was a very small one, with a crew of four hands.

A brief survey of these schemes shows us how hard-pressed Napoleon was; and every day thus spent in doubt and delay aggravated his difficulties. On the 12th came the news of the entry of the allies into Paris, of the collapse of the Provisional Commission, and of the general hoisting of the white flag throughout France. Further hints of the most urgent nature also reached Napoleon that the only alternatives were an immediate departure or an ignominious arrest; and on the night of the 13th he dictated the

famous appeal to the Prince Regent, declaring that he would come, like Themistocles, to seat himself at the hearth of the British people. Early on the morrow the letter was taken to the 'Bellerophon' by Las Cases and General Gourgaud; whereupon Maitland at once informed them that he would receive Bonaparte on board and take him to England, forwarding Gourgaud also on the 'Slaney' with the letter to the Prince Regent. Maitland's words to Las Cases on the subject of Napoleon's future were as follows:—'Monsieur Las Cases, you will recollect that I am not authorised to stipulate as to the reception of Bonaparte in England, but that he must consider himself entirely at the disposal of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.' The Captain afterwards bitterly regretted that he did not put down these words in writing and require Las Cases' signature to them, as should certainly have been done in an affair of this immense importance; but they were spoken in presence of Captain Sartorius, of the 'Slaney,' who afterwards fully corroborated Maitland's account of the transaction. So also does Montholon, who, at Plymouth, took Maitland's part when Las Cases accused him of having entrapped them by a false promise. 'Oh,' said Montholon, 'Las Cases is disappointed in his expectations; and as he negotiated the affair, he attributes the Emperor's situation to himself; but I can assure you that he (Bonaparte) feels convinced you have acted like a man of honour throughout.'[3]

As Napoleon himself, outwardly at least, adopted the theory that Maitland had deceived them by false representations, it will be well to quote the testimony of Admiral Hotham. The Admiral arrived on the 'Superb' in Basque Roads early on July 15, an hour or two after Bonaparte and his suite had embarked on board the 'Bellerophon.' He at once inspected the correspondence, approved Maitland's conduct, and had an interview with Napoleon on board the flag-ship. Recounting these affairs in a hitherto unpublished despatch sent on to Mr. Croker at Paris, he writes:

> You may, if you please, assure Lord Castlereagh that no terms, nor promises, nor expectations of any kind were made, or held out, to Bona-

[3] Maitland's *Narrative*, pp. 58, 238–248; Montholon's *Captivity of Napoleon*, i. ch. 3.

parte either by Captain Maitland or by me: and he was distinctly told through the Count Lascasse [*sic*], who was sent with the proposal for his embarking, that all Captain Maitland could do was to carry him and his suite to England, to be received in such a manner as his Royal Highness might deem expedient. He [Napoleon] appeared extremely anxious to learn how I thought he would be disposed of, but equally confident in the generosity and magnanimity of the Prince Regent and the English Nation. . . .

This testimony of a third party, written before there was any thought that Maitland's version would be disputed by Las Cases, is of some importance. Napoleon, after embarking on the 'Bellerophon,' visited Hotham on the 'Superb,' and would certainly have contested Maitland's treatment of him as other than an imperial personage who had come on board *unconditionally*, if at that time he had determined to assert his imperial dignity and his right to complete freedom in England. The fact of his letting Hotham see his anxiety shows how ambiguous and threatening he saw his position to be. The details set forth above prove conclusively that he was absolutely at the end of his resources, and that his appeal to the magnanimity of the British government was only a last ingenious device for glozing over the very palpable truth that he was a prisoner of war. A man who is driven into a corner, and then comes forth with an appeal to the generosity of his foes, is as really a prisoner as if he were captured.[4]

There are grounds for believing that Napoleon hoped to avail himself of the eccentricities of our law in order to gain the privileges of *habeas corpus*. On his arrival at Torbay, and thereafter at Plymouth, he and his suite were much encouraged by the swarm of boats that pressed near to the 'Bellerophon,' filled with interested or even enthusiastic spectators; and Admiral Lord Keith, who now became

[4] I cannot agree with Lord Rosebery (*Napoleon: Last Phase*, p. 111) that his chances of escape were fairly good. The French officers of his suite examined all the plans and decided against each in turn. Montholon says that he himself and Gourgaud were for escape; this is wrong. Gourgaud's journal proves that he advised going on the 'Bellerophon.' As to the Gironde, it was watched at that time by H.M.S. 'Pactolus' and 'Liffey.'

Las Cases (*Mémorial*, iii. 348) later on admitted that escape was impossible: 'Plus tard, quand il n'y eut plus d'autre ressource que d'accepter l'hospitalité du "Bellerophon," peut-être ce ne fut pas sans une espèce de secrète satisfaction intérieure qu'il s'y voyait irrésistiblement amené par la force des choses: être en Angleterre c'était ne pas s'être éloigné de la France.'

responsible for his safe-keeping, was apprehensive of an escape or rescue. Keith wrote in his despatch of August 1 to the Admiralty:

> It is become necessary that I am most careful; for the General and many of his suite have an idea that if they could but put foot on shore no Power could remove them, and they are determined to make the attempt if at all possible; they are becoming most refractory, and talk of resisting the Emperor being taken out of the ship. I desired Captain Maitland to inform those gentlemen that if such language was continued I should feel obliged to have recourse to a more rigorous mode of confinement.[5]

This was after they had been informed that another ship would take them to their destination, St. Helena.

What led the British Government to fix on St. Helena as Napoleon's place of detention? There are vague rumours that it was recommended at the Congress of Vienna early in the year. But the Duke of Wellington always asserted that it was never named there; and the rumour seems to have originated with newspapers. It finds no place in the official records of the Congress. But as soon as his surrender, after the second abdication, seemed probable, Lord Liverpool named St. Helena as one of the desirable places of confinement, along with Gibraltar, Malta, or the Cape.[6] When his surrender was actually known (July 21), Lord Melville and Mr. Barrow, of the Admiralty, advised St. Helena, because it was a 'particularly healthy' place, whence his escape would be most difficult, seeing that neutrals could be excluded if it were thought desirable. The matter was settled by the Ministry by July 28. The famous Themistocles simile had no influence on events. Napoleon's doom was pronounced in March by the plenipotentiaries of the Powers at Vienna, when they declared him an outlaw. And it is certain that if he had fallen into the hands of the Prussians they would have shot him.[7]

[5] *F. O.* France, No. 123.

[6] Letters to Castlereagh of July 15, 21, and 28, 1815 (*Castlereagh Papers*, Series III. vol. ii.). These and the memorandum following refute the partisan statement of Lord Holland (*Foreign Reminiscences*, p. 196) that the government had been treating with the East India Company for the cession of St. Helena *early in 1815*.

[7] See Blücher's and Gneisenau's letters in Müffling's *Passages from my Life*, Appendix, along with Wellington's protest against shooting him. In view of these well-known facts, I cannot see why Lord Rosebery (*Napoleon: Last Phase*, p. 58) asserts that *we* wanted to *treat him like vermin*.

If any doubt remained as to the desirability of St. Helena, it was ended by the following memorandum, drawn up on July 29 by General Beatson, formerly Governor of the island. It was then a possession of our East India Company, whose very extensive privileges would allow of the exclusion of neutral ships—the great source of insecurity at Elba.

There are undoubtedly several local circumstances peculiar to the island of St Helena which seem to render it pre-eminently suitable to the purpose of confining a State prisoner. Its remote situation from all parts of the globe, its compact form and size, the small numbers of its inhabitants, amongst whom no stranger can introduce himself without immediate detection, together with the extraordinary formation of the island, being encompassed on all sides by stupendous and almost perpendicular cliffs rising to the height of from six to more than twelve hundred feet, and through which there are but few inlets to the interior, are collectively such a variety of natural advantages that perhaps they are not to be equalled. . . .

The only accessible landing-places are James Town, Rupert's Bay, and Lemon Valley on the north, and Sandy Bay on the south. All these points are well fortified by Fleur d'eau batteries, furnished (except Sandy Bay) with Furnaces for heating shot, and as cannon are also placed upon the cliffs in their vicinity, far above the reach of ships, it may readily be imagined that if a Martello Tower with one gun could beat off a 74 ship in the Mediterranean, how much more efficacious would be those preparations for defence in the Island of St. Helena. In short, it appeared to be the opinion of several experienced naval officers, who have recently visited that Island, that no ships could possibly stand the fire of the defences which protect the anchorage and the whole of the northern coast . . . and the southern is equally secure against a naval attack. . . . The precipitous pathways should, of course, be attended to and guarded, and they might easily be defended by rolling stones from the heights . . .

A great acquisition has lately resulted from an admirable establishment of telegraphs. These are placed upon the most commanding heights, and are so connected and so spread all over the Island that no vessel can approach without being descried at the distance of 60 miles. Nothing can pass in any part, or even in sight of the Island, without being instantly known to the Governor. . . . In short, the whole Island can be under arms at a moment's warning. . . .[8]

[8] The last sentences show us why the Company expressly forbade the use of the Governor's house to Napoleon: it was the centre of the telegraphs or semaphores of the island.

A despatch of Sir H. Lowe of June 2, 1816, gives a different estimate of the strength of the fortifications. He says the batteries were either so low as to be commanded by ships-of-war or so high as not to be able to hit a moving object: he wanted 'at least 20 depressing carriages for 24- and 32-pounders to be sent.'

Napoleon vehemently protested against this destination when it was announced to him on July 31 by Sir Henry Bunbury and Lord Keith. The very full notes of this conversation forwarded to London by the former, and endorsed by the latter as correct, have been published in Allardyce's *Memoirs of Lord Keith*; but they are so little known that we may give the most important parts of them here.

He received the paper, laid it on the table, and after a pause he began with declaring his solemn protest against this proceeding of the British Government, that they had not the right to dispose of him in this manner, and that he appealed to the British people and to the laws of this country. He then asked what was the tribunal, or if there was not a tribunal, where he might prefer his appeal against the illegality and injustice of this decision. 'I am come here voluntarily,' said he, 'to place myself on the hearth of your nation, and to claim the rights of hospitality. I am not even a prisoner of war. If I were a prisoner of war, you would be bound to treat me according to the law of nations. But I am come to this country a passenger on board one of your ships of war after a previous negotiation with the commander. If he had told me I was to be a prisoner, I should not have come. I asked him if he was willing to receive me and my suite on board and to carry me to England. Admiral [*sic*] Maitland answered that he would—and this after having received and after telling me that he had received, the special orders of his Government concerning me. C'étoit donc un piège qu'on m'a tendu. In coming on board a British Ship of War, I confided myself to the hospitality of the British People as much as if I had entered one of their Towns. Un vaisseau, un village, tout cela est égal. Quant à l'Ile de Ste. Hélène, c'est l'arrêt de ma mort. I protest against being sent thither, and I protest against being imprisoned in a fortress in this country. I demand to be received as an English citizen.

I know indeed that I cannot be admitted to the Rights of an Englishman at first. Some years are requisite to entitle one to be domiciliated. Well, let the Prince Regent place me during that time under any surveillance he may think proper. Let me be put in a Country House in the Centre of the Island, 30 leagues from any sea. Place a commissioner about me to examine my correspondence and to report my actions, and if the Prince Regent should require my parole, perhaps I would give it. There I could have a certain degree of personal liberty, and I could enjoy the Liberty of Literature. In St. Helena I should not live three months. With my habits and constitution, it would be immediate Death. I am used to ride 20 leagues a day. What am I to do on that little rock at the end of the world? The climate is too hot for me. No, I will not go to St. Helena. Botany Bay is better than St. Helena. If your Government wishes to put me to death, they may kill me here. It is not worth while to send me to St. Helena. I prefer death to St. Helena. And what good is my death

to do you? I can do you no harm. I am no longer a sovereign: I am a simple individual. Besides, times and affairs are altered. What danger could result from my living as a private person in the heart of England, under surveillance, and restricted in any way that the Government might think necessary. . . . What was there to force me to the step I took? The tricolour flag was still flying at Bordeaux, at Nantes, at Rochefort. The army has not submitted at this hour. I could have joined them. Or if I had chosen to remain in France, what could have prevented my remaining concealed for years among a people who were all attached to me? But I preferred to settle as a private individual in England. . . . If you now kill me it will be an eternal disgrace to the Prince Regent, to your Government, and to the Nation. It will be 'a piece of cowardice without example! I have offered the Prince Regent the finest page of his history! I am his enemy, and I place myself at his discretion. I have been the greatest enemy of your country. I have made war upon you for 20 years—and I do you the highest honour, and give you the greatest proof of my confidence, by placing myself voluntarily in the hands of my most constant and inveterate enemies.'

The rest of the conversation was of the same general tenor. Our two officials made their bow and retired.

Napoleon's departure from Plymouth took place on August 4; it was hastened by an effort of his friends on shore to serve a writ of the King's Bench on Lord Keith to compel him to produce the person of Napoleon Bonaparte *as a witness* in a libel suit then pending in London. This suspicious occurrence showed what might have been expected if Napoleon had settled in our midst: and Keith, while dodging the lawyer, urged Maitland to put to sea at once. The transference to the 'Northumberland' was effected near Berry Head on August 7.[9]

The acceleration of his departure from Plymouth, due to the ill-advised action of his friends in London, led to the interception of four letters that were intended for him. The first of these was from an admirer of his named Captain Lofft, of Bury, Suffolk, praying that a blessing might fall on 'the greatest and most illustrious of men.' The second is of more interest, and I print it here as it may possibly supply a missing link of Bonaparte's early and little-known days at Valence. It is from Miss Eliza M'Kinnon, of Binfield, near Bracknell, Berks, dated July 30, 1815, to Napoleon,

[9] *Last Voyages of Napoleon*, p. 93.

stating that her mother had known him. She encloses a copy of a letter to the following effect:

Binfield, Berkshire, 1811.

Ce pourrait-il, Sire, que dans la carrière immense de Gloire que Vous avez parcouru, vous daignassiez encore prendre quelqu' intérêt au sort d'une persone que vous n'avez pas vue depuis plus de vingt ans? Cette Madame M'Kinnon, cette bonne Dame, cette tendre mère, vit toujours: elle a sçue [*sic*] avec surprise et reconnaissance qu'élevé au trône le plus puissant du monde il vous a plu de vous rappeler du temps où une moindre destinée vous permettait de venir quelques fois vous délasser et passer la soirée auprès d'elle et de sa famille, habitant alors la ville de Valence en Dauphiné.

Je ne me hazarderais pas ainsi de vous écrire, Sire, si l'on ne nous avoit point [?] dit que, durant la courte paix de 1800 [*sic*] vous aviez fait d'infructueuses demandes aux Anglais fréquentans votre Cour pour avoir quelques indices d'elle. Elle a passé sa vie peu connue du monde, d'une manière simple et retirée, pratiquant des leçons de vertu et de morale, les enseignant à ses enfans; et moi, Sire, l'unique fille qui reste auprès d'elle, j'ai ainsi osée répondre au vœu que dans votre bonté il vous a plu de témoigner d'avoir quelques renseignemens sur elle.

J'ai l'honneur, etc.,

ELIZABETH M'KINNON.

There is also a letter from Count Las Cases to Mr. Andrew, dated Plymouth, 27 juillet, 1815:

Plymouth, 27 juillet, 1815.

Il y a quelque tems que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire et de vous prier de vouloir bien passer chez Mr. Dorrien, Banquier, et en retirer le paquet *x*, *y*, *z*, remis par moi chez lui le 20 octobre, 1814, en dépôt, et contenant 2000*l.* en India Bonds. Ils sont ma propriété, et je vous prie de les remettre à Lady Clavering, qui a de moi prière d'en disposer ainsi qu'elle le jugera pour le mieux.[10]

But the most important by far was that addressed on the cover to Mme. Bertrand, but really written to Napoleon.' It is from an Italian, devoted to Napoleon, residing probably in London, and penned, as the second paragraph shows, on August 2. It is in the *Colonial Office Records, St. Helena*, vol. 1. I give it with all its grammatical and other errors, as they are in the original. By '*le Silène* de cette Isle,' obviously the Prince Regent is meant.

[10] Lady Clavering was French by extraction.

À S.M.I. Napoleone.

Sire,—Votre Majesté n'ignore point les intentions du Conseil à votre égard, qui sont—non de vous faire mourir, mais bien de vous enterrer vif—puisqu'ils vous destinent pour l'Isle Ste. Helene dans l'autre Hemisphere—ce vil Rocher fourmillant de rats—et dont la plus proche Terre-Ferme se trouve être la cote sauvage d'Afrique Meridionale a quatre cent lieues de loin. En ceci certes ils ne suivent point l'exemple de la conduite tenue par V.M. en France vis à vis du Duc d'Angoulême.

Conformèment au desir que quelque Argent fut placè commodement pour le service de V.M., Je me fais un devoir d'annoncer qu'aujourd'hui—le second d'Août—seize mille livres Sterling, qui font à peu près 368,000 livres Tournois, ont été remise [*sic*]—especes sonnantes—en bonnes mains ici pour le compte de V.M. On s'est chargé d'expedier les signatures avec lettres de creance, portant quatre mille livres Sterling, ou environ 36,000 et quelques Ecus, chaque, aux quatre Villes principales de Boston —Neuve York—Philadelfi [*sic*] et Charleston. Apres l'operation faite on aura soin de vous faire tenir les noms de ces Maisons. Voila donc, qu'ils auront beau vous depouiller sur le Vaisseau, puisque vous serez toujours a porté des mêmes moyens par un coup de plûme. Les occasions d'employer cette plume s'offriront bien, sans doute, avec le Thé de la Chine, où les Mouselines de l'Inde; mais si il en manquait du hazard, il sera facile d'en faire presenter. Alors en cas de reusite en l'Amèrique Septentrionale V.M. vivrait a son gré jusqu'à ce que le Tems, qui vient à bout de tout, put ramener les circonstances favorable a reparaitre en Europe pour reclamer un Trone le plus beau de l'Univers, lequel, sans contredit, revient encore de droit à Votre Majestè, en ce qu'il est constant que la condition attachèe à l'abdication en faveur de votre auguste Fils, ne se trouve point remplie. Il est vrai que tout cela poura couter a V.M. quelques annèes d'une vie precieuse au bonheur de la France, et peutetre que chose plus simple serait de daigner faire vos remònstrances contre le voyage de Ste. Helene quand ce ne serait que pour gagner du tems. J'ose dire que si vous parveniez seulement a reculer ce depart, V.M. n'irait point de tout. L'Angleterre est à la veille de voir le Spectacle singulier d'un changement des Ministres du Roi, à la fois independamment du Parlement, qui en cette Saison ne siege point, et a l'insu du Prince Gouvernant. Je le tiens d'une part a n'en pas douter, que les Anciens Officiers Reformè de l'Armée, qui meurent de faim, indignè de se voir non compris dans une augmentation des Pensions de Retraite qui parait avoir eu lieu l'Ans passé en faveur seulement de ceux qui ont fait les campagnes de cette derniere guerre, et outrè par leur misère, ont formè une Ligue de Vengeance. Apres plus de Six mois que la trame s'ourdit, la perte du premier ministre et d'un autre est decidée, et les coups de deplacement vont etre portè. Dejà la mèche brule: pour l'eclat de la bombe il ne manque plus que le mot d'ordre. Leverpol [*sic*] est a la Campagne. Si un relachment a Plimout, de seulement quelques Semaines, pouvait toutefois s'arranger avec les Puissances actueles apres V.M. aurait a faire a gens d'une autre trempe. Car, quant au ——, il n'y entre pour rien.

Tant que du tresor on a soin d'alimenter ses luxes, il est insouciant du reste. Faineant, assoupi sur tous ses devoirs, blasé sur tous les plaisirs, c'est le SILENE de cette Isle. Cependant, vû l'absence de l'Armèe, ces Messieurs sachant bien que la presence de V.M. fermente les esprits, s'empressent a hater votre eloignment. Je fonds donc mon espoir avant tout sur les Navires marchands, Anglais comme autres, par l'apas du gain. Cette voye est a la veritè la plus tardive mais aussi peut-etre sera t'elle la plus sure.

Dieu conserve votre Majestè

Pour le salut de vos jours ne cesse de prier de V.M. le fidel sujet et devouè serviteur

(Piece torn off here.)

Le [bruit cou ?]rt que le Prince Lucien est entre les mains des Autrichiens en Savoye. Balsac et Mouton n'attendent que la nouvelle sure du depart de V.M. pour aller se rendre aux ordres de M. Gastinel.

[The letter bears the address:

À Madame Countess de Bertrand
At bord the Ship of his Majesty
Bellerophon,
At Plymouth.

Below, in red ink, is the postal mark, 'Gone to St. Helena.' The covering letter of Admiral Cockburn states that this letter and those of Miss M'Kinnon and Captain Lofft reached him, viâ the Cape, on December 26, 1815. He at once returned them to England.]

The despatches that passed between our Government and Sir Hudson Lowe show that this intercepted letter supplied to us the first hint of Napoleon's funds being transferred to four towns of the United States in order to aid his escape from St. Helena; and a letter of Sir H. Bunbury (of March 6 1816) asserts that our government had never found out the names of the firms entrusted with the sums here named.[11]

It is obviously impossible within the limits of this article to refer to the great mass of St. Helena controversies. We can only notice some of the chief questions, on which rays of light can here and there be thrown from our archives.

A great deal of odium was cast upon the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, for his strict enforcement of the new regulations that came out from England, and formed the basis of the regulations of October 9, 1816.[12] They imposed stricter

[11] Quoted on p. 54 of the Memorial which Sir H. Lowe drew up and sent to the Ministry.

[12] See, for a very little known estimate of Lowe's character, the passage quoted in Appendix, p. 521.

surveillance of letters, a limitation of the visitors to those to whom Lowe himself first granted permission, and a restriction of the bounds within which Napoleon might take exercise, unaccompanied by a British officer, to a space having a circumference of about eight miles. Many persons, including even the Duke of Wellington, scoffed at these regulations as foolishly strict, and asserted that Napoleon ought to have been allowed to go about the island where he liked, provided that all the landing-places were guarded. But if we look into our Government records we see that our officials were aware of schemes of rescue (other than the general information just quoted) which would have rendered such liberty highly dangerous. Forsyth refers to several schemes, but I have come across one that he does not name. It was hatched in the United States. Our Ministers had all along feared that rescue expeditions might come from that land, where Joseph Bonaparte was residing; and it was this which induced Rear-Admiral Cockburn, who took Napoleon to St. Helena, to annex the island of Ascension lest it should become a *point d'appui* for rescuers. In our Foreign Office Records ['France,' No. 123] is a despatch, dated August, 1816, Downing Street, transmitting news of an expedition reported to have as its object the carrying off of Napoleon. Directions are given that it is to be sent on to Sir Pulteney Malcolm, then the Admiral in command at St. Helena, and to Sir H. Lowe, the Governor. The covering letter is signed by Adam Gordon:

Renseignemens transmis à l'Ambassadeur sur l'objet d'un Armement secret parti de Baltimore 14 *juin.*

Quatre goëlettes et autres petits batimens légers ont fait voile récemment de Baltimore munis des équipages ordinaires, mais ayant en lest [*sic*] un certain nombre de pièces d'artillerie. Cette escadre fut rejointe dans la Baye par de Pilotes cetiers [?] qui lui amenèrent trois cent hommes de renfort. L'expédition, commandée par un nommé Fournier, ancien officier de marine de Bonaparte, et qui l'avoit suivi à l'Ile d'Elbe, étoit destinée, suivant les bruits répandus, pour se joindre aux forces de Bolivar; mais des renseignemens ultérieurs et plus certains lui donnent pour but la délivrance de Bonaparte.

L'enlèvement doit se fair de la manière suivante.

Les bâtimens, fins voileurs, se tiendront pendant le jour hors de vue: ils s'approcheront sur différens points, et enverront dans une chaloupe de chaque bâtiment un homme habillé en soldat anglais. Ils porteront à

Bonaparte des dépêches qui lui annonceront le projet d'enlèvement et les différens points sur lesquels des chaloupes se dirigeront de nuit pour le recevoir. Cette opération se répétera jusqu'à ce qu'il trouve une occasion favorable. Des fonds considérables en or et en diamans seront mis à sa disposition pour corrompre ceux qui pourront lui être nécessaires. On paraît se flatter d'une coopération certaine de la part de certains individus domiciliés ou employés à Ste. Hélène.'

The information here given is somewhat like that contained in the 'Lettre du Comte Molé au Duc de Richelieu,' of September 22, 1817, which is printed in Appendix 6 of M. Firmin-Didot's edition of Montchenu's Reports, entitled *La Captivité de Ste.-Hélène*; but the details printed above seem to me more practical than those of the plan referred to by Count Molé. The last sentences of the passage just quoted deserve special notice; they show the need of excessive vigilance on the part of the night sentries round Longwood. Sir Hudson Lowe's order that the sentinels were to be posted at sunset, instead of, as previously, at 9 P.M., was deeply resented by Napoleon, and we can now see why. The time after sunset was highly favourable to his evasion from Longwood until communication could be effected with one of the rescue parties. The news above quoted must have reached Lowe early in October 1816, and fully justified him in planting the sentries at sundown.

Other schemes of escape or rescue are referred to by Forsyth and need not be described here. Some of them are absurd enough and offer excellent butts to the shafts of Lord Rosebery's raillery. We enjoy the wit; and yet we ask ourselves whether it was not a feature of Napoleon's diplomacy, as well as of his strategy, to throw his opponents off their guard. We know that his lethargy and somnolence at Elba, on which our Commissioner, Sir Neil Campbell, laid such stress in his reports in the autumn of 1814, had the effect of dulling the suspicions of that officer. Indeed, it is by no means unlikely that the inmates of Longwood and their friends in Europe and America, with whom they were able to keep up a secret correspondence, designedly put forward stupid plans of rescue so as to prepare the way for some really serious attempt when the authorities should have relaxed their vigilance.

If so, they failed. Lowe was not to be caught napping; and a passage in Lord Holland's *Foreign Reminiscences* (p. 301) suggests, as one reason for this ceaseless vigilance of his, that he knew how mercilessly Campbell had been ridiculed for letting Napoleon slip away from Elba. Lowe, it is true, had infinitely greater powers than Campbell; and the passage quoted above now enables us to see that he was forewarned in good time as to one, at least, of the possible methods of escape. Accordingly he took every precaution to prevent it. The regulations of October 9, 1816, were almost certainly due to the knowledge possessed by the Home Government and Lowe that a rescue expedition either was, or might be, hovering about St. Helena; and other precautions of an earlier date were put in force more stringently than before. Among the latter was the requiring Napoleon's presence at Longwood to be ascertained by the British officer there on duty—a truly pitiful task when the great man chose, as he often did, to secrete himself for days or weeks at a time. But surely it was a necessary task, seeing that traitors were known to be on the island—probably within the precincts of Longwood itself. Sir Hudson Lowe was paid 12,000*l.* a year to see that Napoleon did not escape; he took his duties seriously—who would not after Elba and Waterloo?—and was therefore unable to view the situation with the lambent humour and serene detachment that constitutes one of the many charms of Lord Rosebery's narrative. The standpoints of the Governor of St. Helena in 1816 and of a literary man in 1900 are, in truth, somewhat remote; and I submit that his lordship's criticism of our policy in St. Helena fails, firstly, because of this vital defect; secondly, because he has not studied the British archives where many of the reasons for our actions may be seen; and, thirdly, because of his exaggerated deference to French sources of information. I have elsewhere ventured to criticise some of the errors that have crept into his work from such sources;[13] and I can here only point out, with all respect, that a comparison of Napoleon's behaviour at St. Helena with that which he had maintained at Elba

[13] In my *Life of Napoleon I.*, vol. ii. chs. 40–42 (G. Bell & Sons).

should have shown the noble author that the ex-Emperor's lethargy and nonchalance were perhaps but a blind to hide a determination to escape. At any rate, the official who was responsible for his safe-keeping could not relax his vigilance because his charge gave out that he did not want to make off, and preferred St. Helena to the United States. A dozen times over at Elba, Napoleon said that he had done with the world, and was virtually a dead man. Yet Waterloo was fought, for all that.

Another question which frequently led to disputes was that of the maintenance of the Longwood household by the British Government. As the pinch of national poverty was felt more and more at home after the great war, the need for effecting economies on all sides became more and more pressing. And in the summer of 1816 Lord Bathurst, the Minister for War and the Colonies, sent instructions that the annual sum expended on the Longwood establishment was not to exceed 8,000*l.* Our archives yield curious proof of the care of Lowe's calculations on this matter. Several pages at a time are closely filled with figures based on varying estimates of outlay. We know that the Governor ultimately took upon himself to increase Lord Bathurst's estimate by one half, and these pages show why he did so. The cost of living in St. Helena had risen considerably since the arrival of Napoleon, his suite, the allied Commissioners, and the regiment charged with special guard duties; and the expenditure, which Sir Hudson thought to be *desirable*, amounted to no less a sum than 14,105*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* He worked it out systematically as for 'General Bonaparte,' and six officers, two ladies, five children, thirteen French men-servants, fourteen British men-servants, three black servants, and six female servants—a total of fifty persons; in addition to which were the orderly officers, surgeon, and their three servants. The suitable daily expenditure on wine would have been as follows:

	s.	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*
Claret (12 bottles) .	6	0	Champagne (1 bottle) .	10	6
Madeira (2 bottles) .	5	10	Vin de Grave (1 bottle) .	6	0
Constantia (1 bottle) .	10	6	Teneriffe (6 bottles) .	4	2

Also commoner Cape wines and ration wines for soldiers and servants, besides ale and porter.

On the same scale the estimate for meat would have been (*per diem*): fresh beef, 52 lbs.; fresh mutton, 36 lbs.; salt beef for soldiers and servants, 12 lbs.; also 4 ducks, 1 turkey, 1 goose, 12 pigeons, and 1 ham.

But, as has been seen, this came to an amount that Sir Hudson Lowe could not recommend; and he fixed the total at 12,000*l.* *per annum*.

Is this to be called penurious? We hardly think so. Forsyth's narrative shows that there had been the most reckless waste by the Longwood household; and the items stated above, even when reduced by one seventh, must have yielded an excellent dietary. Besides, as we have already seen, our Ministers knew that Napoleon possessed large funds that were available for means of escape; and they could scarcely be expected to tax our hard-pressed people in order to furnish the superfluities of life to a State prisoner who was likely to use that abundance against them. If Napoleon needed a more generous table, he might surely be expected to use his funds in that direction, rather than in making presents to slaves and in buying over O'Meara.[14]

[14] That O'Meara was bought over is clear from the entry in Gourgaud's *Journal* (vol. ii. p. 346).

The appended note on Napoleon's expenditure for the months October 1815 to January 1816 occurs in our archives: it is worth giving here:—

État des dépenses que Mr. Balcombe est autorisé à payer sur les fonds de 4,000 *napoléons.*

	£	s.	d.
'Repartir: savoir:—			
'M. le Cte. de Las Cases	80	0	0
'M. le Génl. Montholon	80	0	0
'M. le Génl. Gourgaux [*sic*]	80	0	0
'M. le Cap. Piontowski	40	0	0
'Aux domestiques de l'Empereur	360	0	0
'Au S. Marchand, pour solder la cassette et toilette de l'Empereur, à 40 livres par mois, pour Octobre, Novembre, Décembre, 1815, et Janvier, 1816	160	0	0
'Au S. Cypriani pour diverses ratifications	90	0	0
'Au S. Marchand pour provisions de Madère	23	8	0
'A la disposition de Génl. Montholon pour solder le Mémoire de Solomon	165	7	4
'Celui du magazin de la compagnie	198	16	2
'Dépenses d'habillement	27	0	0
'Pour commission, et à compte à Mr. Balcombe sur les payements ci-dessus	85	12	0
'Phaéton arrivé du Cap	245	3	6
'Piano arrivé d'Angleterre	122	0	0
	'£1757	7	0

(signé) BERTRAND.'

In the *Admiralty Secret Letteri* (1814–1815) is a list of the contract prices

I do not propose to enter into the question of the quarrels between Napoleon and Sir Hudson Lowe. The evidence adduced by Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Seaton shows that the Governor was far from being the aggressor; and the recently-published *Diary of Lady Malcolm at St. Helena* (p. 64) proves that in the last interview that passed between the ex-Emperor and the Governor it was the former who lost his temper, and not Sir Hudson Lowe. Thereafter they never exchanged a word. Our archives, however, supply many proofs that the Governor did not relax his efforts to ensure the comfort of the Longwood household. He was anxious to procure from Napoleon some expression of opinion as to the site of the new house, which was to take the place of that rambling domicile; but the exile refused to say where he would like it to be erected, and consequently the materials which had been brought from England and then dragged up by the soldiers to the Longwood plateau remained unused for many months —in fact until the ex-Emperor's life was fast waning. By a strange fatality, the new house neared completion just when Napoleon began to be confined to his bed at Longwood.

The last stages of Napoleon's illness are minutely described in our archives [St. Helena, No. 32]; and, as the professional account given to the world is that of the Corsican doctor, Antommarchi, who was notoriously untrustworthy, I think it well to cite here the later bulletins issued by the English doctor, Arnott: he was called in only on April 1, and had no adequate control. The first of his reports refers to the illness in rather perplexing terms, and it is clear that he was misled by O'Meara's verdict of a liver disease caused or aggravated by the climate of St. Helena, while Antommarchi thought it was gastric fever. It seems strange that Napoleon, who once or twice referred at table to his father having died of cancer of the stomach, did not suspect the nature of his own malady, and attributed the

ruling at Cape Town and Simon's Town dated, November 11, 1815:—Fresh beef, 2¾*d.* per lb.; vegetables, 2¾*d.* per lb.; wine, £1 4*s.* 3*d.* per gal.; flour, £8 3*s.* per 100 lbs.; rice, 1*s.* 1*d.* per lb.; sugar, 2*s.* 3½*d.* per lb.; cocoa, 5*s.* 4*d.* per lb.; vinegar, £1 per gal.; tobacco, 6*s.* 5*d.* per lb.; soft bread [*sic*], 2¾*d.* per lb.; live oxen, £31 per head; live sheep, £3 per head; hay, £3 6*s.* per 100 lbs.

stabbing pain in his stomach to his liver, but such was the case. According to Bertrand, the end was near at hand before he fully realised the truth. 'About a fortnight before his death' (wrote Bertrand to Joseph Bonaparte on September 10, 1821) 'he had pretty nearly guessed that he was dying of cancer. He often talked naturally as to the probable mode of his death, but, when he became aware that it was approaching, he left off speaking on the subject.'

I now give the bulletins issued by Dr. Arnott from the time when the malady became desperate. Antommarchi and he were in attendance:

27th April.—The following information was sent by Dr. Arnott from Longwood. 'I have been detained here since 11 o'clock. General Bonaparte is worse than I have seen him yet: he is much oppressed with vomiting: we can make nothing whatever rest on his stomach. In consequence of the constant vomiting he is very much exhausted.'

He afterwards mentioned further—'His pulse continues good, and I am not apprehensive of anything serious taking place immediately, but the vomiting is very unpleasant.'

The Governor, on being informed of these alarming appearances, immediately proceeded to Longwood to point out to Dr. Arnott the expediency of his recommending the calling in other medical advice. The symptoms at this time had somewhat abated; the pulse stood at 84.

The Governor, having gone to Longwood, found Dr. Arnott, who had just left General Bonaparte, waiting for him. His account in every respect was in the highest degree unfavourable: he said that General Bonaparte had been attacked with vomiting more seriously than he had ever been before—that he threw up a great deal of black matter of a colour like coffee grounds:[15] that his voice had become much weaker than the day preceding, and that he was considerably more exhausted: appearances had become so alarming that he had thought it proper to inform Counts Montholon and Bertrand of his apprehensions that fatal symptoms might ensue, and he had suggested their calling in other medical assistance. This suggestion was followed up by an offer from the Governor to direct the instant attendance of any medical person whom it might be desired to consult with.

28th April.—Dr. Arnott's information of this evening was as follows: 'I left General Bonaparte at eleven o'clock, and I am sorry to say he was nothing better. He had severe vomiting three times after I left you in the new House. The only change I could perceive in him was that I thought he did not talk so incoherently as he did in the morning. His obstinacy in refusing remedies ordered is most vexatious.'

[15] Possibly this fact lent force to the malicious rumour that Lowe had sent Napoleon poisoned coffee?—[J. H. R.]

29*th.*—[Arnott reports a very bad night: delirious: three hours' sleep near dawn.]

30*th.*—Arnott told the Governor before he had seen General Bonaparte this morning that he had prevailed upon him the day before to allow a blister to be put upon his stomach, and to take a lavament—that Dr. Antommarchi had also put two blisters on the inside of his thighs. Dr. Arnott saw General Bonaparte afterwards, and then mentioned as follows: 'I find General Bonaparte not worse than he was yesterday. . . . I do not think he is more sunk than he was last night: however, he will take nothing, neither food nor medicine. Count Montholon told me he was up with him all night, and that towards this morning he had a hiccup, which if really the case I consider a *very* bad symptom.'

1*st May.*—Sir Thomas Reade, having gone this morning at an early hour to Longwood, addressed the Governor afterwards as follows:—'I have just seen Dr. Arnott, who informs me he was called between 11 and 12 o'clock last night to attend General Bonaparte. Upon his arrival he saw Dr. Antommarchi, who told him the General had been seized suddenly with a cold fit, that he was as cold as ice, his pulse not perceptible, and he appeared as if he was suffocating; in fact Dr. Arnott said he thought he was dying.' Dr. Arnott proceeded immediately to General Bonaparte, but found him in the same state as he had left him about 6.30 in the evening. Dr. Antommarchi said he had become *restabilito* (re-established): his pulse was rather high, 90: it had been the same at 6.30. Dr. Arnott says the fits of vomiting are less frequent, and the matter which he throws up is not so alarming. Count Montholon told Dr. Arnott that he had communicated the Governor's letter offering other medical advice to General Bonaparte, who replied, 'No: I know I am dying—I have confidence in the people already about me, and I do not wish others to be called in.' Dr. Arnott considers General Bonaparte's case to be very alarming, from his refusal in particular to take either food or medicine. He had even pulled off the blister which Dr. Arnott had applied to his stomach, before it could produce any material effect.

Information from Dr. Arnott.

9 P.M.—I left Longwood betwixt six and seven o'clock. He appeared composed when I left him, but pertinaciously refused taking either nourishment or medicine. With great persuasion we prevailed upon him in the afternoon to take a draught, since which the hiccup has been less: at least it was when I left him.'

[There follows a despatch of April 28, from Sir H. Lowe to Count Montholon, urging the desirability of further medical advice, in which Rear-Admiral Lambert also concurred; Dr. Shortt, Physician to the Forces, is recommended. Also a report from Dr. Arnott at Deadwood, May 1, to Sir H. Lowe, stating that he considered the case might terminate fatally. He had warned the Counts of this: 'they seemed much affected at what I said, but made no reply.']

Substance of Information continued from May 2.

2nd May.—The following information was received from Sir Thomas Reade.

'Dr. Arnott has been with General Bonaparte since half past 5 o'clock this morning, and he says that he is very ill indeed, that danger is to be apprehended in the course of the day, although the probability is that he may last until to-morrow or the next day. The hiccuping is almost continual now, and he takes no sustenance whatever except water: at times he raves, but not constantly. His strength is gone.'

6 P.M.—Within the last hour I think he is better. He has had some good sleep and is now very quiet. He has had little or no hiccup since 6 P.M.

3rd May.—Sir T. Reade wrote from Longwood as follows: 'General Bonaparte passed a very quiet night from 10 oclock until 3, at which time he was again seized with hiccup, and he became more insensible than he has yet been. The hiccup continues as well as the delirium. In consequence of his having rested so well from 10 o'clock until 3, Dr. Arnott does not think him worse than he was when he left him at 10. His pulse is less frequent. Dr. Arnott is very much displeased at Dr. Antommarchi's having opposed giving him a lavament, and he is in consequence going to speak very seriously to Count Bertrand and Count Montholon about it.'

Upon reading in the above note what is said respecting Dr. Antommarchi having opposed Dr. Arnott's opinion, the Governor proceeded to Longwood and had a conversation with Count Montholon. Dr. Arnott had endeavoured to prevail upon Professor Antommarchi to give some calomel to General Bonaparte, to which the Professor would not consent. Almost immediately after the Governor's conversation with Count Montholon, the Professor requested that Drs. Shortt and Mitchell should be sent for to Longwood, that he might have an opportunity of consulting with them. They joined with Dr. Arnott in recommending that the calomel should be administered, but Professor Antommarchi still opposed it." The point was therefore referred to Count Montholon, who joining in opinion with the three English physicians, the medicine was in consequence administered.

4th May.—The following note was received from Sir T. Reade:

'I was at Longwood from 12 to 1 in the night. The calomel had the desired effect. . . . I desired Dr. Arnott to let me know this morning how matters were, and I have this instant received the enclosed note from him which is the most favourable for the last week.'

Note to Sir T. Reade:—'Things do not look worse here; if anything they are somewhat better: he has passed a tolerable night: but he is very weak still. However, upon the whole, I have more hope this morning than I have had the last two days. Communicate this to the Governor. The hiccup continues (4th May, 1821).'

During the whole of this day, Drs. Shortt and Mitchell were in

attendance, and the Governor made various efforts, united with them, to procure an opportunity of their seeing General Bonaparte, but in vain; Count Montholon, though disposed to give every assistance in his power, being apprehensive of the effect which the appearance of strangers in the room might create upon a person in General Bonaparte's then very debilitated state.

At 9 o'clock this night Dr. Arnott made the following communication from Longwood: 'I have just left our patient fast asleep. He appears better than he was two hours ago. He has no hiccup: his respiration is easy, and in the course of the day he has taken a considerable quantity of nourishment for a person in his state.'

This was the last favourable information received.

5th May, 7 A.M.—A signal announced to the Governor that General Bonaparte was in immediate danger. He had been speaking a few words to Count Montholon a short time before, but they were the last, it is believed, that he uttered.

On the road to Longwood, about 8 o'clock A.M., the Governor received the following communication: 'He is dying. Montholon prays I will not leave the bedside: he wishes I should see him breathe his last.'

No material aggravation of the symptoms, however, took place until past 3 P.M., when the following note in pencil was handed out from Dr. Arnott: 'The pulse cannot be felt at the wrist now, and the heat is departing from the surface: but he may hold out some hours yet.'

At a quarter past 5 o'clock, Dr. Arnott again wrote: 'He is worse; the respiration is become more hurried and difficult.'

And at a few minutes before 6 o'clock, just at the time the sun was setting, the following line was received: 'He has this moment expired.'

Unfortunately, there is no evidence that bears directly on the interesting question whether extreme unction actually was administered. Montholon affirms that it was, but he gives no precise details. Another report of Arnott (referred to by Forsyth) states that at 5 30 A.M. of May 5 the patient became practically unconscious. 'The under jaw dropped, the eyes became fixed; the pulse, small and weak, varied from 102 to 110 in the minute. In short, everything denoted that dissolution was fast approaching. In this state he lingered until 49 minutes past 5 o'clock, when he expired.' If, then, the last sacraments were administered, the recipient was practically unconscious; and it is, at least, curious that Arnott makes no reference to the circumstance. He mentions the very remarkable fact that the body, far from

showing any signs of emaciation, was very fat, in spite of the long drain on vitality.

Finally, as rumours were persistently spread about in France, even by Bertrand and Montholon, that death was due to or was accelerated by the climate of St. Helena and by our treatment of him there, we may quote the conclusive evidence to, the contrary supplied by, Montholon's letter to his countess, who was then in Europe. It is in St. Helena Records, No. 32.

Longwood, 6 mai, 1821.

Tout est fini, ma bonne Albine: l'Empereur a rendu le dernier soupir hier soir, à 6^{h}, moins dix minutes. Son agonie a duré 12 heures; elle a été affreuse en apparence, mais rien ne peut exprimer le calme et la résignation avec laquelle il a supporté des douleurs déchirantes. L'ouverture de son Corps a eu lieu ce matin; elle a prouvé qu'il étoit mort de la même maladie que son père, un squirre ulcéreux à l'estomac près le pylore: les $\frac{3}{5}$ de la face de l'estomac étoient ulcérées: il est probable que depuis 4 à 5 ans l'ulcère avoit commencé: c'est dans notre malheur une grande consolation pour nous que d'avoir acquis la preuve que sa mort n'est, et n'a pu être, en aucune manière le résultat de sa captivité ni de la privation de tous les soins que peut-être l'Europe eût pu offrir à l'espérance. On travaille avec activité à tous les préparatifs pour son inhumation . . .

(signed) MONTHOLON.

He then refers to the lying-in-state and his own hope of departure. Nothing is said as to extreme unction having been administered.

J. HOLLAND ROSE.

APPENDIX

The following extract from a work, entitled *Fifty Years in Ceylon*, by Major Thomas Skinner, C.M.G. (London, 1891), throws an interesting light on a later portion of Sir H. Lowe's life, that which he spent in Ceylon. It reveals his essential kindness of heart. The irresolution here referred to was very probably the result of the malignant attacks of his persecutors and the lukewarm support of the Government.

'A general impression prevailed that Sir Hudson Lowe was a surly, austere man, but never was a character more maligned; a more kind, I may say tender-hearted man, I never met with. For a military commander it almost amounted to a fault, for it was with extreme difficulty we could get him to notice irregularities, or to punish breaches of discipline. If I had not had the support and co-operation of his A.D.C., Oliver De Lancy, the discipline of the garrison would soon have fallen off under his command.

'He was terribly undecided, and I have often wondered how his wavering mind could have carried him so far through the service, or enabled him to perform those delicate duties which were imposed upon him. I retained until very lately a striking proof of this characteristic. He was involved in a correspondence with the Government on an important question connected with the duties of his command. On my waiting on him one morning, he desired me to sit down and write a letter from his dictation. He paced up and down a long room, the whole width of his house, and in three hours finished and corrected his composition. I read it to him, and he desired me to take it home, copy it, and bring it to him for his signature. I obeyed his orders, but was far from obtaining his signature. I had to sit down again 'to make a few verbal alterations,' and this was repeated until I had seven copies of the letter; the one to which he finally attached his signature proved to be a very slight deviation from the original draft.

'I never could understand why none of Sir Hudson Lowe's works were ever published, for he had undoubtedly several on hand, and a very large quantity of MS. ready for the press.[16] Two or three amanuenses were

[16] Most of these papers are now in the British Museum. Miss Lowe has kindly allowed me to see several copies of papers, and part of the unpublished memoirs.

continually engaged by him, and many reams of foolscap paper were filled, and so arranged in his private room as to indicate that there were at least three subjects to which his attention at the time was devoted. No circumstances could have been more favourable to quiet reflection than those of his life. He was very hospitable and generous; kept an excellent table, and first-rate cellar.'

XIX

HISTORICAL TRAINING IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

THE importance of History as a subject of instruction in schools is emphasised nowadays by all educational experts. But though many valuable articles and pamphlets have been published suggesting excellent methods of historical teaching, it must be confessed that theory has far outstripped the practice of our schools. It is, unfortunately, still true that the average boy and girl leave school with very little knowledge of any history other than English, and with very little inclination to pursue the study for themselves in the future.

And yet the study of history should have great fascination for a child. There is surely no other subject which forces itself so constantly on the attention, or links itself to so many other branches of education. As the child listens to the conversation of educated people, or reads almost any book, or inquires into the how and why of existing things, or begins to take an interest in political problems, or visits historic buildings and ruins, or dreams about the future, he is sure to feel curiosity about the past. There is no getting away from the historic atmosphere and historic associations, History is linked with Geography, Archæology, and many other sciences, and of course with all literature and language courses. Historical study thus affords a broad basis of culture, giving golden opportunities for the formation of judgment and generous sympathies. It creates a wide intellectual and moral horizon, which makes us realise our country as a member of a great community of nations with

obligations and duties towards the world in general: it helps towards a recognition of the principle of the brotherhood of man, which is so essential to the onward movement of humanity. The mind cannot fail to be widened, the imagination cannot fail to be stirred by a course of inquiry which opens out so many new views of life, of government, of progress, culture, and patriotic ideals; it loses that vulgarity and insularity which come necessarily from a narrow outlook upon life, and it learns patience while it traces the slow advance of social progress.

The chief faults that exist in the historical training given in English schools at present are (1) the exclusive stress laid on English history, (2) the lack of time given to the subject, (3) the want of good text-books, and (4) the nature of the questions set at our public examinations. A child who has studied English history from the age of six to that of eighteen is naturally wearied by the monotony of repetition involved, even though the history be divided into periods, and taken with increasing detail in the progressive years. There is inevitably a consciousness that the work has often been learnt before, and there is no possibility of that natural eagerness of curiosity which forms so valuable an educational motive. The boy or girl sits down to the preparation of the day's lesson with the fitful attention resulting from a vague familiarity with the facts to be acquired, and the work is likely to be done in a listless and perfunctory manner. As it becomes possible to insist upon the learning of details, it is unfortunately the driest details that are often imparted. More dates are added, a longer list of battles is given in every war, more names of important personages are inserted and connected with genealogical tables, more clauses are introduced into each new treaty or charter; instead of which, those details should have been chosen which would give a livelier touch and vividness to an important battle, a stronger sense of personality and reality to a great historic character, or a picturesque addition to the life of the time. Again, very few schools give enough time in their curricula to make a proper study of history possible, and this is especially the case in boys' schools. The text-books pro-

vided are generally most jejune and unattractive, and often so tersely put and so packed with detail in the effort to crowd as much information into as little space as possible, that the attempt to master the contents of a page requires a serious and concentrated effort beyond the attainment of the individual pupil. Thus the teacher is often obliged to waste a lesson-time in reading over and simplifying a text-book with the children, which they would otherwise be unable to follow. Any teacher wishing to pursue a general course of historical study is almost compelled to do so without a text-book for the use of the class, owing to the dearth of such books on general history, at all events within a price and compass which would make them suitable for class use. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that all text-books for junior forms should be pleasant in appearance, copiously illustrated, and written in an easy narrative style. The character of our public examinations has done much in England to stereotype our teaching and keep it in traditional lines. If our various examining bodies would revolutionise their requirements in history and the type of questions set in examination papers, a corresponding revolution and improvement would at once take place in our schools. If those who control such examinations as the London Matriculation or the Victoria Preliminary Examination would introduce questions on general history into their papers, they would make immediate reform and reorganisation inevitable in most of our large schools.

The ideal of historical training to be aimed at depends upon the age at which children leave school. The utmost we can expect in our Secondary Schools is that a child will enter the Kindergarten Department at four and will stay at school till the age of eighteen. Our ideal for school training requires, therefore, that boys and girls at eighteen should have received the historical culture which will help to make them good citizens. They should be also ready to pass on into our colleges, prepared to benefit by University education, having formed good habits of concentrated study, able to keep a good note-book, and knowing how to read without constant guidance and supervision.

In the very first place, then, a general view of history must be attempted. No child should leave school without an idea of the general course of events throughout the world from the earliest known times—even from the prehistoric ages of the geologists—down to the present. We should pass from general history to the history of any particular country. Ancient history should precede modern in accordance with the natural sequence of events, and because it contains fewer details and a greater picturesqueness which will commend it to the ready comprehension of a child. All learning should be most carefully graduated according to age, and anything like real erudition should not be attempted at school. Important periods should be chosen, and their most salient features selected.

The small child in the kindergarten will most naturally learn history in the guise of stories, which he will hardly distinguish from the fairy tale. Simple versions of the Classical and Scandinavian myths, of mediæval legends, stories of romance and adventure from ancient and modern history will be chosen, pictures will be shown, dolls dressed to represent characters, sand and clay-modelling and drawing used for illustration, aud the children encouraged to tell the stories again themselves, and to act them in little plays or charades.

As the kindergarten stage is passed, and reading and writing are learnt, the lesson will gain in the variety of methods employed. The stories will still be told by the teacher and retold by the child, but they will be slightly more difficult in character, and the gist of them will form the occasional text of a dictation lesson or, more rarely still, be written as a composition of ten or twelve lines by the child. Such books as Kingsley's *Heroes*, Hawthorne's *Wonder Book* and *Tanglewood Tales*, stories from Homer and Virgil, the Empire and Citizen readers will be used in the reading lesson. The stories will include accounts of various races, such as the Spartans, Indians, Chinese, Esquimaux; of great men, such as Alexander, Columbus, Sir Walter Raleigh; and of great events, such as Thermopylæ, the Crusades, and the Repulse of the Armada. A historical scrap-book, containing pictures, photographs, and

drawings arranged in periods and used for reference, will be found to stimulate interest. At the age of ten the child might be taken through a connected course, in rapid outline, of universal history. A few maps and one or two leading dates should be introduced, and the child would take down a bare outline of the events related as dictation. Biblical history would be included, and some idea would be given of the habits and customs of different peoples, of the growth of civilisation and its movement towards the West, of the change of empires, and of the great geographical discoveries. The reading and the geography lessons would be arranged to harmonise with this course.

In the next stage a simple text-book would be employed for the first time, containing many illustrations. Maps and the history note-book would be in constant use from this time onward, and really important dates would be learnt, but leading events only would be chosen, and minor details carefully avoided. The classes would be rather longer, but fewer in number. A course in English history might now be advantageously followed, including all general history in any way connected with or rising out of it. Occasional topical lessons would be given on such subjects as feudalism, chivalry, the Crusades, and the invention of printing, and plenty of pictures would be shown, while coloured plans might be made of an abbey, a Norman castle, a Saxon village, or an important battle. Such battles as Hastings, Bannockburn, Crecy, Trafalgar, Waterloo, would be taken in vivid detail, and emphasis would be laid on biography. The children would begin to read and learn ballads and other poetry, and Scott, Kingsley and other historical novels would be read. After this course a complete rest might be taken with advantage from English and modern European history for a couple of years, and the attention turned to ancient history, especially that of Greece and Rome. Some sketch should be undertaken of the earliest record of man on this earth, of prehistoric ages, of cave life and the lake-dwellers, and of the gigantic changes which have taken place in climate and in the configuration of the earth's surface. The children would be encouraged to collect fossils and visit museums, and illustrations, models,

and photographs would be constantly shown in class. A useful lesson might be prepared on the history of the alphabet; some outline would be given of Egyptian, Phœnician, and older civilisations, including the races further east, such as the Chinese and early inhabitants of India. In Greek and Roman history only important events could be taken, and much of the interest would be biographical. The children would be given some account of the rise of art, sculpture and architecture, and would be encouraged to sketch illustrations of the latter wherever possible. The school library would contain books which would give additional information on the period, such as some popular book on Egypt and the pyramids, and books of travel. In the literature class a play like *Julius Cæsar* or *Coriolanus* might be studied, and in the summer at least one literature class in the week might be devoted to the literatures of Greece and Rome and the further East. In the same way a summer course in geography might deal with the influence of geography on history.

At the age of fifteen, two years might be devoted to courses on mediæval and modern history—due predominance being given to that of England—and ending with a summer course on what the Americans call civics. A new stage will have been reached at which the boys or girls will be ready for a more scholarly text-book, for regular practice in essay-writing, and for a more independently kept note-book. They will be able to interest themselves in the growth of institutions, to consult great historians, and to gain from the rare use of original authorities. Occasional lessons should be given on Gothic architecture, the progress of discoveries and inventions, the influence of trade routes and commerce on history, and other topics. In the literature class a summer course might be given on European literature. The course on civics, i.e. the chief political and civic institutions of our country in the present day, is introduced at the end of the sixteenth year to stimulate patriotism and good citizenship, and to point out, without attempting to prejudice the pupils' minds, some of the political and social problems of the future, to the solution of which they will have to contribute. As boys and girls often leave school at sixteen, it would not be

safe to leave the course till later, and it is an age at which interest in such questions very naturally grows. From the age of seventeen in many cases the boy or girl will begin to specialise, and the number of classes in history will consequently vary. In no case should the study of history be dropped, although it may be modified to suit a classical, commercial, or other special bent. Those who wish to specialise in history may now take up the study of some great period and some great historian. There will be occasional reference to original authorities, the note-book will be most carefully kept, and essay-writing receive great attention. To this stage of development the college course will very naturally succeed.

The following tabular analysis gives an outline of the whole historical course suggested for a secondary school:

SUGGESTED HISTORICAL SCHEME OF WORK FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Ages 4, 5, and 6	Daily lesson of 20 or 30 minutes	Stories of mythology and general history in the simplest form	Stories retold by children, clay-modelling and drawing, pictures, no reading or written work
Ages 7, 8, and 9	Daily lesson of 30 minutes	Slightly more difficult stories of mythology and general history	Stories, pictures, use of reading, poetry, composition, and dictation lessons
Age 10	Daily lesson of 30 minutes	Connected course in rapid outline of universal history	Method as before, introduction of dates and maps, scrap-book
Ages 11 and 12	Three classes a week of from 30 to 40 minutes	English history and general history connected with it	Introduction of simple, well-illustrated text-book, chronological chart, note-book, subject lesson
Ages 13 and 14	Three classes a week of from 40 to 45 minutes	General course of ancient history, especially of Greece and Rome	Use of essay and self-made maps, visits to museum, books from school library, complete rest from English history

SUGGESTED HISTORICAL SCHEME OF WORK FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS—*contd.*

Ages 15 and 16	Three classes a week of about 45 minutes	Mediæval and modern history down to our own day, especially emphasising English history, summer course on civics	Method as before, use of debating society, expeditions to places of interest
Ages 17 and 18	Two to five classes a week, varying in length and number with special line of study taken up by student	Special periods and courses in history	Training in reading great historians, original authorities, &c.

It is impossible to lay down many general rules for class instruction; the good teacher will constantly vary the method according to the age of the pupil and the danger of monotony. Children need variety of interest and fresh stimulus continually in their work, and a method which may win enthusiastic attention for a time may easily fail to be permanently successful. Illustrations should be supplied as copiously as is compatible with a wise selection, in the shape of pictures, photographs, charts, coins, plans and models. It is greatly to be regretted that no adequate central bureau or museum exists where these things can be easily obtained on loan. They have at present generally to be collected, with great outlay of time, labour and money, by the underpaid, overworked teacher. The wealthy American schools, with their State support or rich foundations, which enable the authorities to provide scholars and teachers alike with every educational aid—in buildings, furniture, and equipment, and in encouraging the study of educational ideals by travelling scholarships and exhibitions—may well be taken as our models in this respect, and should stir private generosity as well as the public conscience to make better provision for English schools. The Perry Pictures Company of Malden, Massachusetts, have provided at an incredibly small price reproduc-

tions of the works of the great masters and other pictures suitable for use in history, literature, geography, and natural history lessons, which are without parallel in this country. But there are signs of improvement in this respect. The 'Art for Schools Association' and the Educational Museum of the Teachers' Guild have done something to make the task of collection an easier one for the teacher. A similar museum has been started at the Owens College, Manchester, and schools up and down the country are forming such stores of their own.

The dates learnt should be few but constantly repeated. If children begin at the age of ten to acquire five or ten important dates, they may easily leave school at sixteen or eighteen knowing a hundred which they will never forget. But the more we attempt to cram a child's memory, the worse will be the result of our efforts. Confusion and uncertainty are sure to prevail. The 'Line of Time' suggested by Professor Withers, and history charts made by the pupil, will do much to indelibly stamp a general chronological order of events on the child's mind, and to give a wide survey of contemporary events. Maps are another most important means of impressing great historic changes on the child's memory. They should be constantly used and drawn by the child himself, in clear, rapid outlines, with a careful avoidance of all unnecessary detail. The teacher will, of course, prepare maps also, but must be careful not to do all the work for the pupil. The blackboard should be in constant use in the middle forms of the school. The outline of the lesson should be at first written up by the teacher, who will get as many suggestions as possible from the children. Later on, the analysis should be almost entirely the work of the form, and one of the children might be called on to write it up. Note-books should be carefully kept as soon as the child can write with comparative neatness and facility. At first the notes will consist of the summary of the lesson taken down by the pupil from the blackboard, or of important passages dictated by the teacher. Later on the teacher will only supply the headings for the summary, and finally the notes will take the more elaborate and independent form

suitable for elder scholars who are preparing to enter the university.

In class work it will be found helpful, when children begin to read new work in the text-book for themselves, to provide them with questions which will guide them in their preparation. In this way the attention is focussed on what is most noteworthy in the new reading to be done. In the same way, if a syllabus of the prospective term's work be supplied to the class, the children lose that sense of indefiniteness and aimlessness in their efforts which is so fatal to all real progress. They can share in the interest of reaching a definite goal with the teacher, and are likely to make a much greater effort to attain it than if it were hidden from sight. If questions which require very short written answers are set on the preparation or previous class-work and given at the beginning of a lesson, they will quickly test the character of the work prepared, and afford the children a friendly rivalry, especially in those schools where there is no universal marking system to give an unhealthy stimulus and a wrong motive to the learning of lessons. A welcome freshness will be given if the teacher occasionally reads an extract from a good history or historical novel, describing in a vivid manner the character of some great man, or some important event, or picturesque custom. In the middle forms of the school subject lessons should be occasionally introduced to vary the monotonous steady progress through the text-book, but in the higher forms the lesson should generally be topical, the text-book being used for reference. When pupils are first referred to authorities, chapter and page may be given to avoid waste of time, but as they grow older they must of course learn to find the passages for themselves. They will learn gradually to think and work out questions in class under the supervision of the teacher and with books of reference close at hand. It is thus a gain if the history lesson can be given to seniors in the school library.

Important events must be made the subjects for essays, and this is a branch of the study which requires to be treated with the utmost caution. It is of the greatest importance to

make the essay possible and attractive to the young student. Hard subjects set in a junior form with little help from the teacher may deaden the interest and daunt the courage of the beginner to an extent that will be seriously felt throughout the school course. The acquiescent despair with which so many children admit their inability to write essays is very generally due to a practice of premature forcing—the Egyptian insistence upon the manufacture of bricks when the requisite straw is not provided. For beginners the ground of the essay should be carefully prepared in class under the skilful guidance of the teacher, but with the utmost amount of contribution from the pupils; the analysis must be written up on the board, and taken down by the class. At a later stage the class might have some minutes in lesson time to make their own outline, or might do so as preparation work. The results could then be compared, and the best leading ideas selected and again written up on the board for the use of the class.

As the children begin to learn about various forms of government and the growth of institutions, and as they begin to look forward to a time when they too will help to shape the future of their country, they will show a much more lively interest and independent judgment if they are fortunate enough to grow up in a school where the children are admitted to a share in the school management, where they can learn in their own little committees connected with games or sports, or the school library or magazine, or even in matters of school discipline, the duties of accuracy and self-control, of responsibility for others, and public-spirited loyalty towards their school.

Apart from class teaching there is still much to be done to stimulate interest in history. The school library should not only be stocked with the leading historical authorities, but also with a good store of historical novels. Suitable books may be found in the list of contemporary writers in Traill's *Social England,* or in the useful descriptive catalogue of 'Historical Novels and Tales' published by Mr. Courthope Bowen. The vivid representation of stirring times, the careful life-like study of some great personage, will

often rouse an enthusiasm for a great character or a great period which would otherwise remain dormant, and the historical inaccuracies which are often enough found in such novels will do little real harm. It would be difficult to say how much Shakespeare, or Scott, or Thackeray have contributed to create a general interest in history, and there are many others of less fame who have made a valuable contribution to this class of literature. In many American schools splendid libraries are provided for the use of the young students, and the children take advantage of them for essay work or for their own reading at a surprisingly early age. In England, it is true, we are generally hampered by our want of money, but we too often fail to do even what we might, to give our children opportunities of gaining that real love of books and of reading which is one of the great advantages of education, and certainly not the least permanent, and which should accompany the youth of both sexes on leaving school as a beneficent influence, to be one of the truest sources of enjoyment and recreation in after-life.

In the summer at least one expedition should be made to some historic place at no great distance from the school. The visit should be, of course, carefully prepared for, and sketches should be made on the spot. Everything that contributes to historic associations in the immediate vicinity of the school should be often visited and studied. A child should never grow up without knowing all that is important in the history of his native town and the record of its great citizens, otherwise a valuable stimulus to civic virtue is lost. There are occasional chances of seeing historic pictures, such as were gathered in the Tudor and Stuart exhibitions in recent times, which should never be neglected. But in the case of these and of visits to museums but little good is accomplished unless the visit is preceded by one or more lessons which shall guide the children in their sight-seeing, and enable them to look for what is most important. If some form of composition or a class talk with the teacher follows the expedition, or if careful sketches or notes are made of anything specially interesting, some real educational result will be achieved.

The school debating society, which should be diligently worked during the winter, should afford one or two opportunities in the year for a historical discussion. This is a valuable means of connecting history with the sphere of practical politics; of forcing its reality upon the minds of the children, and of making it quite impossible that they should look upon history in a dead and unimaginative manner. It compels them to think themselves back into the period under discussion, and to consider the problem from the point of view of their individual choice of sides. Such a debate should help a child to gain fluency and self-possession, readiness of retort, quickness in balancing pros and cons and in forming conclusions, along with self-control under misunderstanding and misrepresentation.

There is another point worth consideration in the case of senior forms and those middle forms which are already beginning to feel the pressure of public examinations: namely, a special modification of the time-table for the last six weeks or so of the summer term. Whitsuntide would generally prove a suitable time for such a change. In the steady advance of school work little would be lost, the time-table would admit subjects which generally fall outside the scope of school curricula, and yet are all-important as means of general culture, while the interest of the children, flagging at the end of a long school year and in the heat of summer, would receive a new stimulus. Thus a class which had been studying Greek history would turn with fresh delight to a course on Greek art and literature. Another class which had been working at European history would greatly enjoy a review of Gothic architecture. In this way a valuable opportunity would be afforded for filling up the serious gaps which exist at present in our schemes of education, and a new and welcome variety would be added to school life in the eyes of the children. I know of one school in Manchester where this practice is followed with great success.

The co-ordination of history with the other subjects in the curriculum should be most carefully worked out, especially in the case of geography and literature, and the influence of one subject on the other should always be shown.

Reading-books, poetry, the choice of a novel of Scott or a play of Shakespeare for study, courses on ancient, mediæval and modern literature would be determined in sympathy with the courses of history to be followed. The study of geography lends itself to similar arrangement, although it would require rather freer treatment. The geography of America, Australia, New Zealand might be dealt with during the time given to modern history; mediæval history and European geography could be contemporaneous; ancient history would be associated with the geography of the East, that of prehistoric times with the great geographical changes revealed to us by the geologists.

The main difficulties in English education are, after all, due to the firm hold of tradition upon us. There is far too much timidity about carrying out necessary reforms. It is this rather than ignorance as to a better course which endangers the progress we need so badly in educational matters. We are only too content to 'let "I dare not" wait upon "I would."' Surely the time for active reform has come. There is the encouragement of seeing better methods successfully employed abroad, and there is the approval of experts at home, while the dreaded parental disapproval will be found less terrible in reality than to the imagination, and the gain and reward of such a reform are incalculably great. And in no subject can this be so true as in the case of history. The child who grows up in the knowledge of our world's record in the past, who has been fed on the achievements of the heroic, who has sorrowed over the tragedies of noble or ignoble failure, who has been thrilled sympathetically by patriotic fervour in the history of his own or other countries, who has learnt how much is common to the race from studying the growth and development of other nations, who by the study of past institutions has arrived at an intelligent grasp of the institutions of to-day—may surely be trusted to see life steadily and see it whole, and to take his or her share in the government of the country and the solution of its problems.

ELIZABETH A. HAWORTH.

XX

ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY UNDER THE ENGLISH SYSTEM OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

THIS short essay does not aspire to a comprehensive view of its subject. It is but the judgment of a single experience, which has been without large opportunities of comparison or acquaintance with schools in every part of England. Yet, if it search carefully and keenly within its own limits, it may perchance find ideas not too trifling or extreme. From a part well conned it may be possible to predicate the nature of the whole.

Pupil-teachers (the name spells compromise and contradiction) are the part best illustrative of the English system of elementary education. There are few of this class who have not come from the primary schools, and their instruction seeks to mould them into earnest and efficient teachers. Thus they are midway between the beginning and the end. They have risen from the beginning and they will proceed to the end. The faults of their instruction start from the faults of the primary schools; and they are faults which, unless they can be overtaken and destroyed, will reappear in one unending round, continually reproducing themselves, to the enfeeblement of the system and of true education.

This is not the time to praise or to dispraise the instruction of the primary schools. The present writer knows well what they have done to displace ignorance by the elements of knowledge, and how some of them, not with the best advantages, have seen their pupils reach the farthest goal of university distinction. Yet it must be said that as a body they provide a poor and insufficient preparation for the work of the

pupil-teacher. It may in some cases be a good answer to this charge that the clever pupils, and in particular the boys, find other employments; but in the main it is true, and nowhere more apparent than where the half-taught pupil-teacher himself instructs his future colleague. Nor is it more than half a remedy to gather pupil-teachers together for some part of their time in common and central classes. In London, indeed, one high authority has said that they should devote themselves entirely to their education; in Manchester the average for this purpose is two-and-a-half days a week. In some places, particularly where there are no school-boards, it is even less. The system is at the best one of half-time labour, and is too hurried thoroughly to correct initial weaknesses; though now it may be better since the Board of Education decided to abandon their yearly examinations for pupil-teachers, which only begot more numerous and breathless examinations by headmasters and other local supervisors. It was no mere satire, as some believed, when a critical director of the system invited members of Parliament to amuse themselves with the written mistakes and confusions of pupil-teachers, but a melancholy admission that more had been expected than these boys and girls could do.[1] The purpose of pupil-teacher instruction may or may not march with true education, but it must ever limp and labour weakly, since it starts not forth strong and well-equipped.

And now, to come within a closer circle, how does all this affect the teaching of history? The aim of history, as a subject of education, is to increase that spirit, that power of mental alchemy, which transmutes information into knowledge. It must beget that spirit where it is absent; it must raise it to the fulness of quickening activity. Were it otherwise history would deserve all that condemnation which was passed by Mr. Spencer on the memorising of disconnected facts and biographies. Of course, insistence on this idea is

[1] Here is an instance. A class of pupil-teachers in their first year had a paper on English history in mediæval times. They were asked, 'What constitutional advances were made by Parliament in the reign of Edward III.?' The question is too abstract. Their minds are not prepared for this kind of history, even though, as in this case, special knowledge was expected of the reign of Edward III.

not without its dangers. We all know the student and the man who talk loosely about tendencies and developments, but are without command of illustrative detail, who generalise the more freely the more their minds have failed to grasp hard necessary facts. But this is not the fault of those who come from the primary schools. You will find among pupil-teachers ten students who can describe feudal incidents and reliefs, where there is one who can view them in relation to the feudal system. You will find many who can name the battles of the Civil War, but few who can weave them into any account or comprehend their importance for the due understanding of English history.

It is not implied that these pupil students possess the power of clearly grasping facts, but rather that they are the less able to do so because they cannot see beyond the fact itself; and consequently much that they laboriously acquire remains a mere unquickened possibility of the mind. It is so to some extent with every class; but to prevent it and to give the beginnings of control over facts is at once the main purpose and the peculiar difficulty of our work in history with pupil-teachers. Let us speak of them as gathered together for common instruction.

The Board of Education now leaves their course of study fairly free. There is one examination when those whom school-boards or school-managers accept for pupil-teachers have received one or two years' preliminary training. There is another at the end of the real apprenticeship, which lasts for three years after the first examination has been passed, but never begins before the age of sixteen; and in both is required a general knowledge of English history, but fuller for the second examination than for the first. As this latter, which is the set goal of study, includes Welsh history for Welsh students, one might see here a hint to start from events of local interest; a wise plan when those flow easily into the main stream of national life, but too often a beating about in shallow backwaters, where only the experienced could find depth and passage. Nor should we strive, as some have curiously proposed, to ascend from the varied present to the simpler past. It may be feasible; but there

is always in the past sufficient likeness to link it with our knowledge of the present; for man, whom history views, has grown, not changed, and his youth epitomises the youth of the world and has a real sympathy with it. It seems best to begin with those epic, antique stories, which are about the misty sources of a nation's life, and sometimes, perhaps, help to conceal its primal course. Such are, in English history, the stories of Hengist and Horsa, of Alfred and the Cakes, of Cnut's Rebuke to the Waves, and a hundred others. Cold ingenuity may prove them false in fact; it cannot always prove them false in spirit. They are to us of high value in rousing young emotions; and if they induce an interest in individual men, they may promote a love for social welfare. It is also necessary that those should know them well who may have the education of young children; nor are they below the comprehension of those who are on probation for pupil-teacher work, many of whom will not have heard of them before, and few of whom are above fourteen or fifteen years of age. They should, of course, be followed by striking stories from later English history, such as the life of Nelson.

Then, for the first year of real apprenticeship, it is obvious to suggest the history of England down to the end of mediæval times, where it may still keep a simple, narrative character, and yet present scenes and societies that teach by their partial contrast with the present, and, since the work is elementary, escape some controversies as to the purpose of history. 'Down to the fifteenth century,' said Bolingbroke, 'let us read history; from this point let us study it.' He thought of history as giving a knowledge of treaties and revolutions to those who might expect to hold public offices. On this plan the work of the second year would be modern English history, that of the third to re-survey the course and direct pupils more clearly to the more important passages; so that in the end they may reach, perhaps, not a knowledge of social ranks, of revolutions, of industrial progress, of dress or man, or what else is contained under the name sociology, but the mind that can learn these later. The present writer has found classes of pupil-teachers that followed with much

interest and some clearness the development of English constitutional history, but he has found others totally averse from such abstract parts of the work.

Of methods this essay offers nothing new, but is content to record some little things found good to do or to avoid. To make history a tale of causes and effects is too hard for pupil-teachers, as all know who have read their accounts of the Results of the Danish Invasions, the Causes of the Norman Conquest, and the like. It is, moreover, to present as solid truth what must largely be personal prepossession, or the more debatable parts of historical science, and it bares history into regular outlines, where there is nothing human or delightful. What abstractions must be considered may be prepared for rather than actually attempted. 'Feudalism is a system of society based on land tenure,' as the present writer has seen feudalism described and dismissed with just a few words added by way of grace, conveys no more meaning to a boy or girl than *Barbara* and *Celarent* to those who have not learnt logic. And yet so to insinuate abstractions and to cluster events round great careers is no safeguard against those distortions which are common to all education, but especially numerous among pupil-teachers One boy persisted in talking and writing about 'the hides of March,' and a girl declared that 'Wolsley refused to grant Henry a divorce. So he was executed. As he went to the stake, he pulled away his beard, saying, "This shall not be executed; it hath not committed treason."' It is, however, not beyond question whether such a picturesque confusion is not to be preferred to dry, text-bookish clearness. For definite methods each man to himself; but it seems reasonable to make a gradual advance towards the system of lecturing, yet never to rely on that alone. It might be good in a Spencerian society of absolutely ethical beings; but it reposes too much on the zeal of undeveloped boys and girls, many of whom are only becoming teachers under the compulsion of their parents. The present writer knew one who divided his history courses into triads of lessons, two of which he gave to lecturing, while in the third the members of the class gave oral answers to questions that had been

announced beforehand; but this was with a class elder than pupil-teachers, and there would be difficulties in applying it to them, as, through some defect of education or early environment, they are as a rule peculiarly lacking in the power of expression.

It is therefore important to train their powers of expression, not to wordiness, of which there may soon be too much, but to a real conquest over the facts of instruction. This is a task that belongs to every subject; and yet nothing may be so helpful in producing it as general intercourse with cultivated minds, careful of the fine distinctions of language, and with something of that gift of setting ideas in the simple phrasing where they are ultimately enshrined. In history something may be done for pupil-teachers when they attend lectures under schemes of University Extension; something more when they do regular written work, and that not the mere jotting down of the disconnected events of separate reigns, which are most clearly useful for younger classes, but real essays on important historical topics. These are none the worse if they provide for answers to likely questions of examination, for examinations should place in relief the important features of their subject. It will often be found that the first essays of pupil-teachers are quite brief and empty, or confuse the most elementary facts; that they abound in the most surprising errors of grammar and construction, even when they bear the evident marks of earnest labour; and sometimes that they are mere repetitions from different text-books, for pupil-teachers are peculiarly helpless even for young students. They seem to expect their mental food, like invalids, in peptonized doses, towards the preparation of which they have done nothing. Indeed it has been said that those country pupil-teachers whom need has compelled to work by themselves often go further in the training-colleges than those from the central classes, who at first surpass them. Yet this is a fault for which practice in essay-writing supplies the most effective antidote.

Many text-books commonly used do not assist this work. No one can pretend to have read them all, but beyond a

doubt some are simple because there is little in them, and most are undistinguished in thought and manner. Dr. Gardiner's *Student's History of England*, which is clearly arranged in convenient paragraphs and suitably illustrated, has been thought too full, too cold and scholarly in tone for pupil-teachers; but why some of their instructors should desire books specially written for their courses is hard to imagine. It is certain that every year puts forth many poor compilations, chiefly intended for those who must work by themselves; but these would only dress up ignorance in the guise of knowledge. There is also a book, larger and more ambitious than these, which for some reason or other has a vogue in pupil-teacher centres. Its tables, summaries, and appendices cannot compensate for a dull inelegance, which springs from ideas inharmoniously combined and which is sufficient to destroy interest in history for ever. On the other hand, Green's *Short History* is too allusive and runs past much over which the young student needs to linger. But there are books, simple in style yet rich in knowledge, which unfold the beginnings of English history like an old-world tale, and grace events when they can by recording their effect on the best minds that witnessed them. Such, to take actual instances, are Mr. York Powell's Spenseresque translation of the lament of Bertrand de Born over the young king Henry, and the protest of Milton against Presbyterian exorbitance. If these are above the indifferent and the worst, they are there for the earnest and the best, all the richer treasure because there is so little time to read contemporary chroniclers or classic historians; and as for poetry, that is chiefly used for parsing and analysis; so that pupil-teacher libraries are sometimes the better appreciated if they consist, not of masterworks, but commonplace compilations. It is especially good that such a book should contain more than is required for the immediate moment. It is the work of the teacher to present the essential. He should guide along the luxuriant way. He can summarise, concentrate, and explain. He can show how such a book may be used and he can supplement it.

How to do this is a problem not to be solved by those

who desire only present advantages. The end lies beyond the limits here surveyed, perhaps as far as human progress. To lead the mind to liberty that rests on intellectual strength and bows gladly to social service transcends all set systems, and perhaps appears impassably remote from the lower reaches of education, yet must be remembered even in them; for it is a sure test of those mechanical devices which are customary, perhaps more customary than necessary to education, some few of which are here mentioned that have been observed in the instruction of pupil-teachers. It is an ancient plan to arrange the matter of a text-book under ordered and numbered heads, to which the student can be referred for fuller knowledge of important events, and sometimes to find for himself the connection between them. In some places pupil-teachers begin each lesson by writing short answers to questions on a part prepared. There are also in the market analyses of English history, which may accompany their reading of the narrative; but as these are somewhat bald, there are teachers who dictate synopses of sets of lessons, thus besieging memory by the three avenues of sight, sound, and the muscular motions of writing. Some think that pupil-teachers are always unfit to take notes for themselves. Some make them do so from the very first, increasing the proportion as their course proceeds. This last seems nearer to the true principle; but all these devices are by themselves nothing, nor does their more subtle application always mean the advance of education. There is besides the power and sympathy of the teacher; but there is also the fitness of the pupil for the work to be done. One mind must be attuned to give; but the other must also be attuned to receive. Few who know the work of pupil-teachers will say that it is.

It may be so sometimes, when natural intelligence overleaps lack of preparation, and the pupil-teacher has keen intellectual interests; but with the average mass time straitens all attempts into concealing weaknesses rather than founding strength. How long this will last; how long the present system will be justified because a few boys and girls show an aptitude for teaching, when they would be better

perfecting their education; whether, when it is seen not to be so justified, they shall be sent to secondary schools, or have special schools of their own, is not here to be considered. It is enough to observe that pupil-teacher instruction is now a poorly fertile tract of the debatable land that lies between primary and secondary education, and, so far as history is concerned, very often starts from nothing; for in many primary schools history has been displaced by other subjects, and in particular by an odd mixture known as elementary science, which cannot be contemned when it tells of trees and flowers and common objects, but which is too often an attempt to teach the principles of chemistry and physics to minds too young to understand them. Sometimes this elementary science is entirely utilitarian. In one district, where there is a bobbin factory and half-time labour, it included some two or three years ago information about different kinds of woods and their commercial uses. This was for girls and boys aged eleven or twelve, and was a way of meeting one suggestion of the code. Where history is taught, it is more often by means of reading-lessons than direct instruction. There is probably no elementary school which has adopted the opposite idea of concentrating all subjects round the study of history; so that if a boy has a lesson on Nelson he also reads about him, he learns what places Nelson visited, and he works sums on the number of Nelson's battleships, and does not leave him even in spelling and dictation. This is to spoil a good principle. It is an absurdity which has been evolved from Herbart's somewhat vague pronouncements.

These thoughts are not advanced as sure, unchangeable truth. Truth is a shrine with many portals, and as we approach we imagine each of these in turn to reveal the inner sanctum till we see the fuller glory of the next. Yet it is hoped that this essay may have put in a somewhat clearer light the English system of elementary education. It is not a full description even of its own special subject. There are here no courses sketched for the primary schools; no old discussions revived whether English history or the world at large shall furnish the first

interesting stories; no detailed examination of methods; no inquiry into the evening continuation schools, where youths are sometimes prepared for civic life; and no account of the teaching of history in the training-colleges. Yet perhaps something may be inferred of the condition of the elementary school system; of its strength, its zeal, its sense of order, and its power to instruct large numbers; of its weakness, its content with little achievements, its worship of the mere mechanism of education, and its numbing restraint upon free development; and, in regard to history, its distrust of the subject and its preference of natural science to that which prepares for membership of a democratic nation. Primary schools, pupil-teacher centres, and training-colleges form a complete cycle of instruction, and a not unimportant means of securing national efficiency. They have done somewhat to create an educated people. They may do more when more is done for them.

THOMAS BATESON.

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